

वीर सेवा मन्दिर
दिल्ली



क्रम संख्या

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS
AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA PANDURANG VAMAN KANE,

M. A., LL. M., D. Litt. (All.)

SENIOR ADVOCATE, SUPREME COURT OF INDIA, AND ADVOCATE,
HIGH COURT, BOMBAY; FELLOW OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC
SOCIETY AND OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL
AND AFRICAN STUDIES; AUTHOR OF
'HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS' &c.

Vol. IV

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYASCITTA, KARMAVIPĀKA,
ANTYEṢṬI, ĀSAUCA, ŚUDDHI, ŚRĀDDHA
AND TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ)

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PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmaśāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years. This volume deals with eight topics, viz. Pātaka, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka, Antyesti, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tirthayātrā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer's 'Golden Bough.' For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer's volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning

of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX. 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred *panas* for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmasāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmaṇa family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters.†

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects: *vratas* and *utsavas*; *śānti* rites; *kāla* and *muhūrta*; *paurāṇa-dharma*; the influence of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* and other *śāstras* on *dharmasāstra*; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of *dharmasāstra*; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of *dharmasāstra* and the future of the latter. This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound. I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

† Prof. J. B. Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work. Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70.

been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahansa Swāmi Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatīrtha Raghunath Shāstri Kokje of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tīrtha Lakṣmapāshāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references

it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY, }
10-10-1953 }

P. V. KANE

§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmatāstra. In note 1886 on p. 968 (of vol. III) I refer to a work of Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of *Kalivarjya*. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (which was published in 1937 by Mr. Gharpure). Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms. of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize. The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N. Ghosal on p. 32 (of vol. III). I stated 'it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Puryamitra'. In writing this sentence my memory was at fault. I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol. 23, pp. 68-70) Dr. Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity. In his whole career as a writer Dr. Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been *bona fide*.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728-29
are not included in this list)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>A. G. = Ancient Geography of India
 Ain. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal
 Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
 A. I. R. = All India Reporter
 A. K. D. = Antyakarmadīpaka
 All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series
 Anu. = Anusāsanaparva
 Āp. = Āpastamba
 Āp. Dh. or Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastambadharma-sūtra
 Āp. Gr. = Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra
 Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantrapāṭha
 Āp. Śr. or Āp. Śr. S. or Āp. Ś. S. = Āpastambasrauta-sūtra
 A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports
 Āśv. gr. or Āśv. gr. S. = Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra
 Āśv. Śr. S. or Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyanasrauta-sūtra
 A. V. = Atharvaveda
 Baud. = Baudhāyana
 Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyanadharmasūtra
 Baud. Gr. = Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra
 Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyana-pitrmedhasūtra
 Baud. Śr. = Baudhāyanasrautasūtra
 Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports
 Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes</p> | <p>B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series
 Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series
 Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter
 Br. Up. = Brhadāranyakopaniṣad
 B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal
 Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series
 C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
 Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopaniṣad
 C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal
 C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes
 Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharma-sūtra
 ed. = edited
 E. I. = Epigraphia Indica
 Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautamadharmasūtra
 Gobhila Gr. = Gobhila-grhya-sūtra
 G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series
 G. P. S. = Gautama-pitrmedhasūtra
 Gr. R. = Grhastharatnākara
 H. of D. or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra
 Hir. Gr. or Hir. gr. = Hiranyakeśigrhya-sūtra
 Hir. P. S. = Hiranyakeśi-pitrmedhasūtra
 I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)
 I. L. R. = Indian Law Reports series</p> |
|--|---|

- I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
 J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 Jai. = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra
 Jaimini Gr. = Jaimini-gr̥hya-sūtra
 JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
 Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara's edition
 J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
 J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
 Kāt. = Kātyāyana
 Kāt. Śr. or Kāt. Śr. S. = Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra
 Kāthaka Gr. = Kāthaka-gr̥hya-sūtra
 Kātyāyana = Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra (ed. by me)
 Kauś. or Kauśika = Kauśikasūtra
 Kaus. Up. = Kauśitaki Upaniṣad
 Khādira Gr. = Khādira-gr̥hya-sūtra
 m. = mentioned
 Märk. = Märkanḍeyapurāṇa
 Mit. = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya
 M. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā
 Nir. = Nirukta
 Nirn. = Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.
 Pāṇ. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī
 Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-gr̥hya-sūtra
 Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya
 Pr. M. = Prāyāścitta-mayūkha
 Pr. Pr. or Pr. Prakāśa = Prāyāścitta-prakāśa
 Pr. Prakaraṇa = Prāyāścitta-prakaraṇa
 Pr. S. or Pr. sāra = Prāyāścittasāra
 Pr. T. or Pr. Tattva = Prāyāścittatattva
 Pr. V. or Pr. Vi. = Prāyāścittaviveka
 q = quoted
 Q. B. D. = Queen's Bench Division
 Rg. = Rgveda
 Sāma. Br. = Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa
 Śān. Br. = Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa
 Śān. gr. = Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra
 Śān. Śr. or Śān. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyanaśrauta-sūtra
 Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
 Sat. Śr. = Satyāśadhaśrauta-sūtra
 S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmüller)
 S. K. = Śuddhikaumudī
 S. K. L. = Śrāddhakalpalatā
 Sm. C. or Smr. C. = Smṛticandrikā
 Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala
 Śr. P. or Śr. Pr. = Śrāddhaprakāśa
 Śr. K. K. = Śrāddhakriyakaumudī
 S. V. = Sāmaveda
 Tai. Ā. or Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
 Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
 Tai. S. = Taittirīya Saṃhitā
 Tai. Up. = Taittirīya-upaniṣad
 Tāndya Br. = Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa
 Tir. C. = Tirthacintāmaṇi
 Tir. K. = Tirthakalpataru
 Tirthapr. or Tir. Pr. = Tirthaprakāśa
 Tri. S. = Tristhalisetu
 T. S. = Tirthasāra
 Up. = Upaniṣad
 Vaik. Smārta or Vaik. Sm. S. = Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra
 Vaik. Śr. or Vaik. Śr. S. = Vaikhāṇasaśrauta-sūtra
 Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā
 Vas. = Vasistha-dharma-sūtra

Viṣṇu Dh. or Viṣṇu Dh. S. =
Viṣṇudharmasūtra
Vy. M. = Vyavahāramayūkha
Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti
अ. क. दी. = अन्यकर्मदीपक
अमि. or अमिपु. = अमिपुराण
अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद
अनु. = अनुशासनपर्व
अन्योष्टिप. = अन्योष्टिपद्धति of नारायण
आ. गृ. परि. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यपरिशिष्ट
आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र
आप. ध. or आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप. म. पा. = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ
आप. श्रौ. or आ. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र
आश्व. गृ. परि. = आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट
आश्व. गृ. or आश्व. गृ. सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्य-
सूत्र
आश्व. श्रौ. or आश्व. श्रौ. सू. = आश्वलायन-
श्रौतसूत्र
ऋ. = ऋग्वेद
ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेय-आरण्यक
ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण
क. उप. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्
कल्प. = कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर
कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार
का. श्रौ. सू. or कात्या. श्रौ. or कात्या. श्रौ. सू.
= कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र
कौ. ब्रा. उप. or कौषीतकि-ब्रा. उप. =
कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
गङ्गाभक्ति. or गङ्गाभ. = गङ्गाभक्तिरत्नकिणी
गङ्गावाक्या. or गङ्गावा. = गङ्गावाक्यावलि
गण्ड. or गण्डपु. = गण्डपुराण
गृह. र. = गृह्यसंस्कार
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
गौ. पि. सू. = गौतमपितृमेघसूत्र
चतुर्विंशति. or चतुर्विंश. or चतु. सं. = चतु-
विंशतिमतसंग्रह
चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि
छा. उप. or छां. उप. or छान्दोग्योप. =
छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण

तीर्थकल्प. = कल्पतरु on तीर्थ (G. O. S.)
ती. प्र. or तीर्थप्र. = तीर्थप्रकाश
ती. वि. or तीर्थवि. = तीर्थचिन्तामणि of
वाचस्पति
तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
तै. उप. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
त्रि. से. सा. स. = त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसङ्ग्रह of
भट्टोजि
त्रिस्थली = त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट
निर्णय. or नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु
पद्म. or पद्मपु. = पद्मपुराण
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवाय
पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी
पार. गृ. = पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र
पृथ्वी. or पृथ्वीच. or पृथ्वीचन्द्र. = पृथ्वी-
चन्द्रोदय
प्राय. तत्त्व = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व
प्राय. प्रकरण or प्राय. प्रक. = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण
प्रा. प्रकाश = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश
प्राय. वि. or प्रा. वि. or प्राय. वि. = प्राय-
श्चित्तविवेक
प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख
प्राय. सा. or प्राय. सार = प्रायश्चित्तसार
बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
बृ. सं. = बृहत्संहिता of बराहमिहिर्
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र
ब्रह्मपु. = ब्रह्मपुराण
भवि. पु. or भविष्यपु. = भविष्यपुराण
मत्स्य. = मत्स्यपुराण
मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात
मनु = मनुस्मृति
महार्णव = महार्णवकर्मविपाक (ms.)
मानवगृ. = मानवगृह्यसूत्र
मिता. = मिताक्षरा
मेधा. = मेधातिथि, commentator of मनु
मै. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
राजत. = राजतरङ्गिणी of कल्हण

वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता

वायु. or वायुपु. = वायुपुराण

विष्णुपु. = विष्णुपुराण

वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर

विष्णु. or विष्णुध. सू. = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र

वृद्धया. = वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य

वे. सू. = वेदान्तसूत्र

व्यव. नि. = व्यवहारनिर्णय

व्य. म. = व्यवहारमयूख

शत. ब्रा. or शतपथ or शतपथब्रा. = शतपथ-

ब्राह्मण

शातातप = शातातपरस्मृति

शाङ्खायनब्रा. or शा. ब्रा. = शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण

शां. श्रौ. or शां. श्रौ. सू. = शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र

शान्ति. = शान्तिपर्व

शु. कौ. or शुद्धिकौ. = शुद्धिकौमुदी

शुद्धिकल्प. = कल्पतरु or शुद्धि

शुद्धिप्र. or शु. प्र. = शुद्धिप्रकाश

श्रा. क. ल. = श्राद्धकल्पलता

श्रा. क्रि. कौ. = श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी

श्राद्धप्र. or श्रा. प्र. = श्राद्धप्रकाश

सत्या. श्रौ. = सत्यापाठश्रौतसूत्र

साम. ब्रा. = सामविधानब्राह्मण

स्कन्द. or स्कन्दपु. = स्कन्दपुराण

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका

स्मृतिमु. or स्मृ. मु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

श्रा. वि. = श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर

हिर. गृ. or हिरण्य. गृ. = हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

some important Sanskrit works and authors referred
to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Śaṅkarācārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.—1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmanas and Upaniṣads. Some hymns of the R̥gveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittiriya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the vedic samhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyaśulba and others) and some of the gr̥hyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600—300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gr̥hyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini's sūtras

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.—100 A. D.—Manusmṛti

- 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra
 100 A. D.-400 A. D.—Nārada-smṛti
 200 A. D.-400 A. D.—Śabara's bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra (rather nearer the former date)
 300 A. D.-500 A. D.—Bṛhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other topics (not yet found). Extracts on Vyavahāra were translated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in Gaikwad Oriental series
 300 A. D.-600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya, Kūrma
 500 A. D.-550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā, Brhatsaṃhitā, Brhat-Jātaka and other works.
 600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāṇa, author of the Kadambarī and Harṣa-carita
 650-665 A. D.—Kaśikā, commentary by Vamana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī
 650-700 A. D.—Kumārīlabhaṭṭa, author of Tantravārtika and other works.
 600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha, Devaḷa and some of the Purāṇas such as Agni, Garuda.
 788 A. D.-820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher
 800 A. D.-850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 825 A. D.-900 A. D.—Medhātithi, a commentator of Manusmṛti
 966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Brhājñataka of Varāhamihira
 1000 A. D.-1050 A. D.—Dharmeśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works
 1080 A. D.-1100 A. D.—Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 1080 A. D.-1110 A. D. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti
 1100-1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, the author of a vast digest on Dharmasāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru
 1100-1150 A. D.—Jimūtavahana, author of the Dayabhāga, Kalāviveka and Vyavahāramātṛkā.
 1100-1150 A. D. Bhavadēvabhaṭṭa, author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa and other works
 1110 A. D.-1130—A. D. Aparārka, Śilāhara king, composed a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 1127 A. D.-1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilāṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi of Somēśvaradeva

- 1150 A.D.-1160 A.D.—*Rājataranginī* of Kalhana
- 1150 A.D.-1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of *Hāralatā* and *Pitrdayitā*
- 1150 A.D.-1200 A.D.—*Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara
- 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama and Āpastamba and some *gṛhyasūtras*
- 1200 A.D.-1225 A.D.—*Smṛticandrikā* of Devanabhaṭṭa
- 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Kullūka, a commentator on *Manusmṛti*
- 1175 A.D.-1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of *Brāhmanasārvasva*
- 1260 A.D.-1270 A.D.—*Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri
- 1275 A.D.-1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of *Pitrbhakti*, *Samaya-pradīpa* and other works
- 1300 A.D.-1370 A.D.—Candēśvara, author of *Gṛhastharatnakara*, *Vivadaratnakara*, *Kṛtyaratnakara* and other works
- 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Sāyana, compiler of *bhāṣyas* on Vedic *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*
- 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Mādhavācārya, commentator of *Parāśara-smṛti* and other works and brother of Sāyana
- 1360 A.D.-1390 A.D.—Madanapārijāta and *Mahāmavaprakāśa* compiled under king Madanapāla and his son
- 1360 A.D.-1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyapati, author of *Gāṅgāvākyaṇī* and other works. Vide *Indian Antiquary* vol. 14 pp 190-191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapī to Vidyapati by king Śivasimha, son of Devasimha (śaka 1321, samvat 1455, La. Sam. 283 and *san* 807)
- 1375 A.D.-1440 A.D.—Sulapaṇi, author of *Dīpakalikā*, commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, *Prāyaścitta-viveka*, *Durgotsavaviveka* and other works.
- 1375-1500 A.D.—Prithvicandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called *Dharmatattvakalānidhi*, divided into *Prakāśas* on *śrāddha*, *vyavahāra* and other topics.
- 1425-1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasimhadeva
- 1425 A.D.-1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of *Suddhiviveka*, *Śrāddhaviveka* and other works
- 1425-1490 A.D.—Vācaspati, author of *Suddhicintāmaṇi*, *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and numerous other works.
- 1450-1500 A.D.—Vardhamāna, author of *Dandaviveka*, *Gāṅgākṛtyaviveka* and other works
- 1490 A.D.-1515 A.D.—Nṛsiṃhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which *Śrāddhasāra*, *Tīrthasāra*, *Prāyaścittasāra* and several more are parts.

- 1500 A.D.-1540 A. D.—Govindānanda, author of Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and other works
- 1513-1580—Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, author of Prayogaratna, Antyeṣṭi-paddhati, Tristhalisetu
- 1520-1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called Tattvas on Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Śuddhi, Prāyaścitta and other topics
- 1520-1589—Ṭoḍarānanda compiled under the patronage of Ṭoḍarmal and divided into Saukhyas on Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipaka and about 15 more topics
- 1590-1630 A.D.—Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works such as Vaijayantī (com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra), Śrāddha-kalpalatā, Śuddhicandrikā, Dattakamimāṃsā
- 1610-1640—Kamalākaraḥṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu and over 20 works besides
- 1610-1640—Vīramitrodaya of Mitraniśra, of which Tīrthapraṇāsa, Prāyaścittapraṇāsa, Śrāddhapraṇāsa are parts
- 1610-1645—Nīlakaṇṭha, author of Bhagavantabbāskara in 12 Mayūkhas on Prāyaścitta, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and other topics
- 1700-1740—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyaṇātha
- 1700-1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, author of about 30 works among which Tīrthendusekhara, Prāyaścittendusekhara, Śrāddhendusekhara were used in this volume
- 1790—Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of Dharmasindhu, composed it in 1712
- 1730-1820—Bālabhaṭṭa, author of a commentary on the Mitākṣarā, called Bālabhaṭṭi

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Prthūdaka, seven forests; Mathurā, its history, twelve forests, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana, Gokula or Vraja; Puruṣottama tīrtha or Jagannātha; peculiar features of Jagannātha, viz. car festival, army of attendants; five important tīrthas; obscene sculptures on walls of Jagannātha temple. Narmadā, eulogy of and sub-tīrthas on Narmadā; Godāvarī and 100 tīrthas thereon described in Brahmapurāṇa such as Tryambaka, Janasthāna, Nāsik, Govardhana, Pañcaviṭī, Kāñcī, Pandharpur, its chief temple of Viṭhobā; large staff of priests; temple of devotee Fundalika, Vārkarīs.	... 680-722
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IMPORTANT WORKS CONSULTED

(N. B.—Works referred to only once or twice have generally been omitted)

Ānan. stands for Ānandāśrama Press edition; B. I. for Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; Ghar. for Mr. J. R. Gharpure's Publications; G. O. S. for Gaikwad Oriental series; Nirn. for Nirṇaya-sāgara Press editions; Jiv. for Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's Publications and Venk. for Venkateśvara Press Publications.

Aitareya Āraṇyaka (ed. by Prof. Keith in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*)
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* (Ānan.)

Atharvaveda-saṁhitā (ed. by S. P. Pandit and sometimes the edition of Pandit Sātavalekar)

Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad

Chāndogyaopaniṣad

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (B. I. series)

Jabālopaniṣad

Jaiminīya Saṁhitā, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira.

Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Kāthopaniṣad

Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Lindner, Jena, 1887)

Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad

Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* (ed. by the Poona Vaidika-saṁsodhana-maṇḍala)

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. C. Burnell, 1873)

Śaṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa (Ānan.)

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. Weber)

Taittirīya-āraṇyaka (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-saṁhitā (Ānan.; sometimes Pandit Sātavalekar's edition has been used)

Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa (also called Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmaṇa)—B. I. series
Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar).

Śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, Vedāṅgas

Āpastamba-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Haradatta published at Kumbhakonam by Halasyanatha Sastri

Āpastamba-gr̥hya-sūtra with the com. of Sudarśanācārya (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)

Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha (ed. by Dr. Winternitz, 1897).

Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra with Nārāyaṇa's commentary (Nirṇ.)

Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra with the com. of Nārāyaṇa (B. I. series).

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (Ānan.)

Baudhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra with gr̥hya-śeṣa-sūtra, gr̥hyaparibhāṣā and Baudhāyana-pitrmedhasūtra (ed. by Dr. Sham Sastri in Mysore University Oriental Library Publications, 1920).

Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Caland in B. I. series)

Bhāradvāja-gr̥hya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Salomons, Leyden, 1913)

Brahmasūtra—see Vedāntasūtra

Bṛhad-devatā (ed. by Prof. A. A. Macdonell)

Gautamadharmasūtra (Ānan.)

Gobhila-gr̥hya-sūtra (B. I. series)

Gobhilasmṛiti or Karmaṇyadīpikā (Ānan.)

Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra (ed. by Dr. J. Kirste, 1889)

Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra with the bhāṣya of Śabara and the Tantravartika of Kumārila (Ānan.)

Kāṭhaka-gr̥hya with the commentaries of Ādityadarśana, Devapāla and Brāhmaṇabala (ed. by Dr. Caland, 1925)

Katyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by A. Weber)

Kauśikasūtra (ed. by Prof. Bloomfield)

Kauṣītaki-gr̥hya-sūtra (Benares Sanskrit series) or Madras University Sanskrit series

Khādiragr̥hyasūtra with the com. of Rudraskanda (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)

Mānavagr̥hyasūtra with the com. of Aṣṭāvakra (G. O. S.)

Nirukta of Yāska, ed. by Roth: sometimes the edition of Prof. V. K. Rajwade with a translation and notes in Marathi has been relied upon

Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra—edited by M. M. Shridharshastri Pāthak with a Marathi translation

R̥gvidhāna of Śaunaka (ed. by Prof. Jagadish Shastri), 1940

Sāṅkhāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra (same as Kauṣītaki-gr̥hya-sūtra)—published in the Benares Sanskrit series

Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Hillebrandt)—B. I. Series

Satyāśāḍha-śrauta-sūtra (Ānan.)

Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (edited with English translation by Dr. Caland)

Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra ed. by Dr. Caland (B. I. series, 1941)

Vārāhagṛhyasūtra (G. O. S.)

Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (Bombay S. series)

Vedāntasūtra with the bhāṣya of Śāṅkara (Nirn.)

Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Smṛtis

Āpastambasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Atri-smṛti (Ānan.)

Aśvānasa-smṛti (Jiv.)

Bhagavad-gītā

Bṛhat-Parāśara-smṛti (Jiv.)

Caturvīṃśati-mata-saṅgraha (Benares Sanskrit Series)

Dakṣasmṛti (Ānan.)

Devalasmṛti (Ānan.)

Harivaṁśa (Chitrāsālā Press ed. Poona)

Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (reconstructed by P. V. Kane under the title 'Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra' with English Translation and notes)

Laghu-Hārīta (Ānan.)

Laghu-Viṣṇu (Ānan.)

Laghu-Āśvalāyana (Ānan.)

Mahābhārata with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha (oblong Bombay edition)

Manusmṛti with the commentary of Kullūka (Nirn.); where other commentaries on Manu are referred to, it is Mandlik's edition with several commentaries that is cited.

Nārada-smṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Parāśara-smṛti (Bombay S. series)

Prajāpatismṛti (Ānan.)

Samivartasmṛti (Ānan.)

Śāṅkhasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Vedavyāsa-smṛti (Ānan.)

Vṛddha-Gautama-smṛti (Jiv.)

Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (Ānan.)

Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the com. Mitākṣarā (Nirn.)

PURĀṆAS

The Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmapurāṇa, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu have been used; the Nirṇ. edition of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (text only) and the edition of the Narasimhapurāṇa published by Messrs Gopal Narayan and Co. have been relied upon; the Venkateśvara Press editions of the Bhaviṣya, Brahmāṇḍa, Brhan-Nāradiya (or simply Nāradiya), Garuḍa, Kālikā, Kūrma, Liṅga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara have been used; the Nilamatapurāṇa, ed. by Pandits Ramlal Kanjilal and Jagaddhar Zadoo (1924)

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Antyakarmadīpaka of Nityānanda (Kashi Sanskrit series)

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- Kāśikā, commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātṛā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted.]

Page Line or Note

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|
| 8 | note 17 | Read न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण धृतिः |
| 9 | note 19 | Add at end 'Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.1' |
| 15 | last line | Put a full stop after the word 'Viṣṇu'. |
| 17 | note 36 | Read 'व्यापारे रुढः'. |
| 18 | line 25 | Read 'selling of flesh' |
| 19 | note 43 l. 8 | Read 'अग्निपुराण 173.5' |
| 24 | note 58 | Read न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना |
| 28 | note 68 line 7 | Read दोषो न संसर्गः |
| 36 | line 34 | Read 'they pray'. |
| 37 | note 88 | Read यत्किंचिद् वरुण दैव्ये |
| 42 | line 24 | Read 'to be spread over from one' |
| 43 | line 23 | Read 'yadadivyan' (Tai. Ā. II. 4.1, and Baud. Dh. S. III. 7. 10)' |
| 44 | line 29 | Read 'by offering either' |
| 46 | note 107 line 4 | Read अथर्वाक्षिरस्. |
| 47 | line 7 | Read 'four pakayajñas or mahāyajñas' |
| 47 | note 109 | Read 'the five mahāyajñas or pakayajñas as they are called in Manu II. 86' |
| 54 | note 133a | Add—'The verse 'उपावृत्तस्य...वर्जितः' is अग्निपु. 175. 5-6 and is cited as from भविष्यपुराण by कल्पतरु on व्रत p. 3. Hemādri on vrata, vol. I. p. 1009 quotes विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the meaning of गुण as 'तज्जाप्यजायी तद्ध्यान-तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। तदर्चनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादयः॥ उपवासकृतो ह्येते गुणाः प्रोक्ता मनोषिभिः।'. The verse उपावृत्तस्य* is ascribed to Vasistha by Hemādri on vrata. vol. I. p. 1004 |
| 58 | note 139 line 6 | Read प्रायश्चित्तं विध्यपराधे |
| 94 | lines 19 | Add at end 'It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the sea at any |

Page Line or Note

- time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on *parvan* days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare: अश्वत्थसागरी सेव्यो न स्पृष्टव्यो कदाचन । अश्वत्थं मन्दवारे च सागरं पर्वणि स्पृशेत् । न कालनियमः सेतौ समुद्रज्ञान-कर्मणि ॥ धर्मसिन्धु I. 1 p. 36
- 106 note 242 line 3 Read प्राय. वि.
- 108 note 247 Add at end 'Verses from गावः सुरभयो नित्यं to हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति are अग्निपुराण 292. 14-20'
- 113 note 257 At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गार्हस्थ्यपरिग्रहेण संन्यासास्रच्युतो भवति तदा संवर्तौकं दृश्यम्—संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चित्प्रत्यापन्ति प्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमश्रान्तः षष्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥' This is संवर्त 171-72
- 114 line 2 Add 'Vide the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi)'.
- 116 line 23 Add after the words 'for a month'—'It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścitta; vide Tai. A. II. 16. 17 'याजयित्वा प्रतिगृह्य वानभनन् त्रिः स्वाध्यायं वेदमधीयीत'. Manu X. 109-111 appear to endorse this view.
- 140 line 7 Read 'and as marking'
- 149 line 23 Add at end 'Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āngirasa-smṛti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Angiras'.
- 164 n 395 line 2 Read अष्टाविंशतिकोऽयम्:
- 169 n 406 Add 'This verse is quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72 and in the सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति Chowkhamba S. series p. 45.'
- 185 line 11 Add after 'namo Vāsudevāya.'—Vide भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6 and पद्मपुराण V. 47. 262 'मरणे या मतिः पुंसां गतिर्भवति तादृशी', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'

Page Line or Note

- 185 n 432 Read 'शान्तिपर्व, 285. 74 ff. for शिवसहस्रनाम'
- 192 n 443
last line Read 'Fargard'
- 200 n 476 Read in 2nd line 'recital' and 'bones' in line 3.
- 212 line 12 Add a new paragraph after this line viz 'A peculiar rite called Sampratti (transmission) is described in Br. Up. I. 5. 17 and Kauṣītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad II. 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.
- 212 Add footnote 500a 'Though in modern times Nārāyanabhaṭṭa's Antyeṣṭipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kusas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody'.
- 216 n503 l. 1 Read 'मिता. on या. III. 2, मद. पा p. 395'
- 239 line 29 Read 'text of Samivarta that a'
- 244 line 6 Put the figure 555 above Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9
- 265 n. 594a Read in last line but one तद्रूपं देहमन्यं
- 269 n 603 l. 2 Read तन्तुं तन्वन्नरजसो भानुमन्विषक्षानहो
- 271 l. 35 Add after the word 'death.' 'It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varṇas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days' impurity on death'
- 277 l. 13 Read 'preferably'
- 300 n 677, l. 3 Read 'पतितानां च'
- 308 l. 17 Omit the words 'with Sanskrit explanation'
- 310 note 695 Read 'संमार्ष्टव्या उत'
- 312 n 700 Add at end "Though Manu V. 130 says generally 'नित्यमास्यं शुचि स्त्रीणाम्' the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 57 (स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गे), Vas. 28.8, S'ankha 16.16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say."

Page Line or Note

- 321 lines 11-15 I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇāḥ' of the Tai. S. V. 6. 1.1
- 345 top Read 'Pañcajanāḥ'
- „ n. 776 l. 4 Read 'षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितॄन् परिचक्षते'
- 355 n. 807 l. 1 Read 'मेघमजं बालमते'
- 368 n. 838 l. 2 Read शकुना इव
- 377 n. 851 l. 2 Read तीर्थेषु स्वप्नमौ च प्रयत्नतः.
- 382-383 note 861 Add at end "In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the धर्मेसिन्धु II. 2. p. 39 says: 'अमा १२ युग ४ मनु १४ कान्ति १२ वृत्ति १२ पात १२ महालयाः १५ ॥ अष्टका ५ अन्वष्टका ५ पूर्वयुः ५ श्राद्धेर्नवतिश्च षट् ॥ इति ज्ञेयानि ॥' For 12 Aṣṭakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शतपथब्राह्मण. It is very rare to find 15 Aṣṭakās mentioned; vide p. 361 and note 828 above."
- 388 note 870 In last line but one read प्रदास्यति
- 389 note 873 Read अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु
- 410 note 921 Read स याति नरकं घोरं
- 427 n959l.5 from end Read यमायाङ्गिरस्वते
- 441 note 985 Read अर्हणीयानां पुरतः
- 442 l. 17 Read 'then turn it'
- 457 note 1018 Add at end of note 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (III. 176. 1-5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently'.
- 532 note 1195 Read 'विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनाऽसम्भवे (separate as विधिना and असम्भवे)'
- 534 note 1200 Add at end—"Vide 'अन्नं ह प्राणः' ऐ. ब्रा. 33.1"
- 546 l. 17 Add after 'in an intercalary month' the following:-
According to the Nirmayasindhu (p. 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha

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- the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'अदमासे सुतानां तु प्रथमाब्दिकं मलमास एव कार्यं न शुद्धे द्वितीयाब्दिकं तु शुद्धे एव ।'
- 560 note 1260 After line 13 in note add 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण III, chap. 174 mentions *nine* mountains 'हिमवान्हेम-कूटश्च निषधो नील एव च । श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान् मेरुर्माल्यवान्ान्ध-मादनः । नवैतान् शैलान्पत्तीन्वभ्यां पश्येन्नरः ॥' (in पर्वताष्टमीव्रत)'
- 561 l. 7 Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'
- 577 n. 1308 l. 5 Read 'लभेत् सः and attributes it to गरुडपुराण.'
- 588 note 1333 Read 'दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च'
- 592 n. 1340 l. 21 Read 'Another rule is that one makes'
- 595 n. 1347 l. 2 Read 'जलं स मे प्रीत इति'.
- 599 note 1360 Read 'पादमोक्तः'
- 605 n. 1372 l. 6 Read 'the Apsad stone Inscription'.
- 609-613 The figures of the notes and the notes themselves have been wrongly arranged in these pages. On p. 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the word 'Gangāvākya-vali' and note (as printed) 1387 should be 1385 and brought under p. 609. On the same page (both in the text and notes) the figures 1384a, 1385 should be changed to 1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 1386 should really be 1393a, which figure should be placed on p. 613 in line 24 on the word 'moksa' and the footnote so numbered should be placed after footnote 1393
- 615 note 1397 last line but one—Read 'occur in नारदीय'
- 633 note 1448 line 4 Read 'तावतैव'.
- 648 n. 1473 l. 3 Read 'तर्पयेत्'
- 664 note 1500 Read 'गङ्गा पादोदके'
- 667 line 36 After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the better management of the Bodh Gaya Temple and the properties appertaining thereto. It is provided by this Act that the Government of Bihar Province shall constitute a committee for the management and control of the temple and its properties, consisting of a chairman and

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- eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mahanth i. e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Śaivite monastery of Bodh Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gayā shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and *pinda-dāna* '.
- 670 l. 6 Read 'śrāddhas at Gayā '.
- 673 note 1524 l. 4 Read 'तीर्थचि.'.
- 689 n. 1565 l. 2 Add: It may be noted that in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. chapters 201-202, it is stated that Gandharvas, sons of Śailūsa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother भरत to chastise them; 'जहिं शैल्युतनयान् गन्धर्वान् पापनिक्षयान्' विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 202. 10''.
- 691 n. 1568 l. 2 Read 'सुषुम्ना '.
- 695 line 9 Add at end: 'Vide, for example, the statement that Puruṣottama is situated on Nīlaparvata (chap. 1), that a dialogue between Śabara (a *bhilla*) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indradymna's purohita took place (chap. 7), that three *rathas* were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped.'
- 696 n. 1577 l. 3 Read 'चक्रं दृष्ट्वा '.
- 799 l. 13 Add after this line 'Millions of devotees visit Jagannātha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees. Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Pūrī. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Shri Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the *Sevaks Pujaris* and such other persons as are connected with the *Seva, Puja* and management of the *devasthan*. But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.'

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- 699 n. 1582 Add at the end 'The mantra occurs in the मैत्रायणी-संहिता II. 9. 10 and तै. आ. X. 45.1'.
- 709 l. 20 Read 'in Pañcavaṭi and on the left bank' &c.
- 721 l. 14 Add at end " Vide a paper on 'Identification of the idol of Viṭṭhala in the Viṭhala temple at Hampi' by Dr. C. Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp. 715-728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D. Degree on 'the cult of Viṭhobā' by Rev. G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952."
- 732 Add under Āmardaka 'Vide E. I. vol. I pp. 354 ff. for Āmardakatīrtha in Rāṇod in Gwalior State.'
- 758 Under 'Irāvati' add—' Vide Viṣṇudharmottara I. 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I. 162. 61-65 for the confluence of Irāvati with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.'
- 769 Column 2 under Koṇārka add " Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp. 153 ff. for an article 'Sungod of Koṇārka—where is he', which criticizes the article in the Modern Review. "
- 796 Add under Rohitaka—' In the Madanpur plate of Ś'ricandra in E. I. vol. 28 at p. 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri (acc. to some Rohtasgadh in Bihar and Lalmai Hill, West of Comilla, acc. to others).'
- 806 Column one under Śoṇa add—'The Nīrnayasindhu p. 110 quotes a verse of Devala enumerating seven *nadas* : शोणसिन्धुहिरण्यहयाः कोकलोहितवर्धराः। शतद्रश्च नदाः सप्त पावनाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by हिरण्य and कोक. Lohita is Brahmaputra
- 832 line 5 Read 'अञ्जयश्च'
- 832 lines 8 and 10 Read मृत्यो and मृतै
- 832 line 18 Read वयं
- 832 n. 693a l. 3 Read स्नानं

SECTION I

PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins).

CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol. 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmaśāstra.

Sin (*pātaka*) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics.¹ It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

1. In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin. As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p. 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin. It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy. ... Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong. Every thing is the result of complexes'. It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin". Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 says 'The higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer'. The followers of Cārvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts; he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink *ghṛa*) even by borrowing money from others. There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.

The Rgveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it. The idea of sin in the Rgveda is bound up with the conception of *ṛta*. The conception of *ṛta* cannot be discussed here in detail. But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was.²

Ṛta had a threefold aspect. It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods'; and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of *ṛta* may be cited here. Rg. IV. 23. 8-10 are³ three verses in which the word *ṛta* occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all-pervading influence of *ṛta* throughout the universe. 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to *ṛta*; the thought (or laudation) of *ṛta* destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to *ṛta* pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of *ṛta* are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i. e. man). Through *ṛta* they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered *ṛta* by *ṛta*. He who wins over *ṛta* acquires it. For the sake of *ṛta* (heaven) and earth are wide and deep; the two highest cows (i. e. Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of *ṛta*.' Some other passages are: 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the *ṛta* of Varuna' (*ṛtam sindhavo Varunasya yanti*, Rg. II. 28. 4); similarly Rg. I. 105. 12 (*ṛtamarṣanti sindhavaḥ*); The wheel of *ṛta* (i. e. the year) revolves round the

2. For the conception of *ṛta* and the idea of sin in the Rgveda the following works may be consulted: 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp. 12, 125 ff); 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof. A. B. Keith (pp. 35, 83-85 &c.); 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry LeFebvre (1935). One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject.

3. ऋतस्य हि ह्युक्थः सन्ति पूर्वाङ्कितस्य धीतिर्ह्यजिमानि हन्ति । ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरा ततर्ह्य कर्णो बुध्वाः सुखमान आयोः ॥ ऋतस्य ब्रह्मा धवणानि सन्ति पुष्पाणि चन्द्रा वपुषे वपुषि । ऋतेन दीर्घमवणन्त पुंस ऋतेन नाव ऋतमाविशेः ॥ ऋतं येमान ऋतनिह्नोस्तुतस्य ह्युष्मस्तुरवा उ गन्धुः । ऋताव पृथ्वी बहुते गर्भेरे ऋताय येनू परमे दुदोते ॥ ऋ. IV. 23. 8-10. These are rather obscure verses. The Nirukta X. 41 understands *ṛta* to mean 'water' and explains X. 23-8 as 'ऋतस्य यज्ञा वर्जनीयानि हन्ति ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरस्यापि कर्णो आतृणोति । बधिरः ब्रह्मज्ञानः । कर्णो बोधयन् दीप्यमानश्च आयोः अयनस्य ब्रह्मवपस्य उपोतिनो वा ब्रह्मकरय वा ।'

sky with twelve spokes (*dvādaśāram varvartī cakram pari dyām-ṛtasya*, Rg. I. 164. 11); 'the dawn, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of *ṛta*' ('*ṛtasya panthānam-anveti sādhu*', Rg. I. 124. 3); the young woman (*Uṣas*) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of *ṛta* (Rg. I. 123. 9.); the sun is the bright and lovely face of *ṛta* (Rg. VI. 51. 1. '*ṛtasya śuci darśatam-anikam*'); 'the path of *ṛta* became united with the rays' (Rg. I. 136. 2); 'when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of *ṛta* the concealed host of cows' (Rg. I. 121. 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of *ṛta*. Mitra and Varuṇa rule over all the world by *ṛta* (Rg V. 63.7, *ṛtena viśvam bhuvanam vi rājatha*); Mitra and Varuṇa, the protectors of *ṛta*, occupy a chariot (Rg. V. 63.1); Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of *ṛta* (*yūyamṛtasya rathyaḥ*, VII. 66.12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of *ṛta* (Rg. VI. 51.3). Agni is called 'the charioteer of *ṛta*' (*rathī ṛtasya*, Rg. III. 2.8), the protector of *ṛta*, in Rg. I. 1.8, III. 10.2, X. 8.5, X. 118.7 and *ṛtāvān* (in Rg. IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of *ṛta* (in Rg. IX. 48.4, IX. 73.8) and is said to support *ṛta* (IX. 97.24 *ṛtam bharat subhṛtam cārvinduḥ*). In Rg. VII. 66.13 the *Ādityas*⁴ are said to be *ṛtūvan* (acting according to the fixed order of nature), *ṛtūjāta* (sprung from *ṛta*) and *ṛtāvṛdh* (augmenting or rejoicing in *ṛta*) and further they are said to be fierce haters of *anṛta* (what is opposed to *ṛta*).

Ṛta is distinguished from sacrifice (*yajña*). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general. In Rg. IV. 3.4. Agni is styled *ṛtacī* (conversant with or observing *ṛta*) and is invoked to know the *ṛta* (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words '*ṛtena ṛtam*' (e. g. in Rg. IV. 3.9 *ṛtena ṛtam niyatam-ila ā goḥ*, V. 15.2 '*ṛtena ṛtam dharuṇam dhārayanta yajñasya śāke*, V. 68.4 *ṛtam-ṛtena sapantā* 'conforming to or joining *ṛta* with *ṛta*', where '*ṛtena*' appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and '*ṛtam*' the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of *ṛta* spread on the *daśāpavitra* (Rg. IX. 73.9 '*ṛtasya tantur-vitataḥ pavitra ā*). In

4. अतापाना अतजाना अताहो बोरातो अहवहिवा । तेषां षः सुप्ते सज्जद्विद्धने नरः
इयामं ये च सूरयः ॥ अ. VII, 66.13

Rg. I. 84.4 it is said 'O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ...the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of *ṛta*' (i. e. in the soma sacrifice). Vide also Rg. IV. 1.13—(asmākam-atra pitaro manasyā abhi pra sedur-ṛtam-ā susāṇāḥ) 'in this world former men, our ancestors, approached *ṛta* etc.'; Rg. I. 71.3 (dadhannṛtam dhanayannasya dhitim-ādidaryo) Rg. X. 67.2 (ṛtam śamsanta ṛju didhyānā...yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) 'the Ṃgirasas,, declaring the *ṛta* and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña'; Rg. X. 37.1 (maho devāya tad-ṛtam saparyata, 'offer this *ṛta* to the great God').

The conception of *ṛta* as a moral imperative occurs in several passages. Rg. I. 90.6 (madhu vātā rṭāyato madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ) 'the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps *ṛta*'; Rg. V. 12.2 'O Agni, that knowest *ṛta*, know *ṛta* alone (in me).....I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to *ṛta* of the reddish bull (i. e. of Agni)⁵; Rg. X. 87.11 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures *ṛta* by anṛta be thrice bound in thy fetters'. Yama in rejecting Yami's advances says (Rg. X. 10.4) 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken *ṛta* (so far) now speak anṛta?' (ṛtā vadanto anṛtam rapema).

In two or three instances *ṛta* appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. 'O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuna, to the gods and to the great (bṛhat) *ṛta*' (Rg. I. 75. 5). Similarly, in Rg. X. 66.4 the great (*mahat*) *ṛta* is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Viṣṇu, the Maruts &c.

Rta and *satya* were distinguished in several passages of the Rgveda. For example, Rg. V. 51.2 speaks of the Viśve Devas as 'ṛtadhitayaḥ' (whose thoughts were fixed on *ṛta*) and 'satyadharmāṇaḥ' (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharmae are true). In Rg. IX. 113.4 *ṛta* and *satya* both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing. In Rg. X. 190.1 *ṛta* and *satya* are distinguished as having sprung from '*tapas*'. *Rta* involves a wider conception and *satya* had originally a restricted meaning (viz. truth or static order). The word anṛta, however, is the

5. कर्तृत्विकित्वं कर्तृत्विकित्वविशेषतया धारा अहं वृत्तिः इति । नाहं यादं सहसा न ह्येव कर्तृत्वं संप्राप्यकथं वृत्तिः । अ. V. 12.2.

opposite of both *rta* and *satya* as may be seen from Rg. X. 10.4, Rg. VII. 49.3 (Varuṇa who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), Rg. X. 124.5 (Varuṇa who separates *anṛta* by means of *rta*). Gradually, however, the word *rta* receded into the back-ground and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II. 1 and I.9.1) both *rta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Rgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuṇa and the Ādityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin. In this connection they employ numerous words such as *āgas*, *enas*, *agha*, *durita*, *duṣkṛta*, *drugdha*, *ainhas*. A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are *āgas* and *enas*, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Rg. VII. 86 is a hymn to Varuṇa in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. 'Varuṇa is angry with you'. Then the sage proceeds 'O Varuṇa! what is that great guilt (*āgas*) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (*enas*). Cast away from us the transgressions (*drugdha*) of our father and those that we committed in our own person;...free Vasiṣṭha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)'. In Rg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says 'whatever transgressions (*abhidroha*) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever *dharma*s laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (*enas*). It will be noticed that in these verses the words *āgas*, *abhidroha* and *enas* are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Rg. II. 27.14 the sage prays 'O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuṇa! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you'. In Rg. II. 28.5 Varuṇa is implored to loosen sin (*āgas*) from the devotee just like a girdle. Rg. VIII. 45.34 states: 'O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (*āgas*).' In Rg. II. 29.1 the Ādityas are implored⁶ 'cast away from me sin (*āgas*) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret'. For some other passages

6. धृतराजा आदित्या इन्द्रिया आरे सत्कारे दृष्टुमिच्छति । अ. II. 29.1.

in which *āgas* or its opposite *anāgas* occurs, vide Rg. I. 162.22, I. 185. 8, II.29.5, IV. 12.4, IV. 54.3, VII. 51.1, VII. 57.4, V. 85.7, VII. 87.7, VII. 93.7, X. 36.12, X. 37.7 and 9. *Āgas* and *enas* are employed in the same verse, Rg. IV.12.4 'O Agni! Whatever sin (*āgas*) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (*enas*) from all sides'.

Some more passages about *enas* are: Rg. VI. 51-7 'May we not have to enjoy (i. e. suffer for) the *enas* committed by another' and Rg. VI. 51-8 'Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance'; Rg. VI. 74-3 'O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person'; Rg. VII. 20-1 'Indra is our saviour even from a great sin'; vide also Rg. I. 189. 1, II. 28. 7, VII. 52. 2. The word '*agha*', also seems to mean sin. '*Apa naḥ śośucad-āgham*' (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Rg. I.97. 1-8. 'O gods! May your fetters and may sins (*aghāni*) be far away from us' (II. 29. 5, in which verse in the first half '*āgaḥ*' occurs); X. 117. 6 (*kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi*) 'one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin'.

Another word is *amhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Rg. II. 28. 6 Varuṇa is implored 'remove *amhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)' ⁷. It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II. 28.5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *āgas*. 'May Indra take us away from *amhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat' (Rg. III. 32. 14.); 'No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice' ⁸. Rg. VIII. 19. 6; 'May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuṇa, save us from all sin' (Rg. X. 36. 3).⁹ Rg. X. 36. 2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of *ṛta*, to protect the sage from '*amhas*'. Vide also Rg. X. 126. 2.

Another important word is *vrjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sādhu* or *rju*. The Adityas are said to 'see inside

7. इमेव वत्सादिमुक्त्यर्थो नहि त्वदारे निमिषन्नेते । अ. II. 28-6; compare II. 28-5 'वि मन्त्र्यान् रक्षामिवाग आश्रयन् ते वचनं साधुतस्य ।'.

8. न तस्मै देवकृतं कुतश्च न मर्त्यकृतं ज्ञात् । अ. VIII. 19-6

9. निश्चिन्ता अदितिः पार्त्विहसो माता मित्रस्य वचनस्य रेवतः । अ. X. 36-3.

(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)¹⁰ and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Rg. II. 27. 2 the Ādityas are called 'avrjināḥ' (free from *vṛjina*). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Rg. IV. 1. 17). The same words (*ṛju marteṣu vṛjinā ca paśyan*) occur in Rg. VI. 51. 2 and VII. 60.2 about the Sun.

The word '*anṛta*' is often used in the Rgveda. It has already been shown how Varuṇa is said to mark the *satya* and *anṛta* of men. In Rg. VII. 60. 5 it is said 'these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of *ṛta*'. Rg. VII. 66. 13 calling Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman haters of *anṛta* has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word '*durita*' is sometimes used in the sense of sin. In Rg. I. 23. 22 the waters are invoked as follows:¹¹ 'O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered'. Here all three words '*durita*, *droha* and *anṛta*' are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Rg. I. 185. 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from *durita* (sin) which involves blame (*pātām-avadyād-duritād*). '*Avadya*' means '*garhya*' acc. to Pāṇ. III. 1. 101. Rg. VII. 82. 7 states 'Him neither *amhas* (sin) nor *durita* nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuṇa!'. In Rg. X. 126. 1 '*amhas*' and '*durita*' are brought together (*na tam-amho na duritam devāso aṣṭa martyam*). In Rg. VIII. 67. 21 the words *amhati* and *rapas*¹² seem to be employed in the sense of sin. '*Duṣkṛta*' (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Rg. VIII. 47. 13 and in Rg. X. 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins¹³. The word '*pāpa*' generally¹⁴

10. अन्तः पश्यन्ति इजिनोऽस्तु साधु सर्वं राजन्वः परमा चिद्वन्ति । अ. II. 27-3 ; आ धूर्वां वृहत्तस्तितृवर्जां काशु मर्तेषु इजिना च पश्यन् ॥ अ. IV. 1-17.

11. इदमपः मरुत पत्तिं च दुरितं मयि । यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोहं यद्वा शेष उताहृतम् ॥ अ. I. 23-22. शेष (or-क) means मेह.

12. वि बु द्वेभो र्यहतिमादित्यास्तो वि संहतिम् । निष्पति वृहता रपः ॥ अ. VIII. 67-21 ; 'रपः रिशमिति पापनामनी भवताः' निरुक्त IV. 21.

13. यद्वारिर्वप्यीष्यं देवास्तो अस्ति दुष्कृतम् । जिते तद्विन्ध्वाप्यव आरे अस्मद्वधातम् ... ॥ अ. VIII. 47-13 ; अग्निर्विन्ध्वाप्य दुष्कृताप्यशुद्धाप्यारे अस्मद्वधातु ॥ अ. X. 164.3

14. पापमातुष्यः स्वसारं नियच्छतु । अ. X. 10-12 ; पापास्तः सन्तो अक्षता असत्य इव पद्मजजना गमीरम् ॥ अ. IV. 5-5.

occurs in the Rg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Rg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10. 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Rg. X. 108. 6, X. 164. 5, I. 129. 11). In Rg. VII. 32. 18, VII. 94. 3, VIII. 19. 26 'pāpatva' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness'. In the Brāhmaṇas 'pāpam' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Śat. Br. XI. 2. 7. 19; vide also¹⁵ Ait. Br. 33. 5. In the Upaniṣads 'pāpam' means 'sin' (e. g. in Tai. Up. II. 9, Chāndogya IV. 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and *Karma* were introduced in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Rgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Rgvedic sages. Vide S. B. E. vol. I, p. XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us.'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times¹⁶. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin. In the Rg. VII. 86. 6 a sage¹⁷ pleads with Varuṇa that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to *surā* (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right. In the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad (III. 9) it is stated: 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds

15. बहोवाचाजीमर्तः सोयवतिस्त्वहे मा तात तपति पापं कर्म मया कृतम् । दे. ब्रा. 33.5 (=VII.17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13. 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men. In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin'; for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind ... that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day). As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'.

17. न त्वो वक्रो वरुण प्रातिः सा ह्यरा मय्युर्विमीवको आचिषिः । अस्ति उपायात्कनीयस उपाये स्वमन्त्रेणैव कृतस्य प्रयोता ॥ ब्रा. VII. 86.6.

than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down'.¹⁸ Here it appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III, 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkṛṣṇa as follows: 'impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so'? The answer given is (III, 37) 'it is lust and anger springing from the element (*guṇa*) of *rajas* (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI, 21) says 'this'¹⁹ is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.' But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāṃkhya philosophy viz. that there are three *guṇas*, *saṭva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is *rajo-guṇa* that is the cause of man's sinfulness. In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (*krodha*) and *kāma* (lust) and it is said that *krodha* springs from *lobha* (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19.2 observes²⁰ that 'man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, neglecting what is prescribed and practising what is forbidden'. Yājñavalkya III, 219 prescribes: 'by

18. एष श्रेष्ठ साधु कर्म कारयति तं दमेभ्यो लोकेभ्यो उन्निनीयते एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति तं दमयो निनीयते । कौषीतकिना. उप. III. 9. This is the basis of Brahmasūtra II. 1.34 and II. 3.41.

19. त्रिविधं नरकरयेद् द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः । कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ भगवद्गीता XVI. 21 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.6.

20. विहितस्याननुष्ठानादिभित्तस्य च सेवनात् । अनिष्टाद्वाञ्छेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतन-मुच्यते ॥ वा. III. 219; अनुर्वरं विहितं कर्म प्रतिविद्धानि चाचरन् ॥ यापयिषीयते श्रेष्ठं नरो मिथ्या तु वर्तयन् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 34.2. Goutama appears to mention the two causes of the rise of sin stated by Yāj. In the first half of III. 219 'अथ कस्मैर्दुष्टयो वाप्येन कर्मणा लिप्यते यथैतद्व्याज्ययाजनमद्वयमक्षणमवधवर्षं शिष्टस्याकिया प्रतिविद्ध्यसेवनामिति । यो. 19.2. कश्चर on जे. XII. 3.16 echoes the very words of यो. viz. शिष्टस्याकिया प्रतिविद्ध्यसेवनामिति'.

omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i. e. sin)'. Manu XI. 44 and Śāntiparva 34.2 are similar verses. The *Mitākṣarā* explains that matters ordained are such as performing *Sandhyā* (morning and evening adorations) and *Agnihotra* and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor. *Viśvarūpa* explains that *patana* (fall or sinfulness) in *Yaj.* III. 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by *Gautama* 21.4 viz. 'to be a *patita* means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in *Yaj.* III. 219) becomes liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* and that the words of *Gautama* (21.4) are restricted only to what are called *mahāpātakas*. The word *pātaka* is derived from the causal of the root '*pat*.' Vide *Medhātithi* on Manu XI.54 '*pātakasabdah pātayatīti vyutpatīyā sarva-vyatikramesu varitate*' and *Madanapārijāta* p. 786. In ancient works the word *pataniya* (meaning the cause of *patana*) has been employed as in *Āp. Dh.* S. I. 7.21.7. The *Pr.* V. (p. 35) paraphrases *pataniyāni* by '*pātakāni*' and derives it from the root '*pat*' (*patatīyameṇa iti pataniyam*) with the addition of the termination '*aniya*' according to *Pāṇ.* III. 3.113. The word occurs also in *Yaj.* II. 210, III. 297, *Śāṅkha* quoted by *Viśvarūpa* on *Yaj.* III. 237 (in prose) and other *smṛtis*.

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times. In the *Rg.* X. 5. 6 it is said²¹ 'the wise made (lit. chiselled) seven limits; the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful'. The *Nirukta* (VI. 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a *brāhmaṇa*, murder of a *bhrūpa*, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter'. *Rg.* VII. 86. 6 quoted above (in n. 17) makes it clear that drinking *surā* and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the *Tai.* S. II. 5. 1. 2, V. 3. 12. 1-2, *Sat. Br.* XIII. 3. 1. 1. and other *Brāhmaṇa* texts it appears that the murder of a *brāhmaṇa* was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the *Kāthaka saṁhitā* (31. 7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सप्त मर्षाद्याः कषयस्ततस्तुस्तासामेकानिद्वयं द्वयो जातम् । ऋ. X. 5.6, सप्त एव मर्षाद्याः कषयश्चक्षुः । तासामेकामपि अधिगच्छन् हस्वान् भवति । त्वेवं तत्पारोह्यं ब्रह्महत्यां ब्रजहत्यां दुराणान् पुण्यकृतस्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेनां पालके अदुतोद्यति । निबन्ध VI. 27.

heinous as killing a bhrūpa which is even worse than brāhmaṇa murder)²². The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryābhyūḍita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhinimrukta (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, *agradidhuṣu* (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmaṇa.²³ It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5, 12, 22 where it is²⁴ said that though

22. Bhrūpahan is either a killer of a learned brāhmaṇa or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 148n and vol. III, p. 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap. 20. 13-16 and Deut. 5. 17-20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देवा आप्येवसृजत । आप्या असृजतः सूर्याभ्युदिते । सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिरुक्ते । सूर्याभिनिरुक्तः कुलास्त्रिणि । कुलास्त्री ह्यावदति । इयान्द्वयविधिषौ । अग्रविधिषुः परिविसे । परिवित्तो वीरहाणि । वीरहा ब्रह्महानि । तद् ब्रह्महणं नात्यच्यवत् । तै. ब्रा. III. 2. 8.11. In the corresponding story in the काठकसंहिता (31.7) we read ह्यावदन्परिवित्ते परिवित्तः परिविविधाने परिविविधानोऽग्रेविधिषा अग्रेविधिषुविधिषूपतौ विधिषूपतिर्वीरहाणि...ब्रह्महानि ब्रह्महा ब्रूहानि ब्रूणहमनेने नात्येति । The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI. 113). The germ of it is found in Rg. VIII. 47.13 quoted above in n. 13.

24. अभिनिरुक्ताभ्युदित—कुलास्त्रिणां विधिषु—विधिषूपतिपर्याहितपरीह—परिवित्त—परिवित्त—परिविविधानेऽपि सोमरोत्तरस्मिन्नाद्यधिकारमिर्वंशो गरीयान् गरीयान् । आप. II. 5. 12 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. परिवित्त and परिवित्त often mean the same thing (viz. an elder brother before whom a younger brother marries or consecrates sacrificial fires). Vide Manu III. 171-172. Acc. to Manu III. 173 a didhīpātī is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of *niyoga*. परिविविधान is the same as परिवित्त. अग्रेविधिषु or-त् is explained by Devala and by Aparārka p. 451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and विधिषु or विधिषु is the elder sister who is thus superseded by a younger one. In Āp. the word पति is to be connected with both अग्रेविधिषु and विधिषु. The Amarakośa explains विधिषु differently. शङ्करस्मृति (17. 43-44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty. परिवित्तः परिवित्तः पया च परिवित्तः । अतः संवत्सरं कुर्वाणोपाजकपञ्चमः ॥

these actions are not to be styled *pataniyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp. adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br. viz. *didhiṣupati* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhita* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivividāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivinna* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad²⁵ (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the *guru*'s bed, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Br. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a *bhrūṇa*.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *pataniya* (those that cause loss of caste), *atucakara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.7-11) states that *pataniya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhiśasta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one's father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one's female *guru* (mother &c.) or with the female friend of one's *guru* (father &c.) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*adharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a *guru* is not a *pataniya* sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 12-18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with *sūdras*, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a *sūdra*, and cohabitation by Ārya men with *apapātra*

25. तदेव श्लोकः । स्तेनो विरप्यस्य सुरां पिबन्श्च युवोस्तत्पुत्रमापन्नश्च ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति
अन्तरः पञ्चमश्वानरेस्ते ॥ इति । ज्ञ. उप. V. 10.9.

women.²⁶ According to some, those acts that are declared to be *atucikara* are also *patanīyas*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also *atucikara*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24.6-9) enumerates those who are *abhitasta*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mere brāhmaṇa (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmaṇa even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātreṣī* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides²⁷ sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enasvins*, those guilty of *mahāpātakas* and those guilty of *upapātakas* (I. 19-23). Among those who are styled *enasvinaḥ* are those mentioned in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmojija', who is included among 'patanīyas' by Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enasvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4-12 special *prāyaścittas* for each of these 'enasvinaḥ' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The *Mahāpātakas* (mortal sins) according to Vasiṣṭha are five, viz (violating) a *guru's* bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a *bhrūṇa* (a learned brāhmaṇa), stealing gold from a brāhmaṇa and associating with a *putila*. Those guilty of *upapātakas* (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a *guru*, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra²⁸ (II. 1) divides sins into *patanīya*, *upapātaka* and *atucikara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmaṇa or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

26. For the meaning of *apapātra* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785a. For the meaning of *ātreṣī*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.

27. सूर्याभिवृद्धिः सूर्याभिनिवृत्तिः कुनकी इषावदन्तः परित्यक्तिः परित्यक्त्यदिधिगृहीतये-
पूततिर्गिरिः ब्रह्मोजिह्व इत्येवमित्येति । पञ्च महापातकाऽप्यत्र उक्ते । सुकृतस्य सुरापानं ब्रणहत्या
ब्राह्मणसुवर्णपहरणं पतितसंयोगश्च ब्राह्मणेन वा यौनेन वा । ... योगमीनपरिधेयद्वयं च यः प्रति-
बुध्ययात्तास्तिको नास्तिक इति । सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि । वसिष्ठ I. 19-23.

28. अथ पतनीयानि । सद्यस्संयामय । ब्रह्मस्वयसापहरणम् । भूम्यवृत्तम् । सर्व-
पपयैर्यपहरणम् । सुद्वसेवणम् । सुद्राभिजननम् । तदुपस्यत्वं च । ... अपोपपातकानि ।
अव्ययागमनं क्षणीसर्त्री सुकृतस्त्रीनययात्रां पतितां गत्वा भेषजकरणं ग्रामयाजनं रङ्गोपजीवनं
नाट्याचार्यता गोमहिषीरक्षणं यज्ञान्पद्वयेनं युक्तं कन्यादूषणमिति । ... अपाङ्गाविक्रानि ।
पतमभिचारोऽनादितान्मेवञ्छुतिर्ते समावृत्तस्य यैश्चार्वा तरय चैव सुकृते वास ऊर्ध्व
चतुर्थो मासेऽयस्सत्य चाप्यापनं नक्षत्रनिर्देशयेति । बी. ध. व. II. 1.50-56, 60-61, 63-64.

regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the śūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her²⁹. The upapātakas, acc. to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60-61), are: intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female *guru* or with the female friend of a male *guru* or with an *apapātra* woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes³⁰ and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among *asucikara* (causing impurity), Baud. Dh. S. mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleanings fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21. 1-3) appears to include among *patanīyas* the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7, 21. 9-11) and Vasiṣṭha I. 23 (such as *nāstika*) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of *patanīyas*, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss³¹ of caste).

29. That this is the correct translation of Baud., and not the one in S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 218 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Manu III. 16 'ज्ञानकरं सुतेत्यस्या तदपत्यतया भूयोः'. Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son from a śūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bhṛgu condemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas alone. Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as *patanīya* for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Āp. Dh. S. II, 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X. 50, Manu X. 79, Yāj. I. 119. Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha. Vide Gaut. 15. 15-16 for long lists of those brāhmaṇas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. ब्रह्महृत्पापमुदतस्यमातृपितृयोनिस्तन्मन्वागस्तेनयास्तिकानिश्चितकर्माभ्यासि-पतिता-
स्याग्नयपतितस्याग्निः पतिताः । पातकसंयोजकाश्च । तेभ्यस्त्वं समाचरस्व । ... कौटिल्यस्य राज्याग्नि
पेक्षानं दुरोरुताभिर्हंसनं महापातकसमानम् । अपंक्त्यानां प्राहृत्पूर्वादाह गोहन्तुमद्यन-
तन्मन्वाकृद्वचोनिपातितसावित्रीके रूपपातकम् । गौतम 21.1-3, 10-11.

The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or 'grades of sins will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upaniṣad represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut., who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upaniṣad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upaniṣad is later than the Dharma-sūtras of Āp., Gaut., Baud., and Vas.

It appears that Kātyāyana³² divided sinful acts into five classes viz. *mahāpāpa* (mortal sins), *atipāpa* (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), *pātaka* (sins similar to mahāpātakas), *prāsaṅgika* (due to association or contact) and *upapātaka* (minor sins). The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas. Vṛddha-Hārta also (IX. 215-216) speaks of five kinds viz. *mahāpāpa*, *pātaka*, *anupātaka*, *upapāpa* and *prakirṇaka* (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216-218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpātaka are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and *prakirṇaka* sins are the least sinful of all. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (33.3-5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. *atipātaka*, *mahāpātaka*, *anupātaka*, *upapātaka*, *jātibhramśakara* (effecting loss of caste), *saṅkarikarāṇa*, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), *apātrikarāṇa* (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), *malāvaha* (causing defilement) and *prakirṇaka* (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipātaka and anupātaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścittamuktāvali of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one's sister as atipātaka to the three mentioned by Viṣṇu

32. कात्यायनेन तु महापातकसंज्ञानां विष्णुनाह्वयपातकेत्येवमेकानां पातकसंज्ञा दर्शिता ।
नित्य. ०० वा. III. 242. ; महापातकाह्वयानि वापान्मुक्तानि यानि तु । तानि पातकसंज्ञानि
ब्रूते चोपपातकम् । अथर्ववेदपुराण (ब्राह्मण 190.9.)

Hārīta Dh. S. (it appears) quoted by the Mit. knew³³ of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if *atipātaka* in Hārīta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka. Manu (in chap. XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra except atipātakas. Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up. (quoted on p. 12) viz. brāhmaṇa murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brāhmaṇa's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a *guru* and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year³⁴). Vide Vas. I. 19-20, Manu XI. 55, 180, Yaj. III. 227, 261, Viṣṇudharmaśūtra 35.1-5, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Viṣṇudharmaśūtra chap. 36. The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smṛtis is found in Manu, Yaj and Viṣṇu. There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points. For example, Manu³⁵ XI. 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking *surū*; while Yaj. III. 228 states that three out of these (viz. reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a *guru* by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brāhmaṇa. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins.

33. दत्तु हारितेनोक्तं—महापातकानि पातकाऽनुपातकोपातकानामेकतममेव संनिपाते ऋग्वेदमर्चनेनैव त्रिजपेत्—इति तन्निमित्तकर्तुं विचर्यन् । मिता. on वा. III. 301, in मा. प्रकाश (folio 69a) हारित is quoted as follows: 'एषाविधमनुभवं भवति माताङ्गिकोपातकापातकमहापातकात्यन्तपातकानि' and it is remarked (folio 69 b) 'माताङ्गिकपदेन जातिप्रकाशकानि परिशेषाद् गृह्यन्ते.'

34. In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali mentions at least three of these five: 'यो हि अज्ञानेनैवाङ्गणं हन्यात्सुरा वा पिबेत्सोऽपि मर्त्ये पतितः स्यात् । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 2; ध्वंसते सुकृतस्पृगः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 103; इषलक्षणेन । अद्वयं पलाण्डुना सुरा पिबेत् । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 419 on वार्तिक 4 on वा. V. 3.66. In the Khoh copperplate of the Gupta year 214 (533-34 A. D.) it was stated that whoever interfered with the gift would incur the five mahāpātakas and the upapātakas (Gupta Inscriptions p. 135).

35. ब्रह्मोक्तता वेदान्त्वा कौटसादयं सुदृढयः । गरीतानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि बद्धं ॥ मनु XI. 56. ; ब्रह्मणामध्याधिक्यो वेदान्त्वा सुदृढयः । ब्रह्महरपातनं ज्ञेयमधीतस्य च नाशनम् ॥ वा. III. 228. मेधातिथि explains: 'गरीतं शास्त्रमतिविद्धं लक्षणादि । अनाद्यमनस्तद्विकरं न मोक्ष इति कल्प्य (सङ्कल्प्य) वस्तु ज्यते' ; compare नीतम 21.10 कौटसादयं राजगामि पैष्ठुनं सुरोरुत्तानाभिर्जंसनानेति महापातकसमानि ।

It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahāpātakaś and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (*kāmataḥ*) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (*sakṛt*) or done repeatedly (*asakṛt*)

Brahmahatyā. Hatyā or *vadha* (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.³⁶ The *Agnipurāṇa* (173. 1), the *Mit.*, the *Prāyaścittaviveka* (p. 47) and other works define what is meant by *vadha*. A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmaṇa in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i. e. he becomes the *kartā*), he may incite another to kill (*prayojaka*) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (*anumanta*), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (*anugrahaka*) and by becoming a *nimitta*.³⁷

The *Mit.* on *Yaj.* III. 227 and 243 (quoting verses from *Paithinasi*) explains all these at length. For the definition of *anugrahaka* it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on *Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1-2* 'He who³⁸ instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

36. हन्तिर्ब्रह्मण्यवियोगकरणे व्यापारे कृत्तः । बहुव्यापारसमन्तरं कालान्तरे वा कारणा-
न्तरनिरपेक्षः प्राणवियोगो भवति स ब्राह्मणं हतवानिति ब्रह्महत्या । *मिता.* on *पा.* III. 227 ;
हत्याप्राणवियोगकालो व्यापारो हननं स्मृतम् । *अग्निपु.* 173.1; quoted by *शाय-तत्त्व* p. 519.

37. बहिर्ब्रह्मण्यवियोगं कर्ता प्रयोजकोऽनुमन्ताद्युपाह्वो निमित्ती चेति । *शाय-ति.* p. 47 ;
अनुपाह्वकश्च यः पलायमानमभिप्रायपक्षे परेऽप्यथ हन्तारं परिरक्ष्य हन्तामहिमानमुपजनयन्
पकरोति स उपयते । अत एव मनुना ब्राह्मणस्य हितफलसम्बन्धो दृष्टितः । बहुनामेकार्थानां
सर्वेषां ब्रह्महत्याभिः । यद्येको वातयेद्यत्र सर्वे ते वातकाः स्मृताः ॥ इति । *मिता.* on *पा.* III. 227.
The verse बहुनामेका occurs in *अग्निपु.* 173.3.

38. प्रयोजकविता मन्ता कर्तोऽपि स्वर्गनरकाकलेषु कर्तुं भवितुः । यो भूय आरभते तस्मिन्
फलविशेषः ॥ *आप. ध. सू.* II. 11. 29. 1-2.

the accomplishment of the act obtains a greater share of the results'. A *nimittin*³⁹ is defined by Mit. as one that angers another (who is a *brāhmaṇa*) by rebuking or beating or depriving him of wealth and the like and in whose presence and on account of whom the *brāhmaṇa* that is angered kills himself. The Mit. quotes a verse of Viṣṇu and also another verse (without name) on this point. If a person kills a *brāhmaṇa* boy whose *upanayana* had not been performed he was yet regarded as guilty of *brāhmaṇa* murder.⁴⁰ The *Sāmavidhāna Br.* I. 7. 5, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 6-9), Vas. 20. 34, Manu XI. 87, Yāj. III. 251 held that killing even a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* who had studied the Veda or had been initiated for a *soma* sacrifice rendered the killer guilty of *brahmahatyā*, as also the killing of the foetus (of *brāhmaṇa* parents) whose sex was unknown and of a woman who was an *ātreya*.⁴¹ Killing a *brāhmaṇa* woman other than an *ātreya* or other than the wife of a sacrificer engaged in a *soma* sacrifice was only an *upapātaka*, as Manu (XI. 66) and Yāj. (III. 236) lay down. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 264 says that no *prāyaścitta* can expiate the sin of killing a woman intentionally. In the case of the three *varṇas* other than that of *brāhmaṇa* some *smṛtis* like that of Cyavana⁴² laid down other *mahāpātakas* in addition to the five, viz. punishing one who should not be punished and fleeing from the battle-field are additional *mahāpātakas* for *kṣatriyas*, employing false balances and weights for *vaiśyas*, the selling of flesh, injuring a *brāhmaṇa*, sexual intercourse with a *brāhmaṇa* woman, the drinking of the

39. तथा योषि भर्त्सनतश्चनयनापहारादिना परान्कोपयति सोऽपि मरणहेतुमृतमप्युत्पादनद्वारेण हिंसाहेतुर्मन्यते। अत एव विष्णुनोक्तम्। आकुरुतास्त्रितो वापि धर्मो विमोक्षितः। बहुविधं त्यजेत् प्राणांस्तमाहुर्महापातकम् ॥ तथा। ज्ञातिभिश्चकलत्रार्थं ब्रह्मोपाधमेव च। बहुविधं त्यजेत्प्राणांस्तमाहुर्महापातकम् ॥ इति। The प्राय. वि. p. 57 ascribes the first verse to बहुविधमृतम् and the 2nd to ब्रह्महत्या and cites two more verses of similar import from Brhaspati. The बृहति. (पार.) p. 862 ascribes both verses to विष्णु and quotes similar verses from सुमन्तु. The verse आकुरु is almost the same as अग्नि. 173.4.

40. अत्र ब्राह्मणवधे संकृतवाचिद्विजयहरं केनाप्ययुक्तत्वात् सर्वैर्द्विभिर्ब्राह्मणवधस्यैव प्रयोगात्तत्र च अतिवचनत्वात् अनुपनीतब्राह्मणवधेऽपि महापातकम्। प्राय. वि. p. 86.

41. पूर्वयोर्वैर्षयोर्वैद्याणां हत्या सवर्गगतं वामिजस्तः। ब्राह्मणवार्धं च। गर्भं च तस्या विज्ञातम्। आचर्यो च क्षियम्। आप. ध. दृ. I. 9.24 6-9; राजसूयवेदो सवर्गमती हत्या ब्राह्मणवधकत्वेन ब्रह्महत्यावद्भास्यम्। सत्यविधानम्. I. 7.5.

42. क्षत्रियादीनामपरमये महापातकमाह चवचनः। ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं सुवैतस्य ब्राह्मणदुर्वैरणं विज्ञानं महापातकानि। अहण्डवद्वचनं पुत्रि पलायनं क्षत्रिवधः। मानमुदाहृतत्वं वैधव्यं। मत्स्यविह्वलं ब्रह्महत्या ब्राह्मणीकर्म कपिताहुम्वचनं ब्रह्मरूप। क्षीपकालिका on वा. III. 227.

milk of a *kapilā* (dark-brown) cow in the case of *śūdras*. If a *brāhmaṇa* or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin.⁴³ But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yaj. II. 242 prescribed various punishments. If a *brāhmaṇa* administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*.⁴⁴ Gautama (II. 48-50), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29-30, Manu VIII. 299-300 (= *Mateyapurāṇa* 227. 152-154), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81-82, Nārada (*abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā* 13-14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII. 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 362-363 for this topic.

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval *Dharmaśāstra* writers is whether a man can kill a *brāhmaṇa ātātāyin* in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 148-151 and vol. III pp. 517-518. The conclusion of the *Mitākṣarā* appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a *brāhmaṇa* comes as an *ātātāyin* (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wresting a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the *brāhmaṇa* offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death), the

43. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विधे न पातकम् । वा. III. 284; औषधं स्नेहमाहारं द्रवहो-
माहणादिषु । दीयमाने विपत्तिः स्वाद्य स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवत् 138 (The Ānand. ed. reads
last pāda as पुण्यमेव न पातकम्) q. by विश्वकर्म on वा. III. 262, by the मित्ता. on वा.
III. 227 (with two more verses), by श्रव. वि. p 56 (reads second half as प्राणिनां
प्राणवृत्तपर्यं यावद्विदितं न विद्यते). The same verse occurs in यम 50, लघुश्रुत 61, लघु-
हरित 28. The मित्ता. and श्रव. वि. quote another verse as संवत्'s which is 'वाह्येष्ट-
सिराभेदयत्नैरपकुर्वताम् । प्राणसंवाप्तासिद्धयर्थं यावद्विदितं न विद्यते' ॥ The अग्निपुराण
173.5 has 'औषधाद्युपकारे तु न पापं स्यात् कृते मृते । पुत्रं शिष्यं तथा भार्यं ज्ञासतो न मृते
ह्यप्यम् ॥'

44. पुत्रः शिष्यस्तथा भार्यं ज्ञातितथेहि नश्यति । न ज्ञास्ता तत्र ह्येव लिप्यते देव-
लक्ष्मणम् ॥ अश्वत्थपु. q. by श्रव. वि. p. 58; आश्व. 173.5 is similar.

defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brāhmaṇa's murder).⁴⁵

Surāpāna (drinking of *surā*) has been held to be a mahā-pātaṭaka. The word *surā* occurs several times in the Rgveda (e. g. Rg. I. 116.7, I. 191.10, VII. 86.6, VIII. 2.12, X. 107.9). Rg. VII. 86.6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that *surā* was looked upon by the Rgvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling. Rg. I. 116.7 (*śatam kumbhān asiñcatam surāyāḥ*) read with Rg. I. 117.6 (*śatam...madhūnām*) implies that madhu (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing *surā*. Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brāhmaṇa priests and was sharply distinguished from *surā* (e. g. in Tai. S. II.5. 1.1, Vāj. S. 19.7, Śat. Br. V. 1. 5.28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis 'soma is truth, prosperity, light; and *surā* is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kāthaka Samhitā brāhmaṇas had come to regard the drinking of *surā* as very sinful [XII. 12 'therefore the brāhmaṇa does not drink *surā* (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin'].⁴⁶ The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of *surā* as a *patita*, while in V. 11.5 king⁴⁷ Aśvapati Kaikeya makes the boast before the five learned brāhmaṇas that had come to him for the knowledge of *Ātman Vaitvānara* that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of *madya*. Though Manu XI. 54 enumerates the drinking of *surā* among the five mahāpātaṭakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the *madyapa* (drinker of *madya*) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by *surā* and when *surāpāna* becomes a mahāpātaṭaka. By Manu XI. 93 *surā* is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that *surā* is of three kinds, viz. that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from madhūka flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about *surā* in many of the digests and the propositions

45. अतश्च ब्राह्मणाश्च आततायिनश्चः आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसायमित्यान्धिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विपक्षैरेस्तत्र लज्जामाप्सितं राजदण्डाभावाच्चेति निश्चयः । मिता. on II. 21.

46. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संबुद्ध्या इति । काठक XII. 12 q. by the तन्त्रशास्त्रिक on जे. I. 3.7 p. 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4.31.

47. स इ प्रतः सज्जिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कश्चिर्न न मयपो नामाहिताग्नि-
नापिहान स्तेरि स्तेरिणी कुतः ... । छा. उ. V. 11.5.

established by most of them are⁴⁸: (1) that all the three higher varṇas are forbidden to drink the surā prepared from flour and drinking it is a grave sin (mahāpātaka) in the case of anyone belonging to the three first varṇas; (2) All intoxicants (*madya*) are forbidden to brāhmaṇas at all stages of life (Gaut. II. 25 'madyam nityam brāhmaṇaḥ' and Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17-21); but a brāhmaṇa drinking surā of the gaudī or mādhvī kind would not be guilty of mahāpātaka but of anupātaka (acc. to Viṣṇu); (3) that intoxicants other than surā prepared from flour are not condemned for kṣatriyas and vaiśyas; (4) the śūdra was not forbidden to drink any kind of intoxicant (including surā made from flour); (5) brahmachārin of all varṇas studying the Veda had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 83-84) specifies ten kinds of madya (intoxicants) prepared from dates, jack fruit, cocoanuts, sugarcane &c. and Pulastya quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 253, by the Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadēva (p. 40), the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi (p. 90), Pr. Prakāśa (folio 69 b) refers to eleven kinds of *madyas* apart from *surā* (dvādaśaṃ to surāmadyam sarveṣāṃ adhamam smṛtam). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 964-966 for further discussion on intoxicating drinks.

The Mit. points out (on Yaj. III. 253) that the prohibition against drinking surā applies to boys who have not yet been invested with the sacred thread and also to unmarried girls, since Manu XI. 93 makes no distinction of sex but only forbids to the three first castes the drinking of surā and since the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa⁴⁹ expressly forbids to a brāhmaṇa female the drinking of *surā*. The Kalpataru appears to have held otherwise. But a woman and a minor had to undergo lesser prāyaścitta as will be shown below. Vas. 21. 11 and Yaj. III. 256 state that the wife of a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya who drinks surā (made from flour) would not reach the worlds of her husband and she

48. अयमज्ञायः । वैश्वजिकानां तु त्वत्तिमयति वैशीयतिवेधः । ब्राह्मणस्य तु मद्यमात्र-
निषेधोऽस्त्यतिमयत्तरेव । राजस्य वैश्वयोस्तु न कदाचिदपि नौष्ठादिसमयतिवेधः । शूद्रस्य न
तु त्वत्तिमयो नापि मद्यमतिवेधः ॥ मिता. on वा. III. 253; वैशीयस्य निषेधमस्ति कविनामो
स्तु त्वत्तिमयत्तरेव । इत्यामनेव वैश्वजिकस्य मद्यमात्रकम् । जीहीमाधीश्वरापाने तु ब्राह्मणस्य
वैशीयानमद्ये प्राप्यति ॥ अत्रियवैश्वयोस्तु तत्त्वाने न शोच इति । अथ. यक. p. 42

49. तथा भविष्ये । तस्मात्त एव विवेकं शूरास्यं कथञ्चन । एतेनाहुतेतिमस्य कुमारिका-
पत्र्य शोभाभागे द्विजमृगादिति वदन् कल्पतवः परास्तः । वा. प्रकाश folio 70 b. The
word द्विज occurs in मनु XI. 90. ब्राह्मण्यपि न वेदा वै शूरा पापमयावहा ॥ माय. नि. p. 92.

would become in this world a bitch or a sow⁵⁰. The Mit. remarks⁵¹ on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā, even the śūdra wife of a brāhmaṇa should not drink surā.

Drinking *surū* means taking it down the throat. Therefore if a man's lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no *drinking* of surā (i. e. no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā⁵².

Steaya (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentaries the theft must be of a brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain quantity. *Steaya* is defined by Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 1 as⁵³ 'a man becomes a thief by coveting another's property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner's consent)'. Kātyāyana (810) defines⁵⁴ it as 'depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft'. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II, 30 defines steaya as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the śāstras (steयमाशāstra-pūrvakam dravyānām parataḥ śvikaraṇam). Though Manu (XI 54) and Yāj. (III, 227) simply employ the word 'steaya' (theft) or 'stena' (thief) yet in speaking of the prāyaścitta

50. वा ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी न तं देवः पतिलोकं नयन्तीति सा चरति क्षीणपुष्पाच्छुग्धभवति क्षुत्किं वा । वसिष्ठ 21.11. This is cited as क्षुति in ग्राय. वि. p. 92 and these very words occur in the महाभाष्य on पालिक 1-2 on पाणिनि III. 2.8 'वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति तैनां देवः पतिलोकं नयन्ति' vol. II p. 99 (the पालिकs are सुरा-सीच्योः पिबतेः । बहुलं तानि ।)

51. ब्राह्मणीद्वहो चात्र 'तिष्ठो वर्णाशुपुर्व्वेभ्यः' इति स्वायेन यस्य द्विजातेर्योवत्त्वं भार्यास्तासामुपलक्षणम् । अत एव मनुः । पतरर्च्यं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरां पिबेत् । पतिनाश-शरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते । इति ।... द्विजातिभार्यायाः शुद्धाया अपि सुरापानेतिषेधमाश्रयम् । मिता. on वा. III, 256. The verse एतत्पद्यं is not found in मनु, but is वसिष्ठ 21.15 and पराशर X.27.

52. धानं च द्वयीभूतस्याभ्यवहारः स च कण्ठदेशादुद्योनेन न तु वक्त्रमात्रप्रवेशः । मिर्द्धितमाद्यैः कपोलधारणे पानज्ञानाययोगात् ।...अत एवोष्ठमात्रे लेपे न पाननिषेधः । अतस्त-पोलमाह्वयार्थमावशिष्यम् । ग्राय. वि. p. 93.

53. यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमुख्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतो तथा काण्व-पुष्करसाक्षी ।...सर्व्वप्राप्तुमितिपूर्व्वमिति हारीतः । आप. ध. सू. I, 10.28.1 and 5.

54. प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा मिज्ञायामन्वा विवा । उत्तरद्वयवचनं स्तेर्यं सत्यरिक्तिर्नित्यम् । कात्या. 810, q. by कायभाष्य p. 224 and ग्राय. वि. p. 112; समक्षं वा परोक्षं वा बलाञ्छो-र्व्वेण वा द्रुमः । परस्वानादुपादानं स्तेरमित्युच्यते द्रुमेः । इत्यतः q. by स्मृतिह. (या.) p. 883; स्तेनो विमर्शमिच्छकोष्ठमावपुर्निमित्तव हेमन्च्छलबलचौर्यान्वतरेरपहर्ता । या. प्रकाश folia. 70 b.

(the bed i. e. wife of the *guru*). *Guru* primarily means acc. to Manu II.142 and Yāj. I 34 (=Śaṅkha III.2) the father. Acc. to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst *gurus* while some say that the mother is so'. Samivarta⁵⁷ 160 and Parāśara X. 13 (employing the words 'pitṛdārān samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of *guru* here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yāj. III, 259. Acc. to many digests such as the Mit. and the Madanapārijāta p. 835 *gurvaṅganā* means one's own mother. Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 80) takes *gurvaṅganā*⁵⁸ as a *karmadhāraya* compound, following what is called the *niṣādasthapati-nyūya* (Jai. VI. 1. 51). After quoting Devala's dictum⁵⁹ that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as *gurus*, and adverting to the way in which the word 'gurvaṅganā' is explained by the Pr. Prakaraṇa, the Prāyaścitta-vivēka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakaraṇa and holds that 'gurvaṅganā' or 'gurupatni' means not only one's mother but also one's step-mother of the same *varga* as the father. The Madanapārijāta (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr. V. The Pr. M, p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa) and also with the Pr. V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one's Vedic teacher's wife was also a

57. पितृवर्गस्य समाहृत्य मातृवर्गं वराधमः । भगिनीं मातृवर्गां च स्वतारं चाप्यमातृवर्गम् ॥ एतास्त्रिंशः स्त्रियो ज्ञेया तत्तदुक्तं समाचरेत् । सर्वसं 159-160, 'हृदयान्ध्याय हृदयया हृदया पितरि वर्तेते ।... अतः पितृवर्गस्य मममेव महापातकम् । मममेव च चरममातृवर्गस्य पर्यन्तं कथ्यते । अतस्ततोऽर्थात् मिथुनी न महापातकित्यम् । मिला. ०० वा. III, 259.

58. तेन हृदी (हृदः!) चासौ अङ्गुष्ठा चेति कर्मधारयसमासात् स्वमातृवर्गश्च एवार्थं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षयः । न तु हृदोरङ्गुष्ठा हृदङ्गुष्ठा इति कृतीसमासात् सपत्नीमातृवर्गश्चोऽपि ।... तेन निषाद-स्थपतिं पाजयेत् इति वत् कर्मधारयसमासे स्वमातृवर्गश्च एवार्थं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षयः । श्रव. मकरज p. 80; मकर ०० जे. VI. 1. 51 says 'समानाधिकार्यसमासस्तु कृतीयात् ।... तस्मात् निषाद एव स्थपतिः स्यात् । (and not निषादानां स्थपतिः). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 46 for निषादस्थपतिरित्याद्य.

59. तथा देवतः । आचार्यश्च पिता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता चैव गृहीयति । मातुलः स्वसुरभ्राता मातामहापितामही । कर्णज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च पुंस्त्वेते हृदयो ज्ञाताः । भ्राता भ्रातरक्षकः । कर्णज्येष्ठः क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मणः । श्रव. वि. p 129; यद्यपि देवतवचनेनैव एकाङ्ग्यं हृदयो वृत्तितत्त्वात्पञ्च पितृव्यं हृदयोऽसौ नाचार्यादिः ।... मातृवर्गमनरथातिपातकत्वात् सपत्नीमातृवर्गमनरथं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षयमनरथेन महापातकम् अर्थात्तु पातके लज्जुनि हीनवर्णायाः पितृव्यस्या ब्रह्मणः । श्रव. वि. pp 134-135. ... तस्मात् मातृवर्गसिरेकाङ्ग्यं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षयमनरथे महापातकमिति पुंस्त्वेते देवतवचनमिति । अत्र अवदेनेनात्मा मात्रं हृदोरङ्गुष्ठा हृदङ्गुष्ठा इति कृतीसमासेः तदुक्तसमासाभ्यामेव निषादस्थपतिवत्तदुक्तसमासाभ्यामेव । अतो हृदयवर्गस्य हृदङ्गुष्ठा चेति कर्मधारयः । हृदयं च मातृवर्गं न मातुलः सपत्न्याः । ... तद्वत्स्यते मातृवर्गमनं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षयं सपत्न्यामनरथ-रथातिपातकमिति विष्णुधारीत्याम् । मातृवर्गमनरथातिपातकत्वाभिधानात् । यद्यपि देवतवचनेनैव एकाङ्ग्यं हृदयो वृत्तितत्त्वात्पञ्च पितृव्यं हृदयोऽसौ नाचार्यादिसपत्नीवर्गमनरथं हृदयस्थमनरथ-मातृवर्गस्येति हृदयवर्गस्येति । श्रव. वि. pp 129-134.

mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III. 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpagamana* to intercourse with one's teacher's wife, or one's daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutalpa* was primarily meant to include the teacher's wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 ('the ācārya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so'), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 31. 1-2 'three persons are *atigurus* (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the ācārya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134-135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the ācārya and others and that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36. 4-8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an anupātaka.

Mahāpātakaśamsarga—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21-22, Manu XI. 180 (= Śāntiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35.3, Agnipurāṇa 170. 1-2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka⁶⁰ and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i. e. a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *paṭita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that is *paṭita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Bṛhaspati speaks⁶¹

60. तैत्तिरीय समाचारम् ॥ नो. 21.3; संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचारम् । वाजना-
द्यापनाद्यौनात् तु याजासनाज्ञात् ॥ मनु XI. 180, बसिष्ठ I. 22, नो. ध. सू. II. 1.88, विष्णु
35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्निव्यु. 170. 1-2.

61. एकशस्यासनं पङ्क्तिर्भोज्यपकाशमिभ्रणम् ॥ वाजनाद्यापने योनिस्तथा च सह-
भोजनम् ॥ नवधा सङ्करः योको न कर्तव्योऽधमेः सह ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 1086,
बृह. र. 587, माय. प्रकरण p. 101, माय. नि. p. 143; the निता on III 261 as-
cribes it to बृहस्पति. The माय. म. p. 91 explains the divergence of views as
to योनिः, 'योनिः पातकिने कस्याद्यानं तत्कस्यापरिणयनं चेति विज्ञानेभ्यश्चरकल्पतत्काराद्यः ।
पातकिनीयमममित्यपरार्कसुलपानी । योगपरित्यागात्तद्वेदेन युक्तम् ।' The मा. प्रकाश folio
74a also says the same.

of nine kinds of *samsarga* (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner's cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one's sacrificial priest, being the sinner's teacher of the Veda or employing him as one's teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that *samsarga* is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. *yonisambandha* (marriage), *srauva* (i. e. that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), *maukha* (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (*ekāmatrabhojana*); the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet; eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (*sahādhyayana*). The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c. *Adhyāpana* in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also *yājana* must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as *Darsapūrṇamāsa*, *Cāturmāsya*, *Agnistoma*. Helping a *mahāpātakīn* to perform the five daily *yajñas* or teaching him the *aṅgas* (metrics, grammar etc.) and the *śāstras* is only a minor sin. Parāśara⁶² (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 261, the Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 145), the Par. M. (II. part 1. p. 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become *patita* one must simultaneously practise these four together; if practised separately, there is no *pātitya* but only *doṣa*. Parāśara (I. 25-26) states that in the *Kṛta* age a man became *patita* by speaking with a *patita*, in *Tretā* by touching him, in *Dvāpara* by partaking of food prepared in his house and in *Kali* by actually committing a sinful act and that in the *Kṛta* age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became *patita*), in *Tretā* the village, in *Dvāpara* the family (of the *patita* was abandoned) and in *Kali* only the actual perpetrator himself (is

62. असनाच्छयनावासासम्भावात् सहयोगात् । संक्रामन्ति हि पापानि तैलविष्णु-
रित्यम्बलिः ॥ पराक्षर XII. 79, which is the same as a verse of कण्व q. by परा. मा.
II. 1. p. 28.

abandoned as *patita*). It is clear from this that such contacts with a *patita* as speaking with him,⁶³ touching him or eating food (in the house of a *patita*) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (*karman*) and Parāśara did not include them in the word 'karmaṇā' which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, surāpāna etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under 'karmaṇā' they put two meanings on the word *karman* in Parāśara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some *smṛtis*. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the Mīmāṃsā that the same word conveys only⁶⁴ one sense in the same context. The reasonable inference from the words of Parāśara is that merely touching a *mahāpātakin* or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in *pātitya*. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of *samsarga* in a spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity. For example, the *Smṛtyarthasāra*⁶⁵ (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a *mahāpātakin* has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The *Mit.* (on Yāj. III. 261) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become *patita* is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

63. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । एकयानभोजनासनशयने ॥ यौनश्रीवर्जैरव-
लम्बधात् सद्य एव ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 35. 3-5. यौन (derived from योनि) refers to marital
connection, शौच (derived from शूच a sacrificial ladle) means 'employing as
a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another), शिक (from श्रुत्) means 'teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth). So Viṣṇu pre-
scribes that *pātitya* results at once from the first kind of *samsarga* referred
to above. तत्र पञ्चमहावशादिविषयं याजनं लघु । अङ्गुष्ठाङ्गव्ययं लघु । कुहितृणमिनीपति-
रिक्तो परिणयो लघु ॥ पतितेन सहैकपात्रे अन्नप्यातिरिक्तसत्त्वाद्विभक्षणं लघु ॥ श. प्रकाश
folio 75a.

64. सङ्कटभूतः शङ्कस्तमेवार्थे नमयति ।, which maxim is relied upon in 5 Cal.
119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L. R. 41 I A 290, pp 303-4, 54
All 698, 722 (FB). अग्न्यावश्यानेकार्थत्वम् ॥ शबर on जै. VI. 1.22, मद्. पा. p. 369.

65. महापातकिसंसर्गिसंसर्गे तु तत्संसर्गिजतरपार्थं कुर्यात् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 112.

though it is lesser and lesser⁶⁶. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 109), Pr. V. (pp. 169-170) and the Pr. T. (p. 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *samsarga*. Āpastamba-smṛti⁶⁷ (III, 1-3) states: 'if a cāṇḍāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyana or Parāka for a member of the first three varṇas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man's house should undergo Kṛcchra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛcchra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛcchra is prescribed'. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for prāyaścitta. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator. A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par. M. (II, part 2, p. 90) remarks⁶⁸ that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *samsarga* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

66. अतः संसर्गसंसर्गिणां द्विजातिकर्मयो हानिर्न भवति प्रायश्चित्तं तु भवत्येष...तत्र पादहीनम्...एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमयोरपि कामतः संसर्गिणोरप्यहीनं त्रिपादोर्न च दृश्यम् ॥ मितः. on p. III, 261. प्र. प्रकाश (folio 110a.) finds fault with this and holds on the strength of a verse of Vyāsa 'यो येन संदृज्यते स तदीयमेव प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् तेन द्वितीयसंसर्गि नपादानि कुर्यात् तृतीयस्तु पादानं सप्तद्वानि कुर्यात् । एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमादयः पूर्वापादानं प्यासवाक्याविशेषात् ॥

67. अन्यजातिरविज्ञातो निवसेद्यस्य वेदमनि ॥ स वै ज्ञात्वा तु कालेन कुर्यात्तत्र विशेषधनम् ॥ चान्द्रायणं पराको वा द्विजातिनां विशेषधनम् ॥ राजापर्यं तु सूत्राणां तथा संसर्गदूषणे ॥ येनैतत् भुक्तं पक्कानं कृच्छ्रं तेषां विनिर्दिष्टम् ॥ तेषामपि च वैयर्थ्यं कृच्छ्रपादो विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by प्राय. वि. pp. 170 and 492, प्राय. तत्र p. 547. The verses occur with slight variations in the versified आपस्तम्बस्मृति (Ānaṁ. edition) III, 1-3. The प्राय. वि. p. 169 remarks 'प्यासादिवचने तृतीयसंसर्गपर्यन्तं प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् । तथा चान्दालादिसङ्केते व्यासः ॥ ये तद्व्यासिनी विमाः कृच्छ्रं तेषां विधीयते ॥ तद्भोजिनीऽप्यकृच्छ्रेण तद्व्यासाश्च पादतः ॥

68. आचार्यस्तु कलिपुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नावधात् । अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरे कलौ वर्ज्यनामनुक्रमणे-संसर्गदोषः प्रायेण-हस्त्युक्तः । परा. मा. II, part 2 p. 90. For a severe onslaught against Mādhava, vide धर्महैतानिर्णय (p. 132). The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 77a) explains away Mādhava's emphatic remarks as follows: 'कृते सम्भाषणमात्रात्यतः...कलौ तु कृत्स्नेन निषिद्धकर्मणा याजनादिभिरित्यर्थः । अन्यथा पूर्ववाक्ये कर्तारं तु कलौ व्यसोदित्यनेन साक्षात् कर्मादः संसर्गो निषिद्धः । द्वितीयवाक्ये तु कलौ पतति कर्मणेत्यनेन साक्षात्कर्तुर्न दोषोऽन संसर्गकर्तुरिति परस्परविरोधः स्यात् । एवं च माधवस्य कलौ संसर्गदोषाभावोक्तेरत्रैव तात्पर्यम् । तथा च कलिनिषिद्धेषु संसर्गदोषे हस्त्युक्तिः पातकिना सह पूर्वोक्तयाजनाद्यमेकविधसंसर्गमाभावेपि यो देशादिमात्रसंसर्गः कृतपुगादौ दोषजनकत्वेनोक्तः पाराशरपूर्वश्लोके पश्चीत्तरश्लोके कृतपुगादौ सम्भाषणमात्रादोष उक्तस्तद्विषया ॥

there is no blemish of samsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kali age (*Kali-varjya*) another smṛti includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a *Kalivarjya*). The Smṛtimuktāphala (*Prāyaścitta* pp. 897-98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point⁶⁹. The *Nirṇayasindhu*⁷⁰ holds that though there is blame in association with a *patita* the associator does not himself become *patita*. As Yaj III, 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pāṇini, to be used only when there is '*atyantasamyoḡa*' of time and space (distance) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word 'sārvakālikam' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the smṛtis extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yaj. III, 251 expressly states that one who kills a kṣatriya or vaiśya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreya woman has to undergo the same expiation as for brāhmaṇa murder (therefore this is *vācanikātideśa*). Yaj. III 232-233 extends the sin of *gurutaḷpa-gamana* to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother's or father's sister). This is extension by *tādrūpya*. The smṛtis declare many actions as equal to (*sama*) mahāpātakas in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is *atideśa* by *sāmya*. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i. e. half of) what would be prescribed

69. अत एव कलियुगधर्माभिधाने प्रवृत्ताः पराशरः ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकचतुष्टयस्य प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तवान् कलियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिधेयं संसर्गमवस्थितं नाप्यधात् । कर्मण एव पातित्यहेतुत्वम् । तथा कर्मणा पातित्यं कण्ठरवेणाह पराशरः (1.25) 'कृते संभावणादेव ... कलौ पतति कर्मणा #... इति । ... स्मृतिकामधेनो । संसर्गदोषो नैव स्यान्महापातकीभिः कलौ । संसर्गदोषः स्तोमाद्यैर्न महापापानिष्कृतिः । तथा स्मृत्यन्तरे । संसर्गदोषः...प्रापेष्वाति पाठितम् ॥ कलौ संसर्गस्य पापमात्रहेतुत्वम् । संसर्गदोषस्य पातित्यापादकत्वाभावेऽपि पापमात्रापादकत्वमस्तीत्याह पराशरः । स्मृतिः (या.) pp 897-898.

70. कलौ कर्तव्यं लिप्यते इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेऽपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः । निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 368; तत्रापि (पाञ्चबल्कीये) वत्सरमिति द्वितीया वृत्त्ये सा च कालाध्वनो-रव्यन्तसंयोग इत्यव्यन्तसंयोगे स्मृता । अव्यन्तसंयोगश्च वायव्यहोरात्रसम्बन्धः । ...संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहचरन् । भोजनासनशय्यादि कुर्वाणः सार्वकालिकमिति देवलवाक्ये सार्व-कालिकशब्देन द्वितीयाय एवोक्ताः । या. प्रकाश (folio 76 b),

for the mahāpātaka itself⁷¹. And the penance for those that come under *atideśa* of the *vācanika* or *tādrūpya* kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the *sūtras* and the *smṛtis*. Acc. to Gaut. 21. 10 giving⁷² false evidence, hackbiting about another's guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one's *guru* with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI. 55 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one's caste or learning or family (i. e. saying that one is a brāhmaṇa when one is not) for securing prosperity or emineunce are stated to be equal to brāhmaṇa's murder. Acc to Yāj. III. 228 falsely charging one's *guru* is equal to *brahmahatyā* and false statement about one's caste or learning is equal to drinking surā (Yāj. III. 229), while acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 1-3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (*upapātakas*), while giving false evidence is declared by Viṣṇu to be equal to drinking surā (36. 2). No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the divergences of *smṛtis* on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to surāpāna by one *smṛti* and as equal to brāhmaṇa-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to surāpāna. Vide Yāj. III. 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmaṇa's gold. Yāj. III. 230, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5. 383, Agnipurāṇa 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc. to Manu XI. 58 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāṇḍālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

71. अत्र साम्प्रतिदेशोऽर्थं ताद्रूप्याचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम् ॥ प्राय. म. p. 8; vide प्राय. प्रकरण pp. 85-87; एतेनातिदेशो पूर्णमात्राधिक्येन बद्धन्तो ह्युलपाणिमवदेवावपास्तौ । प्राय. म. p. 9; अत्र समस्तमिधानात् शिक्षाचारबलेन पादोनं कल्प्यम् ॥ अक्सिमं ब्राह्मणो राजसमो मन्त्रीपाद्विषु समशब्दस्य किञ्चिन्मूले प्रयोगदर्शनात् ॥ मद्र. पा. p. 808; vide मित्त. on वा. III, 231 for similar words.

72. कौटसादयं राजगामि वैकुण्ठं ह्योरवृत्ताभिर्ज्ञानं महापातकतन्मनि ॥ मौ. 21.10.

be equal to the violation of a guru's bed. Yāj. III. 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sagotra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23. 12 and Manu XI. 170 are very similar. Yāj. III. 232-233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru's bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (*śrīpūrṇasāyoga*, verses 73-75)⁷³ states: "If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one's wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vratā* and a *brāhmaṇa* woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru's bed (i. e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis." These two, Yāj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiation and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a *brāhmaṇa*, since Manu (VIII. 380) prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (36.4-7) adds a few more women to the list of Yāj. and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned *brāhmaṇa* or of one's sacrificial priest or of one's *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the guru⁷⁴ (Yāj. III. 228 or Manu XI. 55 to Yāj. III. 233 or Manu

73. सर्वास्येति सनोत्राभिश्च भार्यास्तु स्त्रियां गवि च मुदतल्पसमः ॥ गौ 23.12; माता मातुष्यता च धर्मादुलानी पितृव्यता । पितृव्यसंज्ञिनिष्पत्तिं भगिनी तत्सर्वा स्त्रिया ॥ द्रुहिताचार्य-भार्या च सनोत्रा शरणागता ॥ राज्ञी प्रज्जिता धार्त्र्या साध्वी वर्णोत्तमा च यः ॥ आसामस्यतां गत्वा मुदतल्पस्य उच्यते ॥ शिश्वस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य माग्वो दण्डो विधीयते ॥ नारद (कौटिल्याय 73-75); compare आप. ध. सू. I. 9.25 (मुदतल्पगामी सद्रुचं शिश्वं परिवार्याजलावाधाय दक्षिणां दक्षिणमाहर्त्ति ब्रजेत्) and गौ. 23.10.

74. एतानि धर्मभिक्षोपाद्वित्तवयसमनपर्वन्तानि महापातकानिद्वेषविधायि सद्यःपतन-हेतुगत्यातकास्तुच्यन्ते ॥ मिता. on च. III. 233,

XI. 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 216-17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 233) and as *anupātakas* by the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (36.8). Gautama⁷⁵ (21.1-2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or *patitas* viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a *patita* or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

Upapātakas (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smṛti to smṛti. Vas. I. 23 speaks⁷⁶ of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one's livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Sātātapa as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1.60-61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states⁷⁷ that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the beld man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śaṅkha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them *upapātaniyas*. The longest lists are contained in Manu XI. 59-66, Yāj. III. 234-242, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 208-210, Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 37 and Agnipurāṇa (168. 29-37). According to the Pr. V. (p. 195)⁷⁸ the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

75. ब्रह्महत्यापत्युक्तत्पनमातृपितृयोनिस्तम्बध्यावस्तेननास्तिकानिश्चितकर्मभ्यामपिपतिता-
त्यागवपतितत्यागिनः पतिताः ॥ पालकस्यैवजायते ॥ नौतम 21.1-2. नौतम 20.1 mentions the
persons whom one should abandon 'त्यजेत्पितरं राजचातकं ब्रह्मपाजकं ब्रह्मार्थपाजकं
वेदविष्ठावकं ब्रूणहणं यन्वाग्यवाकसायिभिः सह संवसेत्पत्यावसायिभ्यां वा ॥

76. षोडशीनपत्रिष्येद् दृष्टं च यः प्रतिद्वन्द्वयान् नास्तिको नास्तिकहन्तिः सोमं च विक्री-
नीयादित्युपपातकानि ॥ वसिष्ठ I. 23.

77. अर्पकस्यानां पातुर्गोलाद्गोहस्तुनह्नाहृतम्बम्बकुद्वकीयिपतितसापित्रीकेषुपातकम् ।
नौ. 21.11. The word *बुर्गोल* occurs in नौ. 15.18.

78. दृष्टं च गोवधादिनास्तिकस्यान्तानि ऊनपञ्चासमुपपातकानि । भाव. वि. p. 195.

come to 49. Those enumerated by Yaj. are set out below⁷⁹ (they are 51 according to Viśvarūpa on Yaj. III. 229-236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz 'sūdrapreṣyam' &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a *vrātya* (i. e. one whose *upanayana* was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brāhmaṇa's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahāpātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and *pitṛs*), not establishing the *śrauta* fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); parivedana (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in *gurutalpaganana* or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i. e. taking more interest than is allowed by the *smṛtis*); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an *ātreya*); killing a *sūdra*; killing a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* (who is not initiated for a *śrauta* sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e. g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brāhmaṇa murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft⁸⁰ of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifice (such as *sūdras* or *vrātyas* &c); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गोषधो ब्राह्मणा स्तेयघ्नानां क्षानपाक्रिया । अनाहिताग्निता वप्यधिक्रयः परिबिघ्नम् ।
 धृतावृष्यमादानं श्रुतकाध्यापनं तथा ॥ पारदार्यं पारिविष्यं वार्युष्यं लवणक्रिया ॥ क्षीरदू-
 द्धिक्षेत्रवधो निम्बितार्योपजीवनम् ॥ नास्तिक्यं ब्रतलोपश्च सुतानां चैव विक्रयः ॥ धार्यकुट्य-
 पक्षुस्तप्यमाश्रयानां च पाजनम् ॥ पितृमातृसुतत्यागस्तद्वापारायविक्रयः ॥ कन्यासन्धूषणं चैव
 परिविन्दकपाजनम् ॥ कन्याप्रदानं तत्सर्वं कौटिल्यं ब्रतलोपनम् ॥ आत्मनोऽर्थे क्रियारम्भो मध्यप-
 क्षीनिषेधेणम् ॥ स्वाध्यायाग्निमुत्तरायानो बान्धववचन एव च ॥ इन्धनार्थं ज्वमच्छेदः क्षीर्हिंसी-
 षाधिजीवनम् । हिंस्यवृत्रविधानं च ह्यसनाभ्यासविक्रयः ॥ सूत्रयेष्यं ह्रीनसत्त्वं ह्रीनयोनिनिषेधणम् ।
 तथैवानामने वासः पराक्रपरिपुडता ॥ असञ्छास्त्राधिगमनमाकरेण्यधिकारिता ॥ आर्याया विक्रय-
 श्वैवामिकेकमुपपातकम् ॥ या. III. 234-242.

80. 'Steal' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka. The mention of the theft of corn &c. here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c. will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to *पितृमातृसुतत्याग* and *बान्धववचन* separately mentioned below.

mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public); ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother; giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to *surāpāna*); giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken⁸¹; cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c., which attitude is condemned by Rg. X. 117, 6 and Manu III. 118); sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine; giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects); not tending one's *śrauta* or *smārta* fire; abandoning one's son⁸²; not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means); cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food⁸³); maintaining one's self on one's wife (i. e. on her immoral earnings or by means of her *stridhana*) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms); setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manu VII. 45-48); selling one's self (as a slave for money); being the servant of a *sūdra*; friendship with low persons; intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four *āśramas*⁸⁴; fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others; studying the works of false *sāstras* (such as those of atheists like *Cārvaṇa*); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife.

81. *Vratatopa* has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an *upapātaka*. Therefore the repetition of 'vratalopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the *mitākara*.

82. In च. III. 237 we have *पितृमातृसुतत्यागः* and then in 239 again *स्वाध्यायाग्निहोतृत्यागः*. Therefore अपराकं p. 1051 explains: 'सुतस्यारक्षणमत्र त्यागः स्वाध्यायाग्निहोतृत्यागसहचर्यात् । पितृमातृसुतत्याग इत्यत्र तु जातकर्मोदितंकाराकरणं हुतस्य त्यागः ।'.

83. पाकादिप्रयोजनाग्निस्तमिन्धनार्थमहुकवृक्षमज्जनं कुमच्छेदः । अपराकं p. 1051.

84. अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेच्च क्षणमेकमपि द्विजः । आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रायश्चित्तयते हि सः ॥ दृक् I. 10; one must belong to one of the four *आश्रमसः*, *ब्रह्मचर्य*, *गार्हस्थ्य*, *वानप्रस्थ* and *संन्यास* and act as would befit that *āśrama*.

The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive. Vas. I. 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enasvinah* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 are *upapātakinah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj. occur in Manu (XI. 59-66), yet some of them such as 'abhicāra' (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), 'mūlakarma' (employment of herbs for bringing under one's control a person) are not noted by Yāj. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *patita* (as provided by Gaut. 21. 1). Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātaka as one 'that may become a pātaka by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice' (*upetya*⁸⁵).

Manu XI. 67 (= Agnipurāṇa 168⁸⁶. 37-38) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38. 1-6 mention certain lapses as 'jātibhraiṇśakara' (that cause the loss of caste) viz. giving pain to a brāhmaṇa (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc. to Viṣṇu). According to Manu XI. 68 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 38-39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *saṅkarikarāṇa* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Viṣṇu 29. 1 says that *saṅkarikarāṇa* is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI. 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV. 84), trading, serving sūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*apatrikarāṇa*). The Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 40. 1. adds 'maintaining one's self by usury' to these. Manu XI. 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating any thing kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāvaha* (which make a man impure). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 41. 1-4 are similar. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42. 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

85. उपपातकसंज्ञायेवमर्थः । उपपद्येन उपेत्य वा सेव्यमानं पातकमेव ह्यवस्थितिः । अर्थाच्च शीतमेव पातकमध्ये निश्चितकर्माभ्यासो वर्तितः । विस्वरूपेण या. III. 229-236. The reference is to शीतम् 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अग्निपुराण reads जैह्वे for जैह्वे in मनु XI.67 and अग्निः 168.39 reads मनुज for मनुष्य.

the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (*prakṛpaka*). Vṛddha-Hārta (IX, 210-215) specifies several lapses as *prakṛpaka* viz. cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food); killing insects, big and small; eating of food that has become uneatable owing to *bhāva*⁸⁷ (i. e. its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or *kāla* (food on *ekādaśī* or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c. or that is stale) or *kriyā* (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a *putra*, *cūṇḍāla* or a dog &c.); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood; over-eating; falsehood; restlessness about pleasures; sleep by day; spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours; eating at another's house; sexual intercourse by day; seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery; looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a *śrāddha* day, on a *purvaṇ* day; service of a *śūdra*; friendship with the low; touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women; talking at random (or love prattle); looking at women that have untied their hair. It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a *śūdra*, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj. under *upapātakas*.

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the Rgveda prayed to the gods, particularly to Aditi, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Adityas and Agni to free them from *āgas* or *enas* etc. They often say that they violated the *dharma*s or the *vratas* (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness. They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they pray: 'whatever ordinance (*vratā*) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (Rg. I 25.2); 'O Varuṇa! whatever transgression we men have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For *मासकृत्*, *कासकृत्* and *क्रियाकृत्* food mentioned in *बृहदारण्यक* IX. 211 vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 771-772.

account of that sin (*enas*), strike us down' (Rg. VII. 89.5)⁸⁸. In Rg. X. 89.8-9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (*dharman*) of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Rg. II. 29.6. In Rg. IX. 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him⁸⁹. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Rg. I. 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Rg. I. 189.2, IV. 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Rg. VIII. 45.40).

In the Rgveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Rg. VII. 86. 4-5, VII. 88. 6-7, VII. 89. 1-4 (where 'mṛṇā suksatra mṛṇaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Rgveda water was supposed to remove sin, e. g. I. 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (*durita*) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed⁹⁰ from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai. S. V. 3. 12 1-2 and the Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aśvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varuṇapraghāsa (one of the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices). In that⁹¹ sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

88. पत्किञ्चैवं वेद्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्चरामसि ॥ अचिन्ती वसव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तत्मावेनसो वेव पीतिवः ॥ ऋ. VII. 89.5

89. विद्रावन्स निष्ठा भुवनाभियन्त्यवाजुडाव विधयति कर्ते अद्रतात् । ऋ. IX. 73.8.

90. सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानमतरकापि वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां वेऽश्वमेधेन वजते । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1-2.

91. एजार्हं सन्तं न मनुष्याभिर्यं ज्ञातिं कथंयात् । असौ मे जाव इति निर्दिशेत् । निर्दिश्येवैनं वज्रपाशेन ग्राहयति । तै. ब्रा. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana śr. V.5. 6-10 'संवार्जनाय मेधितेऽसंखुडे प्रतिमत्याया पत्नीमालेयकाह केन चरसीति । संस्तुतानाच्छे । दृणानि बोद्धव्यमिति यथासंस्तुतम् । अनाकृयातमहितं ज्ञातिग्य इति श्रुतेः । आकृयाते मवासिन इत्येनां वाचयति नयम् ।'. 'मवासिनो हवामहे' is वाज. सं III. 44.

reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vaj. S. III. 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice. If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br. that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e. g. see Keith's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* pp. 260-268).⁹² But this is an over-statement. When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of *Karma* and *Punarjanna* must be well remembered. The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma. The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are as inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds. The theory of karma and

92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11. 2-4 and Matthew 6. 9-13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11.9). This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices. It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11.9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.

the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upaniṣads. The general rule is that *Karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gaut. 19. 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and many other works. 'Because the deed does not perish' Gaut. 93; 'whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)'. This doctrine is based on the Śat. Br. V. 2.2.27, Br. Up. IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III. 14, and V. 3-10, Kāṭha 5. 6-7 and other Upaniṣad texts.

Therefore they say, 'a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.' 'According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful. He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap' (Br. Up. IV. 4. 5); 'a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world' (Chān. Up. III. 14. 1); 'some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge' (Kāṭha Up. 5. 7).⁹⁴

'Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i. e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after crores of years; (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed'.⁹⁵

93. न हि कर्म क्षीयते । गो. ध. सू. 19.5 q. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on वेदान्त-सूत्र IV. 1.13; न तु भोगाद्वृत्ते पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम् । परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निषेधे मे ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 14.17; तस्मात्कृतस्य पापस्य प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ॥ नाशुकस्याभ्यधा नाशः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ अविष्यपुराण I. 19.27.

94. यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन । अधो खल्वानुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति स यथाकामो भवति तत्कृतुर्भवति यत्कृतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुर्वते यत्कर्म तदभिसंपद्यते ॥ बृह. उ. IV. 4.5; अथ खलु कृतमयः पुरुषो यथाकतुरास्मिहोके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति ॥ छा. III. 14.1; योनिमग्न्ये प्रपद्यन्ते क्षरीरत्वाय देहिनिः । एषामुत्सग्न्येऽनुसंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाक्षुतम् ॥ क. उप. 5.7.

95. नाशुकं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म ह्युभाभ्युतम् ॥ इति quoted by गोविन्दानन्द on प्राय. वि. p. 17 and by सावर्ण in his भाष्य on ते. आ. 8.2. In वरा. मा. II part 1 p. 11 the verse is read as अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यम्.

Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2-7 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smṛtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11⁹⁶ (= Vasiṣṭha 22.8) states: 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act).' Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in *prāṇāyāmas* (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'. Manu III. 227 observes: 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gāyatri or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śātātapa I. 4, Samvarta 203, Hārta (q. in Pr. T. p. 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp. 30, 31), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 31.)

Before proceeding with the subject of *prāyaścittas* we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin. And first comes confession. With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varuṇapraghāsa, the Tai. Br. (I 6. 5. 2)⁹⁷ says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour. As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

96. तस्य निष्कयजानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासो दानम् । जौ. 19.11 = वासिष्ठ 22.8 = बौ. ध. सू. III. 10.9. The word निष्कय occurs in Jai. VI. 4.33 (*niskraya-vīdācca*) which refers to a vedic passage about विश्वजित् 'सर्वस्य एव देवतास्य आत्मानं निष्क्रीणीते' quoted by Śābara on जौ. VI. 4.32.

97. पत्नीं वाचयति मेघामेवैनां करोति । अथो तप एवैनामुपनयति । यजार्...ग्राहयति । प्रवास्यान् हवामहे इति पत्नीमुदानयति । तै. ब्रा. I. 6.5; vide note 91 above for the passage यजार्...ग्राहयति.

CHAPTER II

MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

Confession—In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9, 24, 15, I. 10. 28. 19, I. 10. 29. 1 it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an *abhiṣṭu* or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (Gaut, 23.18, Manu XI. 122).⁹⁸

Repentance (*anutāpa*)—Manu⁹⁹ XI 229-230 (= Visnudharmottara II. 73.231-32) provide : " The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness (committed by him). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking ' I shall not do so again '.¹⁰⁰ The Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Pr. V. (p. 30) quotes a verse of Āṅgiras ' A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night (for his misdeed), is purified by *prāṇāyāma* '. The view of digests like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

98. Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and medieval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of) John I. 9 says ' If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness '.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in ब्रह्मपुराण 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ's call to repentance in Matthew 4. 17 and Mark I. 15 and his last words (in Luke 24. 47) that ' repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations '. श्रोत्रेण मनसा नित्यं बुद्ध्याऽप्यनुचिन्तयन् । तपस्वी चायमस्तस्य पापेभ्यः स प्रमुच्यते ॥ इति कल्पतरुवाहुत-वाक्येन तपस्विपदोपादानात् । ... पुनरङ्गिराः । विकर्मणा तत्प्रमाणः पापादि परिमुच्यते । इति । अत्रानुतापमात्रस्य पापनाशकत्वानुपपत्तेः पापनाशकमापद्यित्ते अधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन पापनाश-प्रमाणकत्वमुक्तम् । विष्णुरपि । मनःसंतापनासीन्ननुपपद्येच्छोकमन्ततः । ... अत्र सर्वत्रानुतापस्य विहितत्वेन नक्षानि निवृत्त्यादि इत्यादिष्व् दीक्षितत्ववैराग्यव्याधिकारिविशेषणत्वमेव । या. प्रकाश folio 11; यमः । पश्चात्तापो निवृत्तिश्च स्थानं चाहुतपोदितम् । नैमित्तिकानां स्वातन्त्र्ये तद्विधिः स्वाह्नयर्थकः ॥ महाशिवसहस्रं हि याचयितम् । अल्पकृपा हि पश्चात्तापाद्वयः । तेः याचयित्वाकले कृते याचयित्वानिधिरकल इति स्पष्टम् । अपरार्क p. 1231.

repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a *dikṣita*. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the *aṅgas* (subsidiary elements) of *prāyaścittas* and cannot independently take the place of penances.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of the breath). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 317 for a description of this. Manu XI 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1.31, Vas. 26.4, Atri II 5, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII.18-19) lays down: 'sixteen *prāṇāyāmas* attended by the *Vyāhrtis* and the *Pranava* (*omkāra*), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a *bhrūpa* (a learned *brāhmana*)'. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas. 26.1-3 provide that on the proper performance of three *prāṇāyāmas* all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed. Yāj. III. 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of *upapātakas* and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred *prāṇāyāmas* should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud. Dh. S. (IV.1.5-11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of *prāṇāyāmas* to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a *sūdra* to *brāhmana* murder. This whole passage is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III.305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with. The Agnipurāṇa 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III.305 (first half).

Tapas (austerity). Even Rg. X. 154. 2 speaks of *tapas* as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chan. Up. V. 10. 1-2, Muṇḍaka Up. I 2. 10-11 place *tapas* over *yajña*. Gaut. 19.15 says that celibacy,¹⁰¹ truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities. Baud. Dh. S. III. 10. 13 adds to these '*ahiṃsā*' (non-injury to any being), *astaiṇya* (not depriving any one of his property) and *guru-śiṣṛuṣā* (attendance upon a teacher). Gaut. 19. 17 states that

101. ब्रह्मचर्यं सारवचनं सर्वमेतद्वैकोपस्यार्जनायैककलायः साधितोऽनासक्त इति तपोति । गो. 19.15.

the periods for which *tapas* is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239-241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised *tapas* and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by *tapas*. This doctrine is shared by the Jainas as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX. 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S B. E. vol. 45 p. 166).

Homa (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II. 7-8) describes¹⁰² the kūsmaṇḍa homa and dikṣā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūsmaṇḍa mantras (mentioned in Tai. Ā. II. 3-6, viz. 'yad deva deva-hedanam' (Vaj. S. 20.14-16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1). The Mahārṇava-karmavipāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūsmaṇḍa homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows:— After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the ājyabhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three *Anuvākas* beginning with 'yad deva devahedanam,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaiśvānarāya pratipādayāmi.' He then offers *samīd* with the mantra 'yad adityam' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dikṣita viz. not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmaṇa), on barley gruel if a ksatriya and on āmīkṣā if he is a vaiśya. The Kūsmaṇḍa-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one. The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7.1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūsmaṇḍa mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmaṇa

102. अथ कूष्माण्डैर्जुहुवाद्योऽभूत इव मन्वेत यथा स्तेनो यथा ब्रूहृद्वेमेव भवति योऽर्चनी रेतः सिञ्चति । यद्वर्चनीमनेनो ब्रूहृत्वावास्तस्मान्मुच्यत इति । तै. आ. II. 8, which is repeated in बौ. ध. सू. III. 7.1, that is q. by the मित्ता. on वा. III. 303. 'यत् कर्मणि ब्रूहेवा देवदेवमनिराद्यो मन्त्रास्तैस्तिरीवारण्यके समाम्नातः स कूष्माण्डहोमः, पश्चिन्म अग्रे नव हुपयेति च तथा अग्रे मत्वे प्रथमस्य प्रयेतस इत्याद्या कचस्तैस्तिरीवशाकावा समाम्नातः स वज्रहोमः । महार्णवकर्मविवेक folio 7 b. For अग्ने नव vide Rg. I. 189.1, Tai. S. I. 1. 14.3, Tai. Ā. I. 8.8.

and that (by performing homa with kūsmaṇḍas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa. Yāj. III. 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a homa with sesame with the sacred Gāyatri mantra. The Mit. following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI. 34 and Vas. 26. 16 say that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (japa) and sacrifices (homa). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20 states that she made an offering into the *Dakṣiṇāgni* with the mantra (Vaj. S. III. 45) 'whatever¹⁰³ sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, svāhā.' Both Manu (VIII. 105) and Yāj. (II. 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī. There are other homas also prescribed such as the Gaṇahoma, in which such verses as 'agne naya supathā' from the Taittirīya śākhā are recited (Mahārṇava).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character. Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act. Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performed by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

Japa (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers). *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṃśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc. to Laghu Hārīta IV. p. 186,

103. यद् ज्ञाने यद्वरणे यत्समाधां यद्विद्विषे । यदेनश्चकुना यद्विद्वं तद्वचपञ्चममे
स्वाहा ॥ वाज. सं III. 45; vide also तै. सं. I. 8.3 for a similar passage.

(Jivananda I).¹⁰⁴ Śabara (on Jai. XII 4. 1) distinguishes *japa* from *stuti*, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a *mantra* or *mantras*¹⁰⁵. Inaudible *japa* is praised¹⁰⁶ in Śāṅkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āśv. Śr I 1. 20 provides that *japa*, anumantṛaṇa, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered *upāṁśu*. The Āp. Śr. (24. 1. 8-10) provides that mantras from the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered *upāṁśu* and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that *upāṁśu* recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i. e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udātta and other accents) i. e. 'Karanavad-aśābdam-amanah-prayogam-upāṁśu'. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baud. Dh. S. III 10. 10 = Vas. 22.9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upaniśads, Vedānta texts, the Samhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the *padapāṭha* or *kramapāṭha*), the *Yajus* texts in which the word 'madhu' occurs, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3), the Atharvaśiras, (the *anuvākas* called) Rudras, the Puruṣa hymn (Rg. X. 90), the two *sāmans* called Rājata and Rauhineya, the Bṛhat-sāma and the Rathantara, the Puruṣagati sāman, the Mahānāmni verses, the Mahāvairāja (*sāman*), the Mahādivākīrtya (*sāman*), any of the Jyestha sāmans, the Bahispavamāna (*sāman*), the Kūsmāṇḍas, the Pāvamānis (Rg. IX) and the Śāvitri (Rg. III 62.10).¹⁰⁷ The

104. अथ जपयज्ञं पञ्चस्य नरसिंहपुराणम् । त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्वात्मस्य भेदं निबोधत । वाचिकस्तु उपाङ्गजं मानसकित्तुः स्मृतः । त्रयाणां जपयज्ञानां श्रेयस्य स्वाङ्गुत्तरोत्तरम् । इति । अथ हारितः । उच्छस्तेकमुणः शोको ह्यनादृशमुणः स्मृतः । उपाङ्गः स्वाङ्गुत्तमुणः सह-श्रो मानसः स्मृतः । स्मृतिश्च. I. p. 149. The verses त्रिविधो...उत्तरोत्तरम् occur in नृसिंह-पुराण 58. 78-79 and also in लघुहारित IV. p. 186 (Jiv. I). Both these also define वाचिक and उपाङ्गज as follows: 'मन्त्रमुच्चारयन् वाचा जपयज्ञस्तु वाचिकः । शरीरव्यवहारमन्त्रं किञ्चिदोठो मन्त्रात्तु यत् । किञ्चित्प्रयत्नयोग्यः स्वात्स उपाङ्गजः स्मृतः ॥'

105. चक्षुर्न जपनमिति समानार्थः, वस्मात् जप एवकार्यो वाचीति स्मर्यते । तेन यत्र चक्षुर्नमन्त्रं मन्त्रस्य कियते न स्मर्यते नास्तिवत्ये तत्र जपः । हार ०० जै. XII. 4.1.

106. अथात आजपमार्गेण वै ह्येवाः सर्वान्कामानजयन्त सर्वमनुतर्तव्यं...तथा इदं चक्षु-विधमार्गं तूष्णीं जपस्तूष्णीं कृतः पुरोयज्ञस्तुतस्तूष्णीं वाजयेति । ... अथ यत्पुरस्तात् तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वर्गो वै लोकः पञ्चस्तद्यत्पुरस्तात्तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वस्वययनमेव तत्कुर्वते स्वर्गस्य लोकरथ समश्नते । ह्यङ्कारवचना. 14.1.

107. 'Madhūni' are explained by Haradatta as 'मधुसम्बन्धुकानि यन्त्राणि मन्त्रमेतु मानित्वादीनि'. These occur in तै. अ. X. 38. It is better to hold as done by the मन्त्र. वा. p. 761, by Maskarin in his bhāṣya on Gaut. and by Pr. Prakāśa (folio 86a) that the word मधुनि refers to the three verses beginning with the words 'Madhu vātā' that are Rg. I. 90. 6-8 and occur in Tai. S. IV. 2.9 and

(Continued on the next page)

original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of the Upaniṣads and other texts would have made the soul pure and enabled it to realise the supreme reality and induced in the mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God and endeavour to attain unity with God. The habit of repeating the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the presence and thought of God. Japa demands three things, purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of God.

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by *prāyaścitta*.

(Continued from the last page)

Vāj. a. XIII. 27-29 also, since they are styled ऋग्वेदी by अथ. दृ., पार. दृ. I. 3, मानव. I. 9.14. Atharvaśātras is an उपनिषद् which begins with वेदा इ वै स्वर्गं लोक-
मावर्तते इहमनुष्मन् को भवामिति. Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upaniṣads (printed in 1925) for the उपनिषद्. The उपनिषद् is highly eulogized as a destroyer of sins like Aśvamedha in Manu XI. 259-60, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Vas. 26.8, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.20. Rudras are the eleven *anuvāhas* of Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11 beginning with नमस्ते रुद्र नमस्ते. Acc. to Haradatta the two *Sāmans* Rājata and Raubha are sung on the Rk verse 'Indram naro nemadhitā havante' (Rg. VII. 27.1, Sāmaveda, Pūrvārcika 318). The बुधत्वात् is sung on the verse तामिति इवामहे (ऋ. VI. 46.1, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika No. 234), the Rathantara on the verse अग्निं स्वा नमः (ऋ. VII. 32.22, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika 233). In the भवकृतीता X. 35 ŚrīKṛṣṇa puts the Bṛhatsāma as the foremost among *Sāmans* (बुधत्वात् तथा साम्नां). Puruṣagati Sāman is sung on the verse 'Aham-asmi prathamajā tasya,' (Sāmaveda, Aranyakāṇḍa VI. 1.594). महाभारती verses are those beginning with विद्या नमस्तु विद्या which occur in the ऐ. अ. IV, in the जैमिनीवर्गहोम of the सामवेद (ed. by Dr. Raghuvira) and in other श्रुतितो. The महावैराज (सामम्) is sung on the verse विद्या सोममिन्द्र नमस्तु त्वा (ऋ. VII. 22.1, सामवेद पूर्वाधिक 398, उत्तराधिक 927); the महाद्विवाकीर्त्य is sung on विद्याबुधत्वात् सोमम् (ऋ. X. 170.1, सामवेद अरण्यकाण्ड 628, उत्तराधिक 1453); about the उपेक्षसामानि इरहन् mentions two interpretations (of the उपेक्षकार सामाना and उपेक्षेया), one holding that they are sung on उगु त्व (Rg. I. 50.1, सामवेद पूर्वाधिक 31) and चित्रं वेदानां (Rg. I. 115.1), the other that they are three *Sāmans* sung on यूर्धानं विषो (Rg. VI. 7.1, सामवेद पूर्वाधिक 67, उत्तराधिक 1140). Mādhari holds that उपेक्षसामानि are those sung on the verses ऋ नो देवी (Rg. X. 9.4) and चित्रं वेदानां (Rg. I. 115.1). The बह्विज्यमान is sung on उवासे वाचसः नरः (Rg. IX. 11.1, सामवेद उत्तराधिक 651, 763). Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 1169-1170 for further details of the बह्विज्यमान. For the कुम्भारण्यमन्त्र, vide तै. अ. II. 3-5. वाचसामन्त्रः are the verses about *soma* in the 9th Māṇḍala of the Rgveda. Sāvitrī is the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62.10.)

Manu II 85-87 (which are the same as Vas. 26. 9-11 and Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 55. 10-21) lay¹⁰⁸ down: 'the performance of *japa* is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darśapūrṇamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), *japa* when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior. The four *pākayajñas*¹⁰⁹ (Vaiśvadeva, *buli*, daily *śrāddha*, and honouring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of *japa*. A brāhmana attains perfection (the highest goal) by *japa*; he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices); a brāhmana befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible *japa* of the Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III 62.10) for which pp. 303-305 of H. of Dh. vol. II may be consulted. Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.¹¹⁰

Manu^{110a} XI 261-262, Vas. 27. 1-3, Angiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brāhmana who remembers Rgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever. But these are simply laudatory (*arthavādas*) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27. 4¹¹¹ (= Angiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some *smṛti* passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many *smṛtis* such as Manu XI 249-257 (which are almost the same as Viṣṇudharmottara II 74. 4-13), Vas. 26. 5-7 and 28. 10-15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI. 249-251), Viṣṇu

108. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śāṅkha-smṛti also (XII. 28).

109. The five *pākayajñas* are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except *brāhmayajña* (teaching and studying Veda).

110. 'अपस्तु सततं कृत्वा, अनादौ सतमिति द्वाविंशति जलपाणिः । प्रा. प्रकाश. folio 143a.

110a. Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27. 3 are identical.

111. न वेदचलन्नाभिरय पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दृष्टते कर्म नेतरः ॥ पल्लि 27.4, अङ्गिरस 102.

Dh. S. 56. 3-27, Atri VI. 1-5 (which are almost the same as Vas.¹¹² 28. 10-15), Śaṅkha, chap. 11 (= Vas. 28. 10-15), Samvarta 227-228, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2. 4-5, IV. 3. 8, IV. 4. 2-5, Yāj. III 302-305, prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of sample the verses of Manu (XI. 249-257) are translated here. 'Even a drinker of *surā* becomes pure if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa¹¹³, the three verses beginning with 'prati' (Rg. VII. 80. 1-3) seen by Vasiṣṭha, the Māhitra hymn (Rg. X. 185), the verses called Śuddhavaṭis (Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9 where the word 'śuddha' occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he who has stolen gold (of a brāhmaṇa) instantly becomes free from guilt if he once mutters (the hymn) beginning with 'asya vāmasya' i. e. Rg. I. 164. 1-52), and the Śivasankalpa (Yāj. S. XXXIV. 1-6). The violator of a guru's bed is freed from sin if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with 'havispāntani' (Rg. X. 88. 1-19) and the hymn beginning with 'na tam-amho' (i. e. Rg. X. 126. 1-8), the hymn beginning with 'iti' (i. e. Rg. X. 119) and the hymn addressed to *Puruṣa* (Rg. X. 90). He who desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter during a year the verse beginning with 'ava' (i. e. 'ava te halo varuṇa namobhiḥ' Rg. I. 24. 14, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 3), or the verse 'yat kim ca' (Rg. VII. 89. 5) or the verse 'iti vā' (Rg. X. 119. 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn beginning with 'tarat sa mandī' (Rg. IX. 58. 1-4)¹¹⁴ becomes pure after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with 'Somā rudrā' (Rg. VI. 74. 1-4) and the three verses beginning with 'Aryamanam' (Rg. IV. 2. 4-6) while he bathes in a river (and not in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with 'Indram' (Rg. I. 106. 1-7). A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the mantras for the Śākalahomas (Yāj. S. VIII. 13) or by muttering the

112. Vas. 28.10-15 are quoted in स्तुतिः. I. p. 187. Atri VI. 1-5 are quoted as Atri's in Gr. R. p. 245.

113. The Kautsa hymn is Rg. I. 97. 1-8, all of which have as their refrain अथ नः सोमश्चक्षुः, 'may he burn away our sin.'

114. तस्मै मन्वी धायति is the refrain of all four verses of Rg. IX. 58. It means 'He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds),' Vide Nir. XIII. 6,

mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Rg. VI 51. 8). One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamāni hymns (the whole of Rg. IX) and subsisting on alms.^{114a}

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Rgveda that the Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Rgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies.

The Sāma. Br. I. 5. 2 says¹¹⁵ generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by *tapas* and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as *prāyaścitta*. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in *japa* viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold¹¹⁶, to eat clarified butter, and to drink soma and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (*ṛṣis*), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the *japa* of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śūdras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no *adhikāra* (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatri and other Vedic mantras, still the śūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in *japa* with the word *namaḥ* (i. e. he can only utter the words 'namo namaḥ' and not *om* &c)

114a. In Rg. I. 106. 1-7 the first six verses have the refrain विश्वमात्रो अहसो निविष्यते ('May you take us beyond all sin').

115. अनादिज्ञे मन्त्रा अत्यन्तस्तपोनिताः पावना भवन्ति। आपन्नः मायश्चित्तं करोत। अभ्यासः साधनां कर्तुं ब्रह्मचरम्। सामविधानम्। I. 5. 2-4.

116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरद्वज as 'सर्विरादौ हिरण्यं निवृत्त्य मासान् हिरण्यमाशनम्'.

as stated by Gaut. Dh. S. X. 66-67 and Yaj. I. 121¹¹⁷. When Manu IV. 80 says 'let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (*dharma*) nor impose upon him a *vrata*' all that is meant is, according to the Mit. on Yaj. III. 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varṇas. Similarly, when Gaut. IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that *saṁskāras* like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable 'om' is said by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 6) to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage. The Yogasūtra (I. 27) avers that *om* (called *pranava*) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of *om* and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.¹¹⁸

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the Purāṇas, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God Nārāyaṇa (or Hari or Kṛṣṇa) removed all sins. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 176) contains a stotra (hymn of praise) of Viṣṇu, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p. 31 quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa^{118a} and three verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa as follows:—'even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on Viṣṇu) and not only by *prāyaścittas*' (Bhaviṣya); 'of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as *tapas* (Cāndrāyana and others) and other actions (*japa*, *homa*, gifts) the meditation on

117. अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः । पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतत्येकैः । गो. X. 66-67, on which हरदत्त comments 'अस्य जुद्धस्य वैश्वदेवादिषु तत्तद् देवतापदं चतुर्थ्यन्तं मनसा द्यात्वा नमो नम इत्येवंकुर्यो मन्त्रोऽनुज्ञातो धर्मज्ञैः ; नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चपञ्चाक्ष दाययेत् ॥ वा. I. 121, Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 158 note 371 for further details. मनु. X. 41 says that all pratilomas are like śūdras.

118. ओङ्कारः स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माध्वेष्यमाणं पतद्वादि यतिपथेन । आप. ध. सू. I. 4.13.6; 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः । तज्जपस्तद्व्यभाषणम् । योगसूत्र I. 27-28; वाचस्पति comments: प्रणवस्य जपः प्रणवामिधेयस्य चेश्वरस्य भावनम् । तद्वदयं योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकार्धं सम्यच्यते ।

118a. भविष्यपुराणम् । अनुजः करणास्यानात्कवापनादुच्छिन्तनात् । स्वयैति महद्द्वयेनः शश्वित्सौर्न केवलम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् । शश्वित्साम्प्रतोषाणि तयः कर्मोत्पत्तयानि वै । यानि तेषाम-
शेषाणां कुञ्जाशुभमर्ण परम् ॥ यतर्गिणि तथा सन्ध्यामध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन् । नारायणमवाप्नोति
सद्यः पापक्षयं नरः ॥ आप. वि. p. 31. The verse शश्वि...परम्. is विष्णुपुराण II. 6.39. The verse यतर्गिणि is q. by अपरार्क p. 1232 and by पाप. तस्य also (p. 524) The two verses are also respectively ब्रह्मपुराण 22.37 and 39.

Kṛṣṇa is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Viṣṇupurāṇa). The Brahmapurāṇa¹¹⁹ (216. 87-88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Viṣṇu after death." The Viṣṇupurāṇa affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. 'om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Ādiparva (161. 14) by Kuntī. The Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa in chap. 18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many *vratas*, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namaḥ Śivāya' is dealt with in Līṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārḍha, chap. 85) and Saurapurāṇa 65. Brahmapurāṇa speaks of *vaidika* mantras and *āgamokta* mantras (41. 63). The Nityācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in smārta rites it is not so.

Dāna (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides¹²⁰ that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma'"¹²¹. Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 92.4 is to the same effect. Saṃvarta¹²² (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

119. कृत्वापि बहुधाः पापं नरा मोहसमन्विताः ॥ न यान्ति नरके नत्वा सर्वपापहरं हरिम् ॥ शास्त्रेनापि नरा निरप्य ये स्मरन्ति जगद्गन्धम् । तेपि यान्ति तद्गुं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुरा. 216.87-88: अथापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचिन्तकाः । विष्णुपुराण I. 6.39.

120. हिरण्यं गोर्वासाऽथो धूमिस्तिला वृत्तमक्षमिति देयानि । एताम्येवानादौ विकल्पेन क्रियेरत् । गौ. 19.16 and 18.

121. अथाष्टुद्वाहरन्ति । यत्किञ्चिदुच्यते पापं पुद्बो ह्यसिद्धिर्लभः । अपि गोचर्ममात्रेण धूमिदानेन क्षुध्यति ॥ बसिष्ठ 29.16. For the meaning of गोचर्म, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

122. सुवर्णदानं गोदानं धूमिदानं तथैव च । नाशयन्त्याद्यु पापानि अण्यजन्मकृतान्यपि ॥ संवर्त 204 q. by प्राच. तत्र p. 483 (which reads 'महापातकजाग्रये at the end). हिसायां दानमेव ह्युपमित्युक्तं भविष्ये । हिसात्मकानां सर्वेषां कीर्तितानां मनीषिभिः । प्राच-धितकदम्बानां दानं प्रथममुच्यते ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 86a).

Haradatta explains *upavāsa*¹²⁷ as giving up the eating of boiled rice (*bhaktatyāga*) and adds that *upavāsa* is again included under *tapāṁsi* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāṇa passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as 'restraint of senses'. In many of the Grhya sūtras *upavāsa* means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māsa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I 5.26, Khādira gr. II. 1.4 and 6, Kauśika-sūtra I 31-32, Kāthakagrhya 46.2¹²⁸). The Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22 closely associates 'anāsaka' (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul¹²⁹. Jaimini (III. 8. 9-11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*¹³⁰. Manu XI. 203 (= Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 54.29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice and the performance of *sandhyā* adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a *snātaka* (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc. to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing *tāmbūla*¹³¹ by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse¹³²; but the Garudapurāṇa I 128.6 and Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 184.27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, unguents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Dakṣa quoted by the Par. M. states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on the day on which the sun first turns towards the

127. उपवासो भक्त्यागः । स एव तपःस्वयं पुनः पश्यते आह्वरकपापमार्थम् । अपर आह । निवकयनेषु पठित उपवास इन्द्रियनिग्रहः । स्वाहृतस्यैव दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो मुनेः सह । उपवासं तमाहृतसु न क्षीरस्य शोषणात् ॥ इति पुराणे दर्शनादिति । हरदत्त on गौ. 19. 11. The स्वस्तिच. II. p. 355 attributes the verse to स्वात्म and it and अपरार्क p. 199 read it as उपवाहृतस्य पापेभ्यो... सर्वभोगविवाजितः. प्रा. प्रकाश. (folio 44a) reads as अपरार्क does and says it is taken from अग्निपुराण.

128. काठकग्रह 46.2 is औपवर्णं श्रुत्वा and the com. of देवपाल says: उपवस्तु-रक्षणमौपवर्णं तत्पुनर्ज्ञत्वं हविषपाकं साकजयचलवजनीतवर्जम् । त्रीहियवपयोवृत्तमधृतिभिर्मुक्त्वा ।

129. स वा एव महात्मज आत्म... तमेतं वेदाध्यायचक्षेण जाह्नवा विविदिषन्ति यजेन ह्यनेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. Vide काह्वरभाष्य on वेदाहृतस्य III. 4.26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up. passage.

130. तपश्च कलसिद्धिर्वाहोक्तवत् । जै. III. 8. 9; काह्वर 'तपः कृपते इच्छं नाशनाति कृयं नाशनाति इति । तत्र सन्वेष्टः किमातिर्जनं तपः पाजमानमिति । पाजमानं तप इति ।'

131. असङ्कलपानाच्च ताम्बूलस्य च भक्षणात् । उपवासः प्रभुष्येण विवाश्वापाच्च नैषुमात् ॥ देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 199, स्वस्तिच. II. p. 355. The नवग्रहपुराण (I. 128, 7-8) has almost the same verse.

north or south, or on the Visuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins¹³². Manu XI 166 (= Agnipurāṇa 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i. e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuśāsanaparva (106.1) remarks¹³³ that men of all varṇas and even Mlecchas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting. Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I, chap. 16. 12-14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by *vratas*, restraints, gifts and particularly by *upavāsas* and points out (verses 18-22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th *tithi* in each fortnight. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the śrauta and grhya sūtras the word upavasatha is used in the sense of 'upavāsa' and is derived from 'vas' (to dwell) with 'upa'. Vide. H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1010 and n. 2276 for the Śat. Br. The Khādira gr II 1.4, Gobhila. gr. I 6.2, Kauśika-sūtra I 31 employ the word upavasatha. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1.4-5. prescribe an upavāsa for husband and wife on *parva* days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for upavāsa. Aparārka p. 199, Smṛ. C. (śrāddha p. 355) and Kṛtya-ratnākara quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word upavāsa^{133a}. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 9-13, Baud. Dh. II. 7.32, Vas. 6.21 and Śān. gr. II. 16.5 have the same verse viz. 'an ahiṭāgni, a draught ox and brahmacārin, these three fulfill (their work) by eating; they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating'. This is explained as not applying to prāyaścittas (Baud. Dh. S II. 7.34) and to fasts on Ekādaśī. The Śāntiparva 323.17 states 'Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.' Śānti 79.18, however, says 'merely emaciating the body by fasting is not *tapas*, but ahimsā, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are *tapas*'.

132. अयने विबुधे क्षेपः सङ्गच्छ्यते तदा । अहोरात्रोचितः स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ इक्ष. g. by यत्. स्म. I. 1 p. 438.

133. सर्वपापे वृणां स्नेहानां च पितृणां । उपवासे मतिरिषं कारकं च न विवहे ॥ अनुशासन 166.1.

133a. 'उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो यस्तु कानो ह्युच्यते तदा । उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वपापविनाशितः अपरार्क p. 199. ह्युच्यते means 'क्षमाहिभिः' and वास्तु means 'निवर्तनोपायानम्.'

Tīrthayātrā :—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of *mahāpātakas* may become pure by Āśvamedha sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a brāhmaṇa that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. Parāśara (XII. 58 ff) prescribes¹³⁴ pilgrimage to see Rāma's bridge to Lankā for a murderer of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: 'a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, brāhmaṇas that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.' The Matsyapurāṇa (184.18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches Avimukta (Benares). The Kūrmapurāṇa¹³⁵ (pūrvārdha 29.3) says: 'I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the Kaliyuga for all beings except Benares'. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for brāhmaṇa murder (vide 'Selections from Peshwa Records,' vol. 43 p. 107) and the brāhmaṇas were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified. In an order dated sake 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the Deshmukhas, Deshpandes and Mukadams that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one Pilaji Zende after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

134. आतुर्विधोपपत्तेः तु विधौ ब्रह्मवाते । सनुवसेतुमनं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशते ॥
पराशर XII. 58 q. by अपराक p. 1061, प्रा. वि. p. 45. The मा. प्रकाश (folio 66 a and b) remarks: 'ब्रह्महत्याद्विषयकस्य भविष्यपुराणे । विष्णुपातुसर्तौ यस्य निवासः परिकीर्तितः । पराशरस्य तस्य सेतुवन्धस्य दर्शनम् ॥ इति ।...अत्र च विध्योत्तरवर्तिनः पञ्चदशिकावतत्प्रयोजनमननेन तावत्संलयाकमाजापत्यापनोद्यमब्रह्महत्यापनोद्योकेरतीर्थावुकूले-
लोकयोजनमननस्यैकमाजापत्यापत्यमृत्यवमर्षादुक्तं भवति ।'

135. नाश्वत्यवधानि जन्तुनां सुखा वाराणसीं पुरीम् । सर्वपापप्रक्षानं प्रायश्चित्तं कलौ पुनः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29.3) q. by परा. मा. II. 2 p. 162, अभिसंगम्य तीर्थानि पुण्याभ्यापत्तानि च । नरः पापान्यनुज्येत ब्राह्मणांश्च तपस्विनः ॥ सर्वाः सद्गुणाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्या नमोत्तमाः । सर्वमावर्तनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रयाः ॥ श्वेल q. by परा. मा. II. 2 p. 201, मा. प्रकाश folio 66 b.

caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued. Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhīmā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.¹³⁶ The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhavisya-purāṇa about the penance for brāhmaṇa murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Setubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Setubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tirtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smṛtyar-thasāra (pp. 149-150) quotes several verses from the Purāṇas stating that gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, great sages like Bhṛgu, Vasistha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariscandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tirthas and that Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil fortune. This subject of *tirthas* will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

136. Vide राजवाडे खण्ड 6 letter 113 p. 225.

CHAPTER III

PRAYASČITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to *prāyaścittas* as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word '*prāyaścitta*' in ancient times. There are two forms of the word, *prāyaścitti* and *prāyaścitta*, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though *prāyaścitti* appears to be the older of the two. The form *prāyaścitti* frequently occurs in the *Tai. S.* (as in II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1, III. 1.3.2-3, V. 1.9.3, V. 3.12.1)¹³⁶. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means 'doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an *ukhā* (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun's losing its brilliance.' In *Tai. S.* V. 3.12.1 the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The *Kausitaki*¹³⁷ Br. (vi. 12) states: "they say 'whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest *brahmā*, that he treats with the three-fold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)". The word also occurs in the *Atharvaveda* XIV. 1.30, *Vaj. S.* 39.12 (in close proximity to *niskṛti*), in the *Ait. Br.* V. 27, in the *Śat. Br.* IV. 5. 7.1, VII. 1.4.9, XI 5.3.8, XII. 4.1.6 and in other works also. The form *prāyaścitta* occurs in *Kausitaki Br.* V. 9, VI. 12 and elsewhere. The *Āsv. Śr.* III. 10.38 and *Śāṅkhāyana Śr.* III. 19.1 respectively employ the words *prāyaścitti* and *prāyaścitta*¹³⁸. In *Pār. gr.* I.

136 a. असायाद्विषो न चरोचत तस्मै हेवाः प्रायश्चित्तिलेच्छन् । तै. सं. II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1; यदि भिद्येत तैरेव कपालैः संवृजेत्सैव ततः प्रायश्चित्तः । तै. सं V. 1.9.3; एष वै प्रजापतिं सर्वं करोति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते सर्व एव भवति सर्वस्य वा एवा प्रायश्चित्तः सर्वस्य भेषजम् । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1.

137. यद्वै यज्ञस्य स्वयलितं बोलचनं वा भवति बह्वृण एव तस्याहुस्तस्मै ब्रव्या विद्यया भिषज्यते । *कौषीतकि ब्रा.* VI. 12.

138. विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तः । आश्व. औ. III. 10; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तम् । अथर्वलोपे प्रतिनिधिः । श्रौ. औ. III. 19.1; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तं दोषनिषातार्थं विधीयतेऽनाज्ञाने विधौ ध्यानं नारायणस्य तज्जपेज्याहोमाश्च हननायेति । वैखानस-भूतलवृत्त 20. 1 (ed. by (Continued on the next page)

Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 5.1 another derivation is suggested viz. that 'prāyaḥ' is composed of two parts 'pra' and 'ayah' and means 'happening or finding' (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and 'citta' means 'knowledge'; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr. Vi. p. 3 and Pr. Tattva p. 467 quote Hārita and give¹⁴⁷ yet another derivation (from 'prayata' pure and 'cita' collected), in accordance with which 'prāyaścitta' means such actions as *tapas*, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (*prayata*) and destroys his accumulated sins ('cita' being equal to 'upacita'), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water. Hence, as the Mit. says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally¹⁴⁸ denotes a certain act or rite of the *naimittika* type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called *kāmya*). The Par. M. quotes verses from Bṛhaspati's¹⁴⁹ work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is *naimittika*¹⁵⁰ (to be performed when a cause

147. तत्र हारीतः । प्रयत्नत्वाद्दोषक्षितमनुभवं कर्म नाशयतीति प्रायश्चित्तमिति । प्रत्ययः—प्रशुक्तिर्कर्म उपश्रितं क्षितितमनुभवं प्रायं नाशयतीति । कृततत्कर्मभिः कर्तुः प्रयत्नत्वाद्वा । छुत्वात्वादेव तत्प्रायश्चित्तम् । तथा च वृणहरीतः । यथा क्षारोपस्वेदचण्डनिर्जोदनप्रक्षालनादि-निर्जोदनादि छुत्वादि एवं तपोदानयज्ञैः पापकृताः छुद्दिदुपपन्ति । प्राय. तत्र p. 467; vide also प्राय. वि. p. 3 for the first sūtra and p. 17 for the rest of the passage of हारीत. The मद्र. पा. p. 703 quotes the passage from यथा क्षारोप. मद्र. पा. p. 704 explains चण्डनिर्जोदनम् as 'चुद्दिदुपपन्नानादिना तत्क्षेदनात्' and प्र. प्रकाश (folio 9a) 'चण्डः अग्निः निर्जोदनं तस्मिन्नादिभ्यश्चण्डेनमिति'.

148. प्रायश्चित्तज्ञानव्याप्यं पापक्षयार्थं नैमित्तिके कर्मविक्षेपे कृदः । मित. on वा. III. 220, which is q by स्तुतिरु. (प्राय.) p. 859, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 3.

149. तथा च वृहस्पतिः प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणस्योपक्रमोपसंहारयोः नैमित्तिकत्वं दर्शयति । नैमित्तिकं धर्मजातं भवतो मे निषोद्यतः । विहितस्यानुष्ठानात् प्रत्येकनिषेधेनात् । प्रायश्चित्तं यत्किपते तन्नैमित्तिकमुच्यते । इत्युपक्रमः । नैमित्तिकं समाख्यातं प्रायश्चित्तं समासतः । इत्युपसंहारश्च । परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 7; also in कात्यायनी on वा. III. 206 and प्राय. प्रकाश folio 7 b. तथा च आपातः । अतः काव्यं नैमित्तिकं च प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्थितिः । प्रा. प्रकाश folio 8a.

150. Actions are divided into three kinds, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. *Nitya* acts are those like *sandhyā-vandana* (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness); *naimittika* are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and *kāmya* rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called *putreṣṭi* for a son). Manu in XI. 53 says: 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

or occasion arises). Jābāla q. in the Pr. Prakāśa holds that *prāyaścitta* partakes of the nature of both *naimittika* and *kāmya* actions. The Pr. Prakāśa finds fault with the definitions of *prāyaścitta* proposed by the Kalpataru, Śūlapāni and others and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that those alone are *prāyaścittas* which are so spoken of by the learned, just as on Jaimini II 1.32 (tac-codakeṣu mantrākhyā) Bhaṭṭācārya explains that mantras are those which the respectable *yājñikas* and those who studied the Vedas so designate.^{150a}

Sins as stated by Bṛhaspati¹⁵¹ and others are of two kinds, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed.

Great divergence of views has prevailed from very ancient times as to whether *prāyaścittas* can destroy sins intentionally committed. Manu XI. 45 and Yāj. III. 226 are positive that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by *prāyaścittas* or by the study of the Veda. The difficulty arises about sins committed intentionally or with full knowledge. Gaut. (19. 3-6 = Vas. 22. 2-5) states two views,^{151a} one holding that *prāyaścitta* should not be performed since deeds (here sinful deeds) are not destroyed (except by experiencing the consequences thereof), the other view holding that *prāyaścitta* should be per-

(Continued from the last page)

crimes in former lives men are born blind or idiots &c.) penances must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated are born with disgraceful marks.' Though Manu employs the word 'nityam' here, what is meant is that when a sin is committed, a *prāyaścitta* must necessarily be performed and it is not left to the volition of the sinner whether to perform it or not. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 220. But it does not follow from this that if *prāyaścitta* for removing a sin is not performed, another sin is thereby committed, for in that case there would be *anavasthā* (regressus ad infinitum).

150 a. 'यद्यः भद्राचार्यैस्तच्छेदकेषु मन्त्राकरोति... यश्च वैदिकवाङ्मिकानामभिपुस्तानां मन्त्र इति मसिद्धिः स मन्त्र इति कुर्वतात्पर्यं वर्णितमेवेतिहासि यत्राभिपुस्तानां प्रावक्षित-मसिद्धिस्तत्प्रावक्षितमिति लक्षणे मनुवाङ्मन्त्रकवचवाङ्मनां तात्पर्यमुक्तेयम् । folio 76 of Ma. Ms. Ms.

151. कामाका मङ्गलं त्वेवं महापापं द्विधा स्मृतम् । पुनरापेक्षया चैव निष्कृतिर्द्विविधा स्मृता ॥
इदमपि q. by मा. वि. p. 24, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 13 (first half).

151 a तत्र प्रावक्षितं कुर्वाक कुर्वाविति मीमांसते । न कुर्वाविरवाहः । न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति । कुर्वाविरवपरम् । नौ. 19.3.6 = बसिष्ठ 22. 2-5 (the last being कुर्वाविरवेच तस्मात्पुनरितिर्वासात्) न कुर्वाविरवाहः. This is the पूर्वपक्ष view. The सिद्धान्त is 'कुर्वाव' which is supported by indications derived from vedic passages.

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut. relies upon four such passages. The first says ¹⁵² 'after performing the *punaḥstoma* ¹⁵³ one can come back to (become fit for) *soma* sacrifice (i. e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is: 'after performing *Vrātyastoma* (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices).' A third is: 'He, who offers the *Āsvamedha* sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond *brāhmaṇa* murder'. The fourth is: one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the *Agniṣṭut*. *Vasiṣṭha* also (20. 1-2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances. ¹⁵⁴ *Manu* XI. 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, *prāyaścittas* may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the *Vedas*. It cannot be said that these *Śruti* passages are mere *arthavādas* (i. e. laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary *arthavādas*, as laying down (a *vidhi*) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform *Āsvamedha* and the other sacrifices mentioned. In this case the maxim of *rātrisattra* ¹⁵⁵ applies (vide *Jai*. IV. 3. 17-19). There are certain *sattras* (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called *Trayo-*

152. पुनः स्तोमेनेष्टु पुनः सवनमावाप्स्यति विज्ञाप्यते । ज्ञात्वास्तोमेनेष्टु । तस्मिन् सर्वं पाप्मानं तस्मिन् बह्वहर्षा वोऽश्वमेदेन यजते । अग्निष्टुताभिज्ञापमानं वाजयेदिति च । नौ. 19.7-10. *वसिष्ठ* (22.6) is the same as नौ. 19.9, while it (22.7) reads इति चाभिज्ञास्तो मोक्षवेनाभिष्टुता यजते. तस्मिन् सर्वं is ते. सं. V. 3.12.2 quoted above and अतपयन्ना. XIII. 3.1.1. मोक्षय and अभिष्टुत् are different sacrifices. The मोक्षय is a strange rite, for which vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1213 n. 2644. It is described in ते. ब्रा. II. 7.6.

153. The *Punaḥstoma* is a *śrauta* sacrifice, of the class called *ekāha* (i. e., performed in one day) acc. to *Haradatta*. Vide *Lātyāyana-śrauta* IX. 4 and 5 for its efficacy. The *Vrātyastoma* is also an *ekāha*, which was prescribed for those whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become *patita-sāvitrīka*). *Yāj.* I. 38 provides *vrātyastoma* for *patitasāvitrīka*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 377 and p. 385 (for its description from the *Tāndya Brāhmaṇa*). The *Agniṣṭut* is an *ekāha* (vide *Tai. Br.* II. 7. 12 and *Āśv. Sr.* IX. 7. 22-25). *Manu* XI. 74 prescribes *Āsvamedha*, *Gosava* or *Agniṣṭut* and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of *brāhmaṇa* murder.

154. अग्निसन्धिकृते प्रावक्ष्यितमपराधे । अग्निसन्धिकृतेऽप्येके । *वसिष्ठ* 20. 1-2.

155. रात्रीः प्रकृत्य भूपते प्रतितिष्ठन्ति इ वा य द्वा रात्रीरपयन्ति । बह्वर्चसिर्वाऽ-वाहा भवन्ति य द्वा उपयन्ति । इति । तत्र सम्बेदः । किं ते कलार्चवाहा उत कलविधय इति । ज्ञानं य जैमिनि IV. 3. 17. The second alternative is the सिद्धान्त view.. Vide *सायणवाक्यम्* 23.2.4 for the passage प्रतितिष्ठन्ति...उपयन्ति ।

daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called rātrisaṭtras. With reference to these a Vedic passage says 'those who approach (i. e. perform) these rātrisaṭtras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)'. In the text prescribing the rātrisaṭtras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore 'stability' (*pratiṣṭhā*) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisaṭtras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai. IV. 3. 15-16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yāj. III. 226 which say that sin is removed by penances¹⁵⁶. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI. 2.7.5, Kathaka S. VIII. 5, Ait. Br. 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to *śālāvṛkas* (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI. 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various *prāyaścittas*. Yāj. III. 226 (latter half) appears to hold that *prāyaścittas* do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the *prāyaścittas*); but Yāj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI. 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yāj. in III. 226 (latter half). Yāj. III. 220 observes that a man guilty of *pātakas* should perform *prāyaścitta* for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i. e. if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of *prāyaścittas* as conceived by the *smṛtis*, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with

156. 'युनःस्तोमेनेष्टा...यजते इति ।...न चेदमर्थवाद्वाग्रम् । अधिकारिभिरेषणा-
काक्षया रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थशब्दिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात् । अतो युक्तं मायश्चित्तै-
रेवेन इति । मित्रा, on वा. III. 226; vide माय. वि. p. 9 and p. 18 for similar views
'अतो रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थशब्दिकपापक्षयकामिना मायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यमिति निर्णीतम् । माय. वि.
p. 18. The उपहव्य sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity,
ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कात्या. श्रौ. सू. 22.8.7 'यूक्तिकामो वा
ग्रामकामो वा प्रजाकामो योपहव्येन यजेत.'

all people. Chāgaleya¹⁵⁷ holds that *prāyaścittas* free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of *upapātakas* and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II. 1. pp. 200-201) cites a verse of Jābali and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of *prāyaścittas*, while it also cites the view of Baudhāyana-smṛti that there is no *prāyaścitta* for sins committed knowingly and the view of Āṅgiras that the penance is double in the latter case¹⁵⁸. Āṅgiras further says that *prāyaścittas* do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI. 47 provides: 'A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (for a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 24-25) provides 'If a man slays a *guru* (father, Vedic teacher &c.) or a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10-32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a *guru* or learned *brāhmaṇa*) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death)'.¹⁵⁹ It appears to follow from Āpastamba's words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Āṅgiras, Yama and others.

157. छागलेयेऽपि । प्रायश्चित्तकामानां कामापासी न विद्यते । उपपातक एव स्वात्मघाताभ्युपधाने ॥ अर्थार्थः । कामापासी ज्ञानपूर्वकपापं नरकभोगनिवारकं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते । उपपातकालमहमपास्तु ज्ञानपूर्वकत्वेपि स्वादिष्टत एवेति । आत्महत्यायै विषमक्षणे कृते यदि जीवति तदा प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते यदा मृतस्तदा तद्विरोधना कर्तव्यमित्युभयपथापि प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते इति न विरोधः । मनु. पा. p. 705. The half verse प्रायश्चित्त...विद्यते occurs in परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 201.

158. अकामतः कृते पापे प्रायश्चित्तं न कामतः । स्वात्मकामकृते यन् विदुषे बुद्धिपूर्वकं ॥ अत्रिच. 9. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 201; अस्ति निश्चितिकियाजस्य पापं तज्ज्ञात्वात्वं तु प्रायश्चित्तस्य । तथा चाङ्गिराः । उद्यम्यहृदयादिरयस्तमः सर्वं व्यपोहति । तद्वत्कृत्यान्मासिद्वयं सर्वं पापं व्यपोहति । पापं चेत्पुनश्च कृत्या कृत्यान्ममिषद्यते । मृत्यते यातकैः सर्वैरिहान्नेरिव चन्द्रमाः ॥ कृत्यान् प्रायश्चित्तम् । मा. यज्ञाज्ञा (folio 6a).

159. हर्षं हतमा ज्ञेयं वा कर्मसमाप्तमेतेभ्य विधिनोत्तमादुपपाताच्चरेत् । नास्यास्मिन्नोके प्रयापसिर्विद्यते कलम्बं तु निर्दिश्यते । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24. 24-25. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 18 for the same words. हरद्वय gives his own and another's interpretation of आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24 24-25 'अस्मिन्नोके जीविते प्रयापसिः क्षुद्रिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः । कलम्बं तु निर्दिश्यते । तस्य पुत्रादिभिः संस्कारादिः कर्तव्य इति भावः । अन्ये तु पूर्वं हर्षं तद्विषयस्य मन्वन्ते । प्रयापसिः पुत्रादिभिः पुत्रादिभावेन सम्बन्ध इति ॥

In this conflict among the authors of *smṛtis* the solution proposed by the *Mit.* on *Yāj. III. 226* has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows¹⁶⁰: The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs. Therefore, even though a *prāyaścitta* may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz. fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in *prāyaścitta* being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not *patanīya* (do not cause loss of caste) *prāyaścitta* does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by *Manu. XI. 46*. Even as to sins that are *patanīya* and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by *Manu XI. 73*, *Yāj. III. 247-248* and *Gaut. 22. 2-3* for *brāhmaṇa* murder; *Manu XI. 90-91*, *Yāj. III. 253*, *Gaut. 23.1* for drinking *surā*; *Gaut. 23.8-11*, *Manu XI. 103-104* and *Yāj. III. 259* for sexual intercourse with the *guru*'s wife; *Manu XI. 99-100* and *Yāj. III. 257* for theft of *brāhmaṇa*'s gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by *Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.24. 25* and *I. 10. 28.18* quoted above. When *Manu* says (in *XI. 89* latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a *brāhmaṇa* intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with *Manu XI. 46* quoted above is not that there is total absence of *prāyaścitta* in such a case, but that ordinary *prāyaścittas* (such as those in *Manu XI. 72*) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the *Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī* (folio 32a) hold that according to the *Kalivarjya* section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of *brāhmaṇa* sinners and therefore a

160. यत्तु मनुवचनं 'इयं विशुद्धिर्वादिता' इत्यादि (11.89) तदपीयमिति सर्वनाम-
पराशुब्रह्मादशपात्रिकादिब्रह्मचर्याया एव 'कामतो...विधीयते' इत्यनेन मतिर्बोधो न पुनः
प्रायश्चित्तमात्रस्य । मरणात्मिकादेः प्रायश्चित्तस्य दृष्टित्वात् ।...हे हि पापस्य झक्ती नरकोत्पादिका
व्यवहारनिरोधिका चेति । तत्रैतदशकस्याविनाशोऽपि व्यवहारनिरोधिकायाः शक्तीविनाशो नाशुपपन्न-
स्मरमात्यापानपणमेऽपि व्यवहार्यत्वं नाशुपपन्नम् । यत्तु मनुवचनं (11.45) 'अकामतः...निर्द्धारनात्'
इति तदपि कामकृते प्रायश्चित्तप्राप्त्यर्थं न पुनः पापक्षयमतिपादनपरम् । अपतनीये पुनः कामकृतेऽपि
प्रायश्चित्तं पापक्षयो भवत्येव 'अकामतः...पृथग्विधेः' इति मनुस्मरणात् (11.46) । पतनी-
येऽपि कामजि कामकृते मरणात्मिकाप्रायश्चित्तेषु कस्मिन्क्षणे भवत्येव कलाम्तराभावात् ।
'नारयानस्मिहोके...निर्द्धार्यते' इत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात् । *Mit.* on *Yāj. III. 226*. इहहारीत IX.
173 and *Yama* hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances
that end in death: प्रायश्चित्तेरप्येतेन चक्षुर्कार्यकृतं महत् (यत्कामकृतम्?) । कामकृतं
कृतं यत्तु मरणात्मिकादिब्रह्मचर्याया । महापातककर्तारश्चत्वारो मतिपूर्वकम् । अग्निं प्राविश्य
क्षुद्रयन्ति स्नात्वा महति वा कर्तते । *Yam. g. by Yam. Yakkāṇ, folio 16 (b)*; *अपराक p. 1039*
reads चत्वारोऽपविशेयतः'. The words of the *Mit.* are quoted or paraphrased by
subsequent works such as the *Prāyaścittasāra* (p. 4).

brāhmana murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par. M. (II part 1 pp. 201-203) sets out this view of the Mit. and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yaj. III. 226 as 'kāmatośvyavahāryastu' with an *avagraha*. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (*śiṣṭas*) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI. 190 = Vispu Dh. S. 54.32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yaj. III. 298 on which the comment of Viṣṇāneśvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or *smṛti*) deemed as authoritative. The Mit. remarks:¹⁶¹ 'the prohibition (contained in Yaj. III. 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

161. प्रायश्चित्तेन क्षिणक्षानपि न संयवहरेदिति वाचनिकोऽयं प्रतिषेधः । किमिति वचनं न कुर्याक हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति । अतश्च यद्यपि स्वभिचारिणीनां वधोऽप्येव एव प्रायश्चित्तं तथापि वाचनिकोऽयं संयवहारप्रतिषेधः । मित्ता. on वा. III. 298. The words किमिव हि वचनं...भारः occur frequently in Śābara-भाष्य, e.g. on ऊ. II. 2.27, III. 2.3, III. 7.11, IV. 3.38, V. 4.17 etc. On ऊ. VI. 1.44 (about the privilege of the *rathakāra* to consecrate Vedic fires) Śābara employs slightly different words 'न हि वचनस्य किञ्चिदुत्तरं नाम.' Even Śāṅkarācārya relies on these words of Śābara in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.32. When Yāj. I. 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Viśvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of *Karma*; but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know *Mīmāṃsā* 'एतस्माच्चैतच्छ्रुतानां भाविनां पावनानुपपत्तेः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतवशात्कृतवशात्पावनमस्तद्वृत्तं । यदास्तु कलविधिः । विवाहनिशब्दस्य कलविधौषापेक्षत्वात् । न चानमानुसारीत्यर्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति शङ्क्यं वक्तुम् । तथा च नैयायिकाः—न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्तीत्याहुः ।' निश्चय on वा. I. 58. Vide Aparārka on Yāj. II. 73-75 (p. 673) who says that one man's merit (*puṇya*) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj. II. 73-75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (ṛgādaṇa 200) clearly states.

This maxim is taken from the bhāṣya of Śābara and is a favourite device with all Dharmaśāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smṛtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544-545) quotes ¹⁶² the Mit. about the two *śāldis* of sin and its remarks on Yāj. III. 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Bṛhaspati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the śāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words 'slayers of women' do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one's enemies). Nārada (sāhassa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others ^{162a}. Those who take the view of the sinner's inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi smṛterācārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points ¹⁶³ out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smṛti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867-868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears ¹⁶⁴ to hold that the great Śāṅkarācārya explained

162. एतेन यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणी...मतिरेध इति मिताश्रोक्तं न युक्तिसहम् । केवलं शास्त्रमाभिरथ न कर्मस्यो विनिर्णयः । युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्मद्वानिः प्रजायते । पापे ह्यपि शुक्लपि स्वल्पान्यस्ये च तद्विदुः । मायश्चित्तानि मैत्रेय जगुः स्वायम्भुवाद्यः । इति बृहस्पति-वचनात् । मा. त. प. 545.

162 a. एपातां संशयहार्यौ तु धृतदण्डौ तु पूर्वयोः । धृतदण्डोऽप्यसम्भाव्यो ज्ञेय उत्तम-साहसं ॥ नारद (साहस, 11).

163. अथ हि बहिष्कार ऊर्ध्वरेतोविषयः न तु बृहस्पतिविषयः । ऊर्ध्वरेतोविचारणामेव तत्र प्रस्तुतत्वात् । इदं च कौस्तिकेन स्पष्टीकृतम् । मेढिकानां वनस्थानां वतीनां चापकीर्तिनाम् । ह्युज्जानामपि लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रत्यापसिर्न विद्यते ॥ इति । परा. मा. II part 1 p. 205. मा. प्रकाश (folio 17 b) quotes कौस्तिक's verse.

164. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्तु 'कामतोऽप्यवहारस्तु' इति अकारयभूतेष्वेतेषां याज्ञवल्क्यवचनो 'बहिस्तुभयथापि स्मृतेराचाराच्च' इति सूत्रे कृतमायश्चित्तनीतिकमह्यचार्यादियम् । आस्त्यो मेढिके धर्मे यस्तु प्रयत्ने पुनः । मायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन ह्यप्येतस आत्महा ॥ इति । मा. म. p. 7. The verse आस्त्यो is अत्रि VIII. 16 and is quoted by शङ्कर without citing the name. The मा. प्रकाश (folio 17 a) also refers to Śaṅkara's comment on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes: एवं तावत्सकलविषयसुखसंभवं यथाह्य इतिपद्व्युत्पेदेन याज्ञवल्क्यवचनस्य व्याख्यान-लक्षम् । शरीरकामीनांसायां तु .

Vedāntasūtra III, 4, 43 after reading Yāj. III, 226 as 'kāmatos vyavahāryastu' and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naiṣṭhika brahmacārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with). The printed editions of the bhāṣya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya's verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri's verse it is possible to hold that Śaṅkarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj. III, 226). The answer is: what ¹⁶⁵ actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smṛtis). For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all. But the smṛtis say so. If the smṛtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smṛtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to. So also the Bhagavad-gītā (IV, 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, *sañcita*) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not *all*) for which penances are provided in the smṛtis are also offences punishable by the king or State. For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India. Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo *prāyaścittas*. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago. But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are *pātakas*, acc. to Vas. I, 19 and some of those are *upapātakas* acc. to Yāj. III, 239. It does not seem

165. मनु प्रायश्चित्तैरप्येत्येव इति न युक्तम्। फलविनाशवत्प्रायश्चित्तम्। नैवम्। यथा पापोपशान्तिः क्षाम्यमान्या तथा तत्परिक्षयोपीति। नात्र यमजाणान्तरं कस्येति। अत एव नीतमेव पूर्वोक्तपरमभङ्गस्यायमर्थो दर्शितः। मित्रा. on वा. III, 226.

likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, prying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king on one's haunches, speaking loudly before the king are among the fifty *chalas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu* and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about *prāyaścittas*. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about *prāyaścittas* which were to be prescribed by a *pariṣad* (a meeting of learned *brāhmanas*) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both *pātakas* inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that *prāyaścittas* like *Aśvamedha* are spoken of even in the Tai. S. We also know that the *pratnavivāka* (which is quite close to *prādvivāka* in derivation and meaning) occurs in the Vaj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai. Br. III. 5. 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the Tāndya Br. 14. 6. 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. Bṛhaspati, quoted in the Vivādaratnākara, says 'When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods' (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 362¹⁶⁶).

The *pariṣad* made its own rules about *prāyaścittas* and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the *pariṣad* and the *brāhmanas* helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

166. वृत्तस्वभावायवान् स्तेयी बन्धनाद् क्लिश्यते चिरम् । स्वामिने तद्धनं दाप्यः
प्रापयितुं तु कारयेत् ॥ इत्युच्यते q. by विवादरत्नाकर p. 331. It is possible that this
verse means that a learned *brāhmaṇa* who has been well conducted but fell
a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time
because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to
restore stolen property and given penance.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 5, observes:¹⁶⁷ 'the king and the brāhmaṇa with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5.10.12-16) contains very important information: 'The ścārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smṛtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their ścārya's order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his *purohita* proficient in dharmasāstra and the science of government. He (*purohita*) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmaṇas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.' So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out *prāyaścittas*. Nārada includes 'neglect of penances' among matters solely dependent on the king (*prakīrṇaka*, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala¹⁶⁸ probably conveys the real position when he says: 'The king is the giver of *krochras* (i. e. his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmasāstras prescribes the *prāyaścitta*, the sinner carries out the penance and the king's officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance.' Parāśara VIII. 28 says 'an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him'. The Par. M. II. part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to *prāyaścittas* for sins like *govadhā* or those that are greater than it. Devala¹⁶⁹ also has similar verses.

167. 'हो लोक धृतराजो राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः । सी. VIII. 1. शतपथ V. 4.4.5 has 'निष्साद धृतराज इति धृतराजो वै राजा...एव च ओत्रियश्चेति इ वै हो मन्त्रयेतु धृतराजो.'

168. 'कुम्भारणां दायको (दायको v. l.) राजा निर्देहा धर्मपाठकः । अपराधी प्रयोक्ता च रक्षितः कुम्भारालकः' देवल q. by मन्. सा. p. 777 ; प्राय. सा. p. 8. राज्ञश्च/कुम्भारे स्थित्वा प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्यं कर्तव्या स्वल्पमिच्छतिः ॥ पराशर VIII. 28, on which परा. मा. II. 1. p. 232 says : अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वात्तस्मात्प्रायश्चित्तं राजाकुम्भारैव कर्तं निर्दिशेत् ।

169. 'याचित्वास्तेन ते चापि ब्राह्मणाः पापभीक्ष्णा । निष्कृतिं व्यवहारार्थं कुर्यान्स्ते द्वापञ्चया ॥ इयं वा ब्राह्मणेः कुम्भारमल्पदोषे विधीयते । राजा च ब्राह्मणेश्वरे महारुद्र उपरीश्व च' देवल q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 232-233 and by मन्. सा. p. 21. मा. वक्राश (folio 25 a) reads देवल's verse as इयं तु ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मरूपदोषेषु निष्कृतिः । राजा... महारुद्र परिचक्षते ॥

Parāśara VIII. 29 states that the king also should not ignore the *pariṣad* and should not by himself prescribe penances. *Paithinasi* quoted by the *Dandaviveka* (p. 76) provides¹⁷⁰ for both *prāyaścitta* and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to mediæval times. One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. *Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 1-4* provide¹⁷¹ that one who kills a *ksatriya* or a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. *Āpastamba* does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator *Haradatta* explains that they were to be given to *brāhmaṇas*. *Manu XI. 127, 129, 130, and Yaj. III. 266-267* have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, *Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 23.* expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words '*vairaniryātanārthaṃ*' and '*prāyaścittārthaṃ*' are employed by *Āp.* it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to *Āpastamba*. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was not to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among *brāhmaṇas*. We know that *Manu (IX. 243-245)* provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to *Varuṇa* and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned *brāhmaṇas*. *Manu IX. 236* provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (*brāhmaṇa* murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the *śāstra*. *Manu IX. 237*

170. अकार्यकारिणोऽपि प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्त्यनुसृत्य च दण्डं चैव ।
यकल्पयेत् ॥ पैथीनसि q. by हण्डविवेक p. 76.

171. क्षत्रियं हत्वा नृपः सहस्रं वैरनिर्वातनार्थं दद्यात् । क्षतं वैश्ये । दण्डं शूद्रे ।
अश्वभयाप्राधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । *आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24.1-4* : क्षत्रियवधे नोत्सह्य
दण्डभेदाधिकं राज्ञ उक्त्यजेद्वैरनिर्वातनार्थम् । क्षतं वैश्ये दण्डं शूद्रे अश्वभयाप्राधिकः । *बी. ध. सू. I. 10. 23-24.*

(= Matsya 227. 164) and Viṣṇu V. 4-7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking *surā*, the mark of dog's foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa's gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine. Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though *prāyaścitta* be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc. Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of *surā* and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 169) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V. 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i. e. *rāja-dāṇḍa*) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i. e. *parisaddaṇḍa* or *daiva dāṇḍa*) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes. In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same. For example, Gaut. 23. 10-11, Vas. 20. 13, Manu XI. 104, Yāj. III. 259 and several other *smṛtikāras* prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls. Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the *punishment* (*dāṇḍa*) of the excision of the testicles. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj. III. 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the

prāyascitta. There were works like the Madanaparījata¹⁷² (p. 827) and the Mitākṣarā that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmanas (Manu VIII 380) applies only to matters other than prāyascittas and that since the Manusmṛiti itself (XI 100) states that a brāhmaṇa guilty of theft of brāhmaṇa's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmaṇa as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII 318 (= Vas. 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10.27, 15-16 provide¹⁷³ that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmaṇa he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of his life (i. e. he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.4 the thief approached the king¹⁷⁴ with a club (of iron or *khadira* wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314-316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called *musala*) or a club of *khadira* wood or a double-edged *śakti* or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अथ च लिङ्गच्छेदवधात्मको दण्डो ब्राह्मणव्यतिरेकस्य । न जातु ब्राह्मणं हत्या-
त्प्रायश्चित्तवर्धितम्—इति तस्य वचनेनैवात् (मनु. ८. ३८०) । इत्यस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तस्यत्वात् । मित.
on वा. III. 233; but on वा. III. 257 the mīta says 'मनुना सुवर्णस्तेयकृद्भिर्हृत्यभिषास
युहीत्वा सुसलं राजा सङ्कष्टस्यायु तं स्वयमिति सर्वनाम्ना प्रकृतब्राह्मणवत्प्रसौनेव हननविधानात् ।
न जातु ब्राह्मणं हत्यादित्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिरेकदण्डरूपहननविधयोरन्यादप्युपपत्तेः ।' ; vide
also मद्. वा. p. 827 for the same view.

173. पुनश्च वधे स्तेये भूयसादान इति स्वान्यायाय वधः । चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्येतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य ।
आप. ध. सू. II. 10, 27, 15-16.

174. स्तेनः प्रकीर्णकेषोऽस्ते सुसलमाधाय राजानं गत्वा कर्माच्छेदितं तेनेनं हत्याद्वये मोक्षः ।
आप. ध. सू. I. 9.25. 4. ; ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहृत्यैव प्रकीर्णं केशान् राजानमभिधावेत्स्तेनोऽस्मि भो
स्वस्त्यं मा भवामिति तस्मै राजौदुम्बरं सार्द्धं दद्यात्तेनानामानं प्रमापयेत्स्मरणाभूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते ।
पत्ति 20 41. औदुम्बर means 'made of udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red
in colour' (i. e. made of copper).

or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Śaṅkha and a verse from Saṁvarta (122) to the same effect. Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100-101 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 20-21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas. 20. 41, Yaj. III. 259, Viṣṇu 52. 1-2 and Parāśara XII. 69-70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold. Vasiṣṭha introduces an important change viz., that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally. Nārada¹⁷⁵ (pariśiṣṭa, verses 46-47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yaj. II. 36 and 270, Bṛhaspati and by digests¹⁷⁶ like the Pr. Prakaraṇa. If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury¹⁷⁷ (Gaut. X. 47, Śāntiparva 75. 10, Kautīlya III. 16) or he had to make his officers¹⁷⁸ entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 166-168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāṇḍālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya-ghātītvaṁ cāṇḍālānām).

175. राजा स्तेनेन नृपस्यो सुककेशेन धावता। आचक्षणेन तस्तेपमेवकमस्मि श्लाघि माय॥ अनेन भवति तेन स्वकर्ममतिपादनात्। राजा ततः सुकेशेनमुत्पुजेत् क्षाकित्थिवच॥ नारद, परिशिष्ट 46-47.

176. दुष्यैवापहतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः। श्रापयित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कलमवस्थापयन्नुपये॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 52. 14; सर्वमेव सुवर्णहरणविस्तेयमायधितं विद्यमानस्यापहतद्रव्यपरय स्यामपुरःसरमेव कर्तव्यम्। इतरथा कुतमायधितस्यापि पुनस्तद्रव्यपर्योकारे तथैव स्तेयमसङ्गतम्। चिन्ते तु द्रव्ये पुनःस्वीकाराभावात्प्रायश्चित्तमेवेति। प्राय.प्रक. on p 77.

177. चौरहृतमपजित्त्वं यथास्थानं गमयेत्। कोशाह्वा दद्यात्। नी. X. 46-47; मर्यादहर्तुमशक्यं स्यादन्नं चौरैर्हृतं यदि। तत् स्वकोशात्मज्ञेयं स्यादशक्येनोपजीवतः॥ शान्ति 75.10 q. by the मिता. on वा. II. 36; चौरहृतमपि चानामं स्वद्रव्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य III. 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यमुत्पुजते तेस्तत्पतिवाच्यम्। आप. ध. सू. II-10. 26. 8.

Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional¹⁷⁹ (kāmataḥ) or unintentional (akāmataḥ) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kautīlya IV. 10, Gaut. XII 48, Manu VII. 16 and VIII. 126, Yāj. I. 368, Viṣṇu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baud.¹⁸⁰ Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III. 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agnipurāṇa 173. 6), Angiras 143, Viśvāmitra, Vṛddha-Hārta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances. It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Devala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments¹⁸¹. The Pr. M. (pp. 124-125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Viṣṇu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu LX. 285 which provides a fine of 500

179. ज्ञात्वापराधं देशं च कालं बलमधापि वा। वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डयेषु पातयेत् ॥ या. I. 368; अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधी चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डयेषु पातयेत् ॥ मनु. VIII. 126, on which मेधातिथि remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment 'उकाशुकदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मानुकाश्लोकोपयम्। एतद्व्याख्यारणे सर्वदण्डकृतिः कर्तव्या'.

180. शरीरबलमायुश्च वयः कालं च कर्म च। समीक्ष्य धर्मविद् बुद्ध्या मायश्चित्तानि निदिशेत् ॥ बी. घ. I. 1.16; देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं पापं चाधिरय पश्यतः। मायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पं स्याद्यत्र चाका न निष्कृतिः ॥ या. III. 293; सर्वत्र चैव मायश्चित्तमकरणे-जातिशक्तिगुण-पेक्षं सक्तुद्व्यङ्गिकृतं तथा। अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय मायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ इत्येतदेव संक्षेपबुद्धम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 262. The verse is quoted as विश्वामित्र's in प्राय. प्रकरण. p. 8, प्राय. वि. p. 29, परा. मा. II. part I p. 235 and as देवल's by the मित्त. on या. III. 243. Vide also स्याद्य. q. by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 24.

181. यथा स्मृतिनामरे देवलः। कालातिरेके द्विगुणं मायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्। द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा छुद्रिममाप्युपात् ॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके। संवत्सराभिज्ञस्तस्य बुद्धस्य द्विगुणो ह्यमः-इति मनुवचने (8.373) संवत्सरात्यरतो द्विगुणदण्डदर्शनेन दण्डवत्यायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति न्यायेन एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकमन्तरान्यत्रापि तथेति न्यायाच्च। प्राय. तस्य p. 474; vide p. 530 of the same work for the same न्याय. 'अथ मण्ड-योद्यानादि-देवतागारादि-भेदने कादयः। वापीकुषारागमसेतुलतातडागवमदेवतायतनभेदने मायश्चित्तम्।...जाह्नवाभोजयेत् ॥ इति। एतच्चाख्योपधाते। महतोपधातेऽप्यासे प्राजापरयादि कल्पनीयम्। देवता चान्न शुष्कानी हुजोहिता च ग्राह्या। मायश्चित्तस्याप्यत्तादृश्यत्र दण्ड-नीत्यदर्शनेन मायश्चित्तपौरेवं कल्प्यं दण्डवत्यायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति वचनात्। तथात्र दण्डनोरवमाह कारवाचनः।...विष्णुरपि...मनुः...इति।

paṇas for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks 'daṇḍavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti'. Nārada divided *sāhasa* into three kinds viz. *prathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama*, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life. He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the *uttama-sāhasa*, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, *sāhasa*, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction¹⁸² to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the *prāyaścitta* prescribed by the *pariśad* but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases. Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz. that of excommunication by *ghaṭasphoṭa* if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the *prāyaścitta* prescribed (i. e. it was *jātidanda*). Vide Gaut. 20.2-9, Manu XI. 182-185 and Yaś. III. 294 and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 388 and vol. III. p. 1009-1010 for the rite of *ghaṭasphoṭa* and re-admission to caste after *ghaṭasphoṭa*. Many of the *prāyaścittas* prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling *surā* or water or cow's urine or milk or ghee for drinking *surā*, Manu XI. 73, 90-91, 103 &c.) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the *pariśad* as the words of Manu in XI. 73 '*icchayātmanaḥ*' and '*prāsyed-ātmanam-agnau vā*' clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide¹⁸³. In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing *prāyaścitta*. So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned *brāhmaṇas* and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 971.

182. बन्धं कुर्याच्छुभो दुष्ठा यावद्विस्तमकुर्वताम् । कामतोऽकामतो वापि यावद्विस्तं कृतं शरेत् ॥ अग्निपुराण 168 1. यावद्विस्तैः क्षमं याति पापं कृतमसंशयम् । राजदण्डाभ्युत्थं याति यावद्विस्तमकुर्वताम् । यावद्विस्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यद्विष्टिताः । नरके पतियच्छन्ते तिर्यग्गोमि तथैव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II. 73.3-4 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 210, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 102 a.

183. यावद्विस्तमकुर्वताम् तु पर्वदा न वेयम् । तत्त्वचमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । याव. सा. p. 41 ; पतञ्जलमर्यादिकं यावद्विस्तं पर्वदा नावेद्विस्तमपि तु मृत्युचक्षुस्त्वचमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । अन्तुप्यचक्षुस्त्वचमेव विद्वेषो ज्ञात्वा तद्वद्विस्तमन्तेन स्वचमेव कुर्यात् । मद्. पा. p. 817.

The literature on *prāyaścittas* is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, ten (i. e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed *Vasistha-dharmasūtra*, *prāyaścittas* cover nine (20-28). *Manu* devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* containing 1009 verses deals with *prāyaścittas* in 122 verses (III, 205-327). Several printed *smṛtis* such as those of *Āṅgiras* (168 verses), *Atri* (chapters 1-8), *Devala* (90 verses), *Brhad-Yama* (182 verses), *Śatātāpasmṛti* (in 274 verses) from the *Ānandāsrama* collection of *smṛtis* alone deal only with *prāyaścittas*. Many other *smṛtis* and several *purāṇas*, such as the *Agni* (chap. 168-174), *Garuda* 52, *Kūrma* (*Uttarārḍha* 30-34), *Varāha* 131-136, *Brahmaṇḍa* (*Upasamhārapāda* chap. 9), *Viṣṇudharmotara* (II, 73, III, 234-237) contain hundreds of verses on *prāyaścittas*. Besides commentaries like the *Mitaksarā*, *Aparārka*, *Par. M.* and others and digests like *Madanapārijāta* (pp. 691-994), there are special digests dealing with *prāyaścittas* alone such as *Hemādri on Prāyaścitta* (which is of doubtful authenticity), the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* of *Bhavadeva*, *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Prāyaścittatattva*, *Smṛtimuktāphala* (*prāyaścitta* section), *Prāyaścittasāra* (part of *Nṛsiṃhprasāda*), *Prāyaścittamayūkha*, *Prāyaścittaprakāśa* (ms. in the *Anūp Sanskrit library*, *Bikaner*, No. 2610), *Prāyaścittenduṣekhara* of *Nāgojibhatta*, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Par. M.* II parts 1 and 2, and *Prāyaścittaprakāśa*.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have *adhikāra* (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them. Since *Manu* XI, 44 (*prāyaścittiyate naraḥ*) and *Yāj.* III, 219 (*naraḥ patanam-ṛcchati*) both employ the word 'man' without ¹⁸⁴ any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all *varṇas*, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (*pratilomajas*) and for even *cāṇḍālas*. *Yāj.* III, 262 states that a *sūdra* sinner

184. नरग्रहणं सर्वजनिकयद्वर्जनार्थम् । विश्वरूपेण वा. III, 210; नरग्रहणं प्रतिलो-
मजातानामपि श्रायश्चित्ताधिकारमाप्नुयिष्यत् । तेषामप्यर्हिसादिसाधारणधर्मव्यतिक्रमसम्भवात् ।
मिता. on वा. III, 219; नर इत्यनेन ब्राह्मणादिब्राह्मणालाभानां सर्वेषां पापं दूर्ययति ।
अस्ति च ब्राह्मणादीनामपि विधिनिषेधश्च । यथा देवलः । स्वजातिलोचनं सर्वजनप्रणामस्ति-
मिता एवमद्वारद्वारिपरपमानं स्वश्रवणोद्यमं प्रधानकर्मपरिवर्जनमिति ब्राह्मणधर्मः । मनुः ।
नवार्थे...ब्राह्मणां छुद्विकारणम् ॥ (10.62) अतो वेदार्थव्यवहारनिमित्तेनैव श्रायश्चित्तीयता न
ब्राह्मणादीनामिति मनुस्मृत्यम् । माव. वि. p. 12.

though he has no *adhikāra* (for recitation of Vedic *mantras* and *homa*), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except *japa* and *homa*) for the periods prescribed. Āṅgiras¹⁸⁵ provides that penance may be administered to a *śūdra* devoid of *japa* and *homa*. Even as to *japa* and *homa* there were works like the *Madanapārijāta* p. 749 and Vy. M (p. 112) that relying on a verse of Parāśara VI. 63-64 held that a *homa* could be performed for women and *śūdras* in the ordinary fire through a *brāhmaṇa*¹⁸⁶. The Pr. V. relies on Manu X. 62 and a prose passage of Devala for the proposition that even *Cāṇḍālas* have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them. Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform *prāyaścitta*, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several *prāyaścittas* prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some *smṛtis* like *Brhad-yama* III. 1-2 and *Śaṅkha* state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some *pātakas* such as drinking *surā*, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

185. तस्माच्छूद्रं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं यदातय्यं जपहोमविच-
जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरसु q. by the मिता. on या. III. 262, याच. म. p. 12, या. सार p. 173.

186. श्रीशूद्रयोरपि ब्राह्मणद्वारा लौकिकाग्नी होमा भवयेय । अत एव धर्मविद्वद्भी
'उपवासां ब्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानं जपादिकम् । विधेः सम्पादितं वश्यं सम्पूर्णं तस्य तत्फलम् ॥ इति ।'
मद्. या. p. 749. This is पराशर VI. 63-64 (the printed edition in B. S. Series reads ब्रतं चैव स्नानं तीर्थे जपस्तपः). It is rather inexplicable how while Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha* holds, relying on Parāśara, that the *dattahoma* may be performed by a *śūdra* or a woman through a *brāhmaṇa*, the *Prāyaścittamayūkha* of the same author propounds a different view in the words 'एतेन वग्महार्जमदनरत्नयोः श्रीशूद्रादेर्विषद्वारा समम्ब्रकी जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम्' (p. 13). Did the author change his views or is the text of one of the two *Mayūkhās* tampered with by his successors? The या. प्रकाश (folio 30 b) explains Parāśara VI. 63-64 in a different way. It says that the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can in every case have a *homa* performed for her through a *brāhmaṇa*, but that where in a rite *japa* and *homa* are obligatory and the person concerned is unable to perform *japa* and *homa* in person there alone he can appoint a *brāhmaṇa* as *pratinidhi*. अथ यातेषु जपहोमादिषु अक्षत्तौ विपर्ययमतिनिषिन्ध-
यमाचार्यशास्त्रम् । प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गजपहोमयोस्तु निषेधादेवामृत्येस्तत्र तस्याप्रवृत्तिः । ...एतेन
वग्महार्जमदनरत्नयोः श्रीशूद्रादेर्विषद्वारा समम्ब्रकी जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम् !
या. प्रकाश. folio 30 b.

relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any¹⁸⁷ *prāyaścitta*. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of *prāyaścitta* in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full *prāyaścitta* prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a *brāhmaṇa* should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink *surā*.¹⁸⁸ Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II. 1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of *surā* by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Bṛhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n. 180) that the *prāyaścitta* to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several *smṛtis*¹⁸⁹ provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

187. ऊनेकादशवर्षेण पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च । प्रायश्चित्तं चरेद् भ्राता पितः । वाग्यः सुहृज्जनः ॥ अतो बालतदस्यास्य नापराधो न घातकम् । राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ काङ्ग, quoted by the मिता. on या. III. 243, बृहद्यज III. 1-2 (reads वान्योपि वाग्धवः). These are quoted by हरदत्त on यौ. II 6 (without name) and the first occurs in आपस्तम्बस्मृति III. 7 as चरेद्भुक् सुहृद्वापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशोधनम्. The first verse is वेबल 31. Both are ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by माय. वि. p. 29.

188. प्रायुषण्यनात् कामचारः कामभक्षः । गौ. II. 1: मध्यमपुरीषाणां भक्षणं नास्ति कश्चन । दोषस्याप्यजामादयोऽपि पित्रोः सुहृदुरोः ॥ कुमार q. by मिता. on या. III. 253, by माय. प्रक. p. 50: इत्यात्कामचारभक्षोऽकिर्महतः घातकादृते । बृहस्पति q. by मा. तत्त्व p. 551.

189. अक्षीतिर्यस्य र्वाणि बालो वाप्युनबोद्धः । प्रायश्चित्तार्थमर्हन्ति क्षिपो रोगिण एव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54. 33, लघुहरित 33, वेबल 30, आपस्तम्बस्मृति III. 3, बृहद्यज III. 3 (reads अक्षिरपक्षिकवर्णि). This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by the मिता. on या. III. 243 and to भार्गव by हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26.5. The मद्. पा. p. 796 ascribes it to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस्. तथा बालब्रह्मदीर्घां साक्षात्कर्तुं तेऽप्यधमेव । अक्षीति...रोगिण एव चोऽवङ्गिरः स्मरणात् । तथा । अर्वाङ्कुद्वादशाद्वादशोऽक्षीतेरुधमेव वा । अधमेव भवेत्पुंसां तुरीयं तत्र योचिताम् ॥ इति । तथाप्युपनीतस्यापि बालकस्य पादमात्रमेव प्रायश्चित्तम् । क्षीणार्थं यदातप्यं ब्रह्मार्थं रोगिणां तथा । पादो बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वयं विधिरिति विष्णुस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 243. The verses अर्वाङ्कु and क्षीणार्थं are ascribed to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् by मद्. पा. p. 796 and the latter is ascribed to लघुविष्णु by माय. वि. p. 28 and to बृहद्विष्णु by माय. प्रकरण p. 17.

16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the *prāyaścitta* (prescribed for able-bodied men). The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 243 quotes a verse of Sumantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Viṣṇu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before *upanayana*) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth. Cyavana (prose) prescribes half *prāyaścitta* for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a *bāla* up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a *bāla* after 70. *Katyāyana* provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c.)¹⁹⁰

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (*akāmanataḥ*) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (*kāmanataḥ*) is this that for the latter the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by *Āngiras*,¹⁹¹ *Vyāsa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. As *Yāj.* III. 226 employs the word '*ajñāna*' in the first half and the word '*kāmanataḥ*' as its opposite in the second half instead of the word '*jñānataḥ*' it follows that *Yāj.* makes no difference between the consequences of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *kāmanā* (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 395-399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Viṣṇu¹⁹² provides that the *prāyaścitta* for

190. बालदृष्टधीनामर्षे प्रायश्चित्तम् । आ बोहशास्त्रालः । सत्सपूर्वजना दृष्टः । ययव
q. by *परा. मा.* II. part 1 p. 122 and *प्राय. वि.* p. 28. सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंसो बोधेनः
स्मृतः ॥ तदर्थे बोधितो दण्डार्थे पुंसोऽङ्गकर्मम् ॥ कात्या. 487.

191. श्यामकामकृते वन् हिमं बुद्धिपूर्वके । अङ्गिरस् q. by *प्राय. वि.* pp. 22 and
24 ; विहितं यदकामानां कामान् हिमं स्मृतम् । अग्निपुराण 173. 9, q. by the *मिता.* on
वा. III. 226 (without name) ; and as that of अङ्गिरस् by *प्राय. प्रकाश* p. 12 and
as of मध्यमाङ्गिरस् by *प्रा. प्रकाश* (folio 16b). अस्तेनैव कुर्यात् कृतव्ययकामतः
कामते हिमं शोकं पूर्वेषु च यदुच्यते ॥ श्याम q. by *प्राय. वि.* p. 24.

192. विप्रैः तु सकलं देवं पादोनं ऋत्रिभे मत्तम् । वेदेनैव पादोऽन्वसु ब्रह्मासिनु हारयते ॥
विष्णु q. by *प्राय. वि.* p. 102 where it is stated that *मित्रान* noted that this verse
was not found in the *विष्णुसंहिता*. It is ascribed to बृहस्पति by *प्राय. प्रकाश*
p. 16 and to बृहस्पति by *मिता.* on वा. III. 267.

complete statement or digest of the *smṛti* material, such discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as stated by the *Smṛticandrika*, the *Madanaratna* (*vyavahāra*) and the *Sarasvativilāsa*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 512 note 924 for the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated above (n. 181), *prāyaścittas* were to be moulded on the lines of legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment about *prāyaścittas* depending upon the *varṇa* of the sinner must also have gradually fallen into disuse with the disappearance of the more severe *prāyaścittas* and the substitution of cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to *prāyaścittas*. For example, the *Pr. Prakaraṇa*, after quoting Gaut. 22. 14-16 about the *prāyaścitta* for killing a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* or *śūdra* under certain circumstances, remarks that in its day those *prāyaścittas* were no longer part of the practices of the people.¹⁹⁶

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* depended in some cases on the country also. For example, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter was and is allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but such a practice was severely condemned by Manu XI. 171-172 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 17-24 and other *smṛtis*. *Bṛhaspati* refers to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 462 for *Bṛhaspati*'s verses.

Severity and extent of *prāyaścitta* depended also on the question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first offender. The *Āp. Dh. S.* (II. 10. 27, 11-13) prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* who has once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for a *śūdra* having intercourse with a woman of the three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

196. पञ्च गौतमेनोक्तं राजस्यवधे...या दद्यात् (२९. १४-१६)-एवमादीनि जामातुनिरवस्थानानि जामाविधमायास्थितिकवयतिपादकानि तानि ब्राह्मणजातवृत्तरथ-यामस्य-वहद्वयेदाधव-नादिकुपयुक्त-कामाकामादिकुवकाशियादिवधविश्यानि यथावोर्ग्यं यथावेयाणि । इदानीं तु तयाविधकवियाद्यमनेन व्यवहारानकुत्वात् न पर्येकं निवृत्त्यवस्थया व्याख्यातमीति सर्वं चेदं ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्रियादिवधमायधिकतुकात् । शब. मङ्ग. p. 22.

fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed¹⁹⁷). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse *prāyaścitta* is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the *āśrama* to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as stated by Āṅgīras 'when persons in other *āśramas* are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the *prāyaścitta* is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for *śauca* (bodily purity¹⁹⁸). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 26, Sāṅkha 16. 23-24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and *sannyāsins* have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much *śauca* as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 = Viṣṇu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the *smṛtis* was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years or more) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama¹⁹⁹.

Though the *smṛtis* have entered into very great details about the *prāyaścittas* for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

197. सर्वार्थसामान्यपूर्वायां सकृत्संनिपाते पावः पततीत्युपादिशति । एवमन्वासे पावः पादः । अतुर्ये सर्वम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 11-13.

198. तथाभिमिनामपि अङ्गिरसा विशेषो दर्शितः । गृहस्थोक्तानि पापानि कुर्वन्मया-
भिमिनो यदि । शौचवच्छेदधनं कुर्युर्वर्गब्रह्मनिर्दशनादिति । शौचवदिति - एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां
त्रियुणं ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । त्रियुणं तु वनस्थानां वनीनां तु चतुर्गुणम् । इति (मनु ५. १३७) वचना-
दप्या ब्रह्मचार्यादीनां शौचं त्रियुगादिकमेव वर्धते तथा शौचधनं प्रायश्चित्तमपि भवतीत्यर्थः ।
ब्रह्मचारिणस्तु प्रायश्चित्तत्रैगुण्यं षोडशवर्षावृत्त्येव । मित्ता. on वा. III. 250. On ब्रह्म-
निर्दशनात् the अय. म. p. 3 says 'ब्रह्मनिर्दशनं तत्त्वज्ञानम् । ज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तत्त्वज्ञाप्यं
ज्ञानमेव नादिते । ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकामानि अस्मत्सात्कुर्वतेऽनुमेति भगवद्गीतोक्तोः । (गीता ४. ३७).

199. न च द्वादशवार्षिके चतुर्गुणे क्रियमाणे मध्ये विपत्तिस्तद्व्या समाप्यमुपपत्तेः
महत्तिरेव नोत्पद्यते इति शाङ्करीयम् । यतः ब्रह्मान्तप्रायश्चित्तस्य मध्ये विपत्तिरपि पापक्षयो
भवत्येव । तथा हारीतः । प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते कर्त्ता यदि विपद्यते । पुनस्तद्वद्वर्षासाविह लोके
परम् च । इति । व्यासोऽप्याह । धर्मार्थं यत्प्रमाणस्तु न च्छेत्तुमिति मानसः । प्राप्तो भवति
तत्पुण्यमत्र वै नास्ति संशयः । इति । मित्ता. on वा. III. 250. बृहस्पति II. 7 is almost the
same as हारीत. प्राय. वि. p. 86 ascribes the verse प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते to बृहस्पति ;
अथर्वक p. 1058 ascribes it to यम.

Gaut. (19. 18-20) provides that these acts (viz. Vedic recitation, *tapas*, fasting, gifts &c.) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that *Kṛcchra*, *Atikṛcchra* and *Cāndrāyana* are penances for all sins.²⁰⁰ Manu XI. 209 (= Viṣṇu 54.34) provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the *parisad*) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. Parāśara (XI. 55-56) provides that the recitation of the *Gayatri* ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that *Cāndrāyana*, *Yāvaka*, *Tulāpuruṣa* and serving cows destroy all sins. Yāj. III. 265 provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by *Cāndrāyana*, observance for a month of the milk *vrata* or by *Parāka*. Manu XI. 117 provides for all *upapātakas* except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for *govadhā* or *cāndrāyana*.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned *brāhmanas* and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (Yāj. ²⁰¹ III. 300 and Parāśara VIII. 2). The Mit., Par. M., Pr. S. and other digests quote long passages in verse from *Āngiras* ²⁰² who provides that the sinner should

200. एतान्येवामादेशो विकल्पेन कियेरन् ॥ एनः सु सुवपु सुखणि लवपु लवणि ॥ कृच्छ्रा-
तिकृच्छ्रा चान्द्रायणमिति सर्वमायश्चित्तम् ॥ गो. 19. 18-20. Vide ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 36 and
विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 38 for very similar words 'वापे सुखणि सुखणि स्वल्पाग्नये च तद्दिदः ।
आयश्चित्तानि विवेक्या जह्युः स्वायंमुखादयः ॥ Instead of विवेक्याः the विष्णुपुराण has
मैत्रेय. This very verse is quoted as बृहस्पति's in माय. तत्र. p. 545 (with मैत्रेय
for विवेक्याः).

201. विस्पातदोषः कुर्वति पर्षदोऽष्टमस्तं ब्रतम् । य. III. 300. This is ascribed
to both बृहस्पति and या. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 153. Vide सङ्ख्य 17. 62 also.

202. A few of the verses of अङ्गिरस् are cited here: कृत्वा वापे न गृहेन गृह-
मानस्य वर्धते ॥ सर्वत्र वाग्यतः स्नात्वा क्लृप्तवासाः समाहितः । आश्रितो वाय वैश्यो वा परि-
चर्यपतिष्ठति । उपस्थाप्य ततः शीघ्रमातिमागन्धर्वीं ब्रजेत् । आश्रित्य शिरसा चैव न च
किञ्चिदुदाहरेत् । ततस्ते मणिपातेन ब्रह्मा तं सङ्गृहयित्वा । ब्रह्माः पृच्छन्ति किं
कार्यमुपाविशमाद्यतः दिष्टम् । किं कार्यं का च ते पीडा किं वा सुवचसे हिज । एवं तेः सममुज्जातः
सर्वं ब्रूयाद्वशेवतः । तस्मिन्निवेदिते कार्ये निष्कारयो वस्तु कार्यवान् । सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्प्राप्तं
यच्च प्राप्ता न यातयेत् । आहूय आचयेदेकः पर्षदा यो निषीजितः । कृण्वन् भो ब्रह्मं विम वसे
आदिश्यते ब्रतम् । वचः पूर्वमुदाहार्यं यथोक्तं धर्मकर्तुमिह । पश्चात्कार्यानुष्ठानेन शक्यता कुर्व-
न्नुग्रहम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् पृ. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 206-207 and 235-236. माय. सा. pp. 7.
17-20, माय. म. pp. 11-12, मा. प्रकाश (folio 27b and 28a),

not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground. Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c. Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly's decision as to the proper penance after citing the *smṛti* passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the *pariṣad* acted under the direction of the king in matters of *prāyaścitta* and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the *pariṣad*, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the *pariṣad*, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner's freedom from taint (Angiras q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 27a 'upasthānam vratādesascaryā suddhi-prakāśanam : prāyaścittam catuspādam vihitam dharmakartṛ-bhiḥ " ").

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the *pariṣad*, of the qualifications of the *śiṣtas* who were to be the members of the *pariṣad* and their privileges and duties. These points have already been discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 966-974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here. Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII. 25) and the *Caturvimsatimata* quoted by Par. M. state that a *drīja* though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a *śūdra* who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a *śūdra* even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the *śāstras* should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog²⁰³. Instead of the word '*pariṣad*' the word *parṣad* (which is an irre-

203 दुःशीलोपि द्विजः पूज्यो न तु शूद्रो जितेन्द्रियः । कः परित्यज्य मां दुष्टां दुष्टे-
च्छीलवर्मी करोत् ॥ पताकार VIII. 25 on which बरा. मा II. 1. p. 228 observes :
जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्षं एव माध्याख्येनोपादेयः । शीलं तु वचनम्भवत् । अत एव चतुर्विंशति-
मते शूद्रोपदेक्षस्यानुपादेयत्वं व्यवहसति । स्ववर्गमपि वचा क्षीरमेवैवं माह्वयादिभिः । तद्वत्पूज्य-
दुष्टावर्कं न श्रोतव्यं कथञ्चन ॥ पण्डितस्यापि शूद्रस्य शास्त्रज्ञानमस्य च ॥ वचनं तस्य न
प्राप्तं क्षुनोच्छिद्यं हविर्गया ॥

gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages^{203a}. Parāśara (VI, 55-57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin.^{203b} Devaśa says the same and adds²⁰⁴ that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmasāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmaṇas who are proficient in Dharmasāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous²⁰⁵ as far as possible.

If the learned brāhmaṇas of the assembly knowing the proper prāyaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance²⁰⁶.

203a. पर्वण्ययोऽत्र वृषोदरादित्यात्कायुः । माय. वि. p. 26, on which गोविन्दानन्द says 'परिषीदम्यस्यामिति पर्वत् वृषोदरादित्यादिकारलोपो विकल्पितः'. पाणिनि provides वृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । VI, 3. 109.

203 b. दुर्बलशुभ्रहः शोकस्तथा वै बालवृद्धयोः । अतोऽपि भवेदोषस्तस्माच्चानुग्रहः स्मृतः ॥ स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा लोभान्नपादज्ञानतापि वा । कुर्वन्पुन्यग्रहं ये तु तत्पापं तेषु मथ्यति ॥ पराशर VI. 55-57.

204. श्रावस्त्रिंशं यथोचितमशक्यं दुर्बलादिभिः । इत्यनेन्यग्रहस्तेषां लोकसंग्रहकारणात् ॥ एको नार्हति तत्कर्तुमज्ञो वा नाप्यनुग्रहः । धर्मज्ञा बहवो विद्याः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहः ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. II.1. pp. 130-131, माय. म. p. 12.

205. विचाररतादृशः कार्यो वया सर्वे सभासदः । एकवाक्यतया ह्युक्तया श्रेयोधि-
गच्छति ॥ q. by माय. सा p. 18.

206. अज्ञानं नान्यमानानां श्रावस्त्रिंशानि ये द्विजाः । जानन्तो न मथ्यन्ति ते वान्ति
सन्नां द्विजैः ॥ अक्षिपत् q. by मिला. on वा. III. 300, माय. तत्र, p. 512, परा. मा.
II. part 1 p. 234.

CHAPTER IV

PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the *smṛtis* contain numerous *prāyaścittas* for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta. The commentaries and digests such as the *Mit.* and the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i.e. they are bent on '*viśayavyavasthā*').^{206a} In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several *smṛtis* and digests. In the *Śabdakalpadrūma* (part III) there is an analysis from the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the *dakṣiṇā* in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the *prāyaścittas* have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to brāhmapas, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or *japa* of the names of some favourite deity such as Viṣṇu or Śiva. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the *Mahāpātakas*. Śāṅkha²⁰⁷ (17. 1-3) prescribes the following penance for the four *mahāpātakas*: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

206 a. एवमादीन्यन्यानि उत्कर्षार्थकर्मपातिपादकश्चनानि बाध्यादिजातत्वं—इत्यस्या-
दुत्तरधरा—वेदान्तपादिकृत्यापुक्तत्वं—कामाकामकुलत्वं—स्ववस्थया व्याख्येयानि । प्राय. वि.
p. 220; vide also प्रा. वि. pp 338-39 for a similar passage.

207. निर्वचं त्रिवचनस्यापी कुत्वा पर्जन्यं वने । अधःशायी जलाधारी पर्णमूलफला-
शनः ॥ ग्रामं विसेज्य भिक्षार्थं स्वकर्म परित्यजेत् । एककालं समशीवाहर्षं तु द्वादशे गते ॥
हेमस्तेपी दुरापञ्च ब्रह्महा दुष्टवल्गवः । जलेनोत्तमं क्षुद्रवन्ते महापातकिनस्त्रिगुणे ॥ शङ्ख 17. 1-3
q. by अपराधी pp. 1033-54, प्रा. भा. II. part 1 p. 320-321, भा. ब्रह्मसूत्र folio 87b.

on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as *atipātaka* and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Hārta and Sainvarta (q. by the Pr. V. p. 43) say the same. But other smṛtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj. III. 227 treat *mātr-gamana* as a *mahāpātaka* (*gurutaḥpa-gamana*) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru's bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233-234). Therefore we begin with the *mahāpātakas* the first of which is the murder of a brāhmaṇa. Gaut. 22. 2-10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10-25 and I. 9. 25. 12-13, Vas. 20. 25-28, Viṣṇu Dharmaśūtra 35. 6 and 50. 1-6 and 15, Manu. XI. 72-82, Yāj. III. 243-250, Agnipurāṇa 169. 1-4 and 173. 7-8, Sainvarta 110-115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmaṇa-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (quoted by Kullūka or Manu XI. 72-82, Aparārka p. 1055 and Pr. V. p. 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for *brahmahatyā*²⁰⁸. The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa the penance was to end in death²⁰⁹. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindānanda in his commentary (called *Tattvārthakaumudī*) on *Prāyaścittaviveka* (p. 63) are as follows:—

(1) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smṛtis add some details. For example, Gaut. 22. 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc. stated in

208. तथापि ब्राह्मणवधे श्रावश्चित्तानि सुकृतं । मनुना कीर्तितानीह त्रयोदश यथाक्रमम् ।
भविष्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1055, श्राव. वि. p. 63.

209. तत्र कामतः साक्षाद् ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाभ्युपगच्छत् सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां मरणान्तिकं श्रावश्चित्तम् । यद्वाह याज्ञवल्क्यः (3. 247.) 'लोमस्थः स्वहेत्येवं... । तथा च मध्यमा-
क्षिप्रा... मरणान्तिकं तु व्यसोकं श्रावश्चित्तं मनीषिभिः । तस्य कामकृतं यादव विज्ञेयं नात्र संशयः ।
श्राव. प्रक. pp. 8-9 ; वरा. भा II. part 2. p 72 and श्रा. प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of मध्यमाक्षिप्रेयम्.

Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yaj. III. 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i. e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point²⁰⁹. Āp. Dh. 8. I. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen cloth round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brāhmaṇa murder), that he should on seeing an *ārya* avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep standing by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brāhmaṇa's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brāhmaṇa would do. The Mit. adds that this *vṛata*²¹⁰ for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each *smṛti* and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yaj. III. 243) relies on the 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya'²¹¹ and states

209 a. स्वप्तापादितविमर्शेव सिरो द्वेधा कृत्वा च अजङ्गमाने स्वापयेद्द्विं च हस्ते धृष्टीपादिति...केचित् । अपरे तु द्वेधाकरणे प्रमाणाभावात् कृत्वा क्षयमितोज्जमिति मनुवाक्ये अस्माद्विमतसिःप्रसितेभ्यामप्यभिरःकपालं हस्ते ग्राह्यं स्वप्तापादितविमर्शितस्तु द्वन्द्वादि स्वापयति-त्याहुः । इत्यनेन विज्ञानेभ्यश्चकृत्यपापकावचः । वयं तु स्वप्तापादितसिःकपालं हस्ते ग्राह्यं अजङ्गीयसिरसा तु अजः कार्यः । म. अकारा folio 88a.

210. इयं च मनुवाक्यसम्बन्धोत्तमादिवृत्तिपादिता द्वादशवार्षिकव्रतचर्चा एवैव न पुनर्निष्ठा । परस्परस्तोकेकसाद्विरोधाच्च । तथाहि—यिसासी कर्म वेदवत्—(पा. 3. 243) इत्युक्ते किं निष्कारणं केचं वा युवेतु कतिपु वेदाकारका जायेतेव । तन्मतेहितेकेन कथञ्चन-वेन (आप. ध. सू. 1. 9. 24. 14.)—इत्यपस्तम्बचर्चनैः परिहृत्यनविद्वद्वा । अतः सर्वैक-कल्पोपदेशाकेचिदुक्तं मनुगौतमादुक्तेतिकर्तव्यतायाः परस्परस्तोकेभ्योऽपि विकल्प इति वदधिकत्येवोक्तमिति । मिता. ०७ वा III. 243.

211. अथ च सर्वसाक्षामवचनेन कर्मेति न्यायेन स्वस्वस्तोका अपिद्वया वर्माः सह-चयेन कर्तव्याः । विवक्षास्तु विकल्पेन । अपरार्क p. 1053. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 870 for explanation of this Nyāya (maxim) which is based on वे. II. 4. 9 and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon.

that there would be an option where the details of several smṛtis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa²¹² on Yaj. III. 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smṛtis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI. 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmaṇa is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Āṅgīras provides that for intentional brāhmaṇa murder the penance will be double (i. e. 24 years). The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and that the *anugrahaka* has to undergo only 9 years' vrata, the *prayojaka* only six years, the *anumantā* only 4½ years and the *nimittin* only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala²¹³ that if a man commits several murders of brāhmaṇas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand,²¹⁴ following the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmaṇas, on the analogy of the *Kṣāmasatī iṣṭi* (Jal. VI. 4. 17-20) which is performed when both the puroḍāśas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmaṇa

212. य देवमेवैतत् सर्वस्त्विति त्वं द्वावसवार्षिकं ब्रह्मविद्यासङ्गनीयं प्रतिस्तुतिं प्रयोज-
येद्ब्रह्म-पञ्चमरी सर्वज्ञात्मानमिषम श्रेयैके (पा. १.४) अभिहितत्वात्। विश्वरूप on पा. III.
237 (सिंहः कपालपात्रः).

213. यश्च मन्त्रोक्तान्वाहकं विधेः प्राथमिकावरमात्रं द्वितीये द्विहोत्रं भवेत्। तृतीये
विहोत्रं शोकं चतुर्थे चाग्निं भिक्षुभिः। एवञ्च प्रतिनिमित्तं त्रैमसिककाण्डमावर्तते इति त्वायेव।
मित्र. on पा. III. 243. माच. वि. pp. 25 and 77, माच. प्रकाश (19a) ascribes the verses
to देवल alone, while परा. मा. II part 2 p. 60 ascribes to both and त्वातिह. (माच.)
p. 872 attributes it to जम्बु and मातङ्ग (if the ms. was properly read by the
editor). हरदत्त on मी. 22.6 ascribes it to जम्बु alone.

214. एकां मानवान्मरणकाले सर्वोद्देशेन सङ्कल्पयन्निवे कृते सर्वमङ्गलवज्जन्मपापकायः।
यश्च सङ्कल्पयति भस्मिणे। मातङ्गपरं मातङ्गलोकाङ्गमानां च पुत्रकः। अथविषयस्य वैकल्यं
वाक्येनाभिरुच्यते। कामरुच्यदिना यद्वा सर्वज्ञा पुत्रपात्रे। वैषदोपाहकारणे जाते
होत्रकाद्यन्वये। होत्रेनेकेन होत्राणां सर्वेषां अथमादिसेत्। मा. सर. p. 468.

was a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmaṇas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(2) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut. 22. 3, Manu XI 72, Yāj. III. 248, if a ksatriya intentionally killed a brāhmaṇa he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmaṇa murderer or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(3) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25-26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI 74, Yāj. III. 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death²¹⁵ (Mṛtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice with head downwards, according to Manu XI 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa by a ksatriya acc. to the Madanapārijāta and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 95 a.

(4)—(8) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agnistut (Manu XI 74). The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (samrāj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes. This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.²¹⁶ Viṣṇu

215. अग्नीं सक्तिर्भक्ष्यमक्षिरवच्छातय । यौ. 22.2; अपि वा लोमानि त्वं मांसमिति हवयित्वाग्निं ययिष्येत् । आप. ध. I. 9. 25.13: अणुहस्तिद्वयसमावाच उद्धवादेताः । लोमानि चतुर्धोर्धोमि लोमभिर्धुत्सुं वासप इति प्रथमाह ।...मज्जां चतुर्धोर्धोमि मज्जाभिर्धुत्सुं वासप हवयिष्येत् । वसिष्ठ 20.25-26. When य. III. 247 prescribes that he should utter लोमयः स्वाहा, the देवता is धृत्सु and लोम, त्वत्सु and all others are the अणुमि.

216. तदुक्तं मयिचयपुराणे-स्वजितादेव कर्तृर कामनां पूतमपत्ते । अणुहस्तं द्विजानीनां यवे क्षमतिर्हृषिके । कुल्लूक on मनु XI.74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H: of Dh.

dharmasūtra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the mahāpātakas are purified by the performance of *Aśvamedha* or by going to all the *tirthas* on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of *brahmahatyā*, the sinner may walk one hundred *yojanas*, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (i. e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185.27.

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yaj. III. 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmaṇa (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yaj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos. 10 and 11 are not separate penances. It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmaṇa or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77²⁸ and Yaj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as *nivāra*, milk or

(Continued from the last page)

vol. II. 1228-1237. The *Viśvajit* and *Abhijit* are *ekāhas* and the first and last rites of the *Aśvamedha* and *Abhijit* follow the procedure of *soma* sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI. 7. 14 and VIII. 1.16 and Āśv. Sr. VIII. 5.13. In the *Viśvajit* one has to make a gift of all his wealth: vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1212 n. 2644. For *Gosava* and *Agnisut* vide note 133 above.

217. एतत्तु च अविष्यदुराणेऽवमेव स्मृतः पठितः स्वाकृतस्य-जातिनाम् यदा विद्मन्वाहुमसिपूर्वकम् । देवविद्याप्रियोमी च तदा तस्य अवेदिह्यम् । कुल्लूक on मनु XI.75.

218. अविष्यदुराण्यनुत्तरेऽप्यतिशयः सपरवसीम् । मनु XI.77; मेवातिथि commentः 'इतिथं कुल्लूक जीवारादि ब्राह्मणमपि यजोह्वादि । यतिशयः शीतः शीतः यति यजमणि

(Continued on the next page)

ghes) should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatī in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and Kullūka, applies where a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotāḥ sarasvatim' have been variously explained. Medhātithi explains as above. Aparārka, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Raghavananda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotāḥ' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI. 77 and Yāj. III. 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the *samhitā* text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of *samhitā* text precludes the *pada* text or *krama*. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmaṇa by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI. 79, Yāj. III. 244 and 246, Vas. 20. 27-28 and Gaut. 22. 7-8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śaṅkha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmaṇa and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger²¹⁹. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmaṇa of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmaṇa or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj, Vas. and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmaṇa he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

(Continued from the last page)

सरस्वत्याः क्षीतानि तत्त्वमवबुद्धसेत् ॥. अपरार्क p. 1060 says 'सरस्वतीं प्रति क्षीतोऽप्लावार-
ज्योद्धमं वाचद्वि नत्वा क्षीयति'; सर्वज्ञानारायण explains प्रतिक्षीतः प्रभासमारण्य इत्ययम-
प्लावन्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र क्षीतो लक्ष्मीकुर्य तीरेण नमनम् ॥. The *mitta*. on वा. III
249 explains ह्यस्मात् प्रवचनाद्वारण्यं यन्निमोद्धयेः प्रतिक्षीतः क्षीतः प्रति सरस्वतीं इत्या नत्वा.
For the sacredness of the Sarasvatī, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 13-15 and
later on under *śirṥas*.

219. अन्तरादे वा प्राकृत्यं नोद्धत्वा नत्वा वा ह्यवसानं परिब्रज्यात् इति । मङ्ग
सू. by हरदत्त on जी. 22.14 and *mitta*. on वा. III.244.

Manu XI. 82, Yāj. III. 244, Śaṅkha and Gaut. 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmaṇa announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Aśvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin.²²⁰ According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yāj. III. 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmaṇa or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII. 65-67) prescribes for *brahmahatyā* the penance of going to the sea and Rāma's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, *tīrthas* and river streams; on seeing the *setu* he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmaṇas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmaṇas.

There are other penances for *brahmahatyā* mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064-1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmaṇa killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 13 quoting Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Pr. V. pp. 70-71, Smṛtismuktāphala Pr. p. 873 quoting Dakṣa III. 27-28 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a *soma* sacrifice the penance was double (Yāj. III. 252). The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows²²¹ in proportion to the difference between his

220. अश्वमेधावसृष्टं गत्वा तत्रस्तुजातः स्नात्वा सद्यः पुनो भवति । शाङ्ख्ये by मिता. on य. III. 244. अपरार्क p. 1057 (on य. III 244) and प्राय. सा. p. 33 combine the two sūtras of Śaṅkha into one.

221. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम् । मातरं पितरं हत्वा सोऽर्घ्यं आतरं तथा । हर्षं हत्वा ओत्रिर्वं च आदित्याग्निमयापि वा ॥ आ उत्तमाहुःपुत्रासाह् वसं जीर्णो विमुह्यति । अथ येन सङ्कलनायां जीवन्कालरक्षानियतत्वाद् विनात्युत्तरं सतं परमायुरेव प्रोक्तम् । तेन द्वादशवर्षादिनां कृत्वा पञ्चकालादूर्ध्वं विंशत्यधिकतस्तस्य पादद्वयमिदं तावत्परिमाणं द्वादशवर्षादधिकतस्तद्व्याप्त्या विंशत्याः । प्राय. म. प. 13.

age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a brāhmaṇa intending to kill him but only injures him he should perform the *vrata* for *brahmahatyā* (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 22.11). The Mīt. explains that this is an extension (*atideśa*) of the rules about *brahmahatyā* and so the penance is a little less than the full one (i. e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said to be equal (*sama*) to *brahmahatyā* or *surāpāna*, the penance for them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to undergo a *prāyaścitta* for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 15). Vas. 23.18-19 and Parāśara XII.5-8 prescribe other *prāyaścittas* for such persons (who are styled '*pratyavasita*'). Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses of Yama²²¹ for nine kinds of *pratyavasita* and prescribe Cāndrāyana or two Taptakṛcchras for them.

If a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra intentionally and directly killed a brāhmaṇa, the expiation was death, but otherwise each had respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much *prāyaścitta* as a brāhmaṇa sinner would have had to undergo for killing a brāhmaṇa.²²² Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa killed a kṣatriya or vaiśya or a śūdra the sin was only an upapātaka (acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the kṣatriya or vaiśya victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice (Śamavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III. 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the penance was heavy. Yāj. III. 266-267, Manu XI. 126-130 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24. 1-4 prescribe other penances for killing a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a śūdra. The penance for a kṣatriya

221. अलङ्कारस्य न्यूनताः यत्रवानात्मकान्युताः । विषयवत्प्रमाणकवाक्यतायां ये न वैरे मयवसिताः सर्वलोकप्रसिद्धताः । आश्रययोगेन ह्युपपन्नि तत्तत्पञ्चदशेन वा न वन, verses 22-23, बृहस्पति 3-4, मारकपुराण. These include those who give up *sannyāsa* and those who sit down at the door of another for killing themselves (मय).

222. माय. मन्. p. 16 says: तत्र क्षत्रियादीनां साक्षाद्व्यवहारे विशेषाभ्यन्तात् प्राणान्तिकमेव । इतरत्र तु यद् ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मण्ये मायमिदं तद् क्षत्रियवैश्यसूत्राणां पञ्चकर्म हिंसनं विहिंसनं चतुर्दशमिति बोद्धव्यम् ।...तथा च ब्रह्मचर्यमकारणोऽङ्कितः । परिचया 0 (vide note 195 for the quotation); vide the माय. वि. p. 75 (which quotes मन्त्रिपुराण that quotes the verses of अङ्कित, स्मृत्युत्तर p. 105. स्मृतिह. (म.) p. 873. परा. मा. II part 2 p. 74 and मा. प्रकाश (folio 94 a) quote a verse of यमावति 'हिंसनं विहिंसनं चैव चतुर्दशमपि वा । क्षत्रविहङ्गक्षत्रातीनां ब्राह्मणस्य दशे त्रयम् ॥')

killing a *kṣatriya* is a little less (i. e. by $\frac{1}{2}$) than the penance for a *brāhmaṇa* killing a *kṣatriya*. Vide the verse '*vipre tu sakalam deyam*' quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *sūdra* males (Yaj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), except the cases where the woman was an *Ātreya* or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut. 22.17, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12-13, Vas. 20.34, Vispu Dh. S. 50. 7-9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for *brahmahatyā*). The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the *Dikṣanīyā* istī to the *Udavasānīyā* (acc. to the Mit.) or up to the end of *avabhṛtha* bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the caste of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut. 22.26-27, Manu XI. 138, Yaj. III. 268-269).

Manu (XI. 208 = Vispu Dh. S. 54.30) and Yaj. III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a *brāhmaṇa* the penance is *kṛcchra*, for striking him it is *Ati-kṛcchra*, for shedding his blood a *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra*. The *Samavidhāna Br.* I. 7. 4 prescribes other penances (i. e. recitation of certain *sūman* texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1, ²²³ Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90-91, Yaj. III. 253 and Brhaspati prescribe that if a *brāhmaṇa* drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling hot or to drink boiling hot cow's urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23. 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks *sura* (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI. 92 and Yaj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. दुराणोऽग्निस्पर्शा दुरा विधेत् । अप. व. द. I. 9. 25. 3, दुराणस्य मातृगणस्यो-
प्यमासिच्छेदुः दुराणस्ये दुराः दुराणेत । नो. 23. 1; दुराणाने कामकुले जन्तुर्नी तं विनिश्चिदेत् ।
दुराणे वरा विनिर्गन्धे दुराः दुरिगमाप्युपात् । दुराणस्ये q. by मित्रः ०२ वा. III 253, अवरार्क
p. 1071; माव. प्रक. p. 43; मायेन दर्मसाक्षेपु सर्वदेव नराविष । मतिपूर्वे दुराणाने कामान्ताक
दुरादुक्तम् । येदीपाने दुरा विनिर्गन्धे वरा कदाचन । नविषदुक्तम् q. by दीपकसिद्धा ०२ वा.
III. 253.

years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilcake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a ksatriya or vaiśya drinking *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmaṇa sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanapārijāta (p. 818), Pr. V. p. 104, Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks *surā* (made from flour) through ignorance or force. According to Gaut. 23. 2-3, Yāj. III. 255, Manu. XI. 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakrechra and then his *upanayana* was again performed. Vasiṣṭha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Krechra and Atikrechra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of *upanayana* again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI. 146 and Yāj. III. 255 which is passed over here. Brhaspati ²²⁴ quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmaṇa who drinks *surā* prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakrechra, Parāka and Cāndrāyana. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit. and others to cases where *surā* is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmaṇa drank *surā* (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyana on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmaṇas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmaṇas, Parāśara XII. 75-76). Vide Yāj. III. 255 and the Mit. thereon. Kṣatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than *surā* (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking *surā* of the

224. गौडी वैद्वी तथा भार्गवी पीत्वा विषः समाचरेत् । तप्तकृच्छ्रं पराकं च चाण्डायण-
मनुकमात् ॥ इत्यस्ति q. by मित. on वा. III. 254. अथर्वकं p. 1073, परा. म. II part 2 p.
84, मध. वा. p. 821, माध. सा. p. 42. The मित. comments: यत्तु वीधायनीयं त्रैमासिक-
ममया हुरापाने कृच्छ्राव्याहं चरित्वा पुनरुपवनमिति, यच्च वार्यं 'हुरां पीत्वा द्विजं हत्वा
वश्यं हत्वा द्विजमपः । संयोगं पतितैर्मत्वा द्विजचाण्डायणं चरेत् ॥' इति, यदपि भार्गवस्य
'गौडी...कमात् ॥' इति तद्विज्ञापनमप्यसौ चण्डायणं चाण्डायणं चाण्डायणं चण्डायणं चण्डायणं चण्डायणं
त्यस्यात् ।

paistī variety. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) holds that since Manu XI. 93 generally forbids the drinking of *surā* on the part of brāhmanas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of *upanayana* and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking *surā* the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakaraṇa p. 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut. II. 1 ('before upanayana a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating'), that no sin (*doṣa*) was incurred by a child before *upanayana* and by a girl before marriage for drinking *surā*. The Pr. V. (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāśa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.²²⁵ As Brhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit. and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking *surā* which is a mahāpātaka. Jātūkarṇya²²⁶ (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose upanayana has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (*madya*) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three kṛcchras as an expiation for him. Angiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpastamba-smṛti III. 7, Laghu-Hārita 34-35, Brhad-yama III. 1-2 also provide that a *pratinidhi* (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gr. (I. 22.22-26)²²⁷ prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in *punar-upanayana*. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the *Savitri* is Rgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual *Gāyatri* (*tatsaviturvareṇyam*, Rg. III. 62.10).

225. अत्राहुर्नीतमाहुणकुमारान्द्विजाहुणकुमारिकयोः सुरापाने दोषानाहः सुरां पीत्वा द्विजो मोहादित्यादि प्रायश्चित्ते द्विजग्रहणादिति कल्पतकस्य तस्माद् बाहुणराजस्य इति मनुवचनात् सुरापाननिषेधोऽयं जात्याश्रय इति स्थितिः । न पिबेद् बाहुणो मद्यं निषिद्धमपि चापरम् ॥ इति कुमारवचनाच्च द्विजग्रहणस्य आसुपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । प्राय. वि. pp. 104-105.

226. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहात्पिबेद्यदि । तस्य कृच्छ्रार्चं कुर्वाण्माता जाता तथा पिता ॥ जातृकर्ण्यं q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 80.

227. अधोपेतस्यैव । कृताकृतं केशवर्णनं मेधाजननं च । अनिवर्तकं परिह्वानम् । कालञ्च । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यमहे इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. सू. I. 22. 22-26, q. by मद्. पा. p. 821.

Vasiṣṭha 20.18 quotes Menu XI.151 on this point²²⁸ and Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51.4-5) in prose is to the same effect. Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51. 2-3) provides Cāndrāyana for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tame cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in sūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh *upanayana* also. The smṛtis provide different *prāyaścittas* for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding *surā*, for drinking water from the water vessel of a *cāṇḍāla* or of a washerman or from a *śūdra*'s house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut. 17.22-26, Yaj. I. 170, Manu V. 8-10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because²²⁹ they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V. and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Śāṅkha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to *brāhmaṇas* and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the *śiṣṭas* (the *pariṣad* of respectable people). Bṛhaspati²³⁰ (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a *cāndrāyana* is the purification. Some of the sages such as Samvarta, Śāṅkha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Cāndrāyana even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh.²³¹

228. मानवं चात्र श्लोकद्वयमस्ति । वपने मेकला वृक्षो भैक्षचर्या व्रतानि च । एतानि तु निवर्तन्ते पुनः संस्कारकर्मणि ॥ इति । बसिष्ठ 20. 18. The verse is मनु XI. 151.

229. यानि चाप्यानि मुख्यतरोक्तानि अभक्ष्यभक्षणे अवेद्यमाने सुखलज्जामयधितानि तानि कामाकामकृतसङ्कटदयासापेक्षया योजयानि इत्याणामानभ्यात्मतिस्यक्तिषु अभक्ष्यत्वमभिधातुमशक्यमिति तत्सूत्र्यन्तरादेवावगन्तव्यम् । शिष्टाववाच । यथा शङ्खः । भक्ष्याभक्ष्याण्यनेकानि जाह्नवस्य विशेषतः । तत्र शिष्टा यथा ब्रह्मस्तथा कार्यो विनिश्चयः ॥ q. by प्राय. वि. p. 339. The verse is quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 462.

230. अलेख्यानामवेद्यानामभक्ष्याणां च भक्षणे । रेतोवृषपुत्रिणां क्षुद्धिश्चाप्यायणं स्मृतम् ॥ इह । q. by अपरार्क p. 1164, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 367.

231. योमांसं मांसुषं चैव हनिहस्तास्तमाहृतम् । अभक्ष्यं तज्जवेत्सर्वं भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ संवत् 197 q. by अपरार्क p. 1165, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 367; इमालङ्कृत-दंष्ट्रि-कण्याव-वानर-करोह-गजवाजि-विह्वराह-योमालुचमांसभक्षणे चान्द्रायणम् ॥ शङ्ख-लिखित q. by अपरार्क p. 1166, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 368; vide मी. 23. 4-5, बसिष्ठ 23. 30, मनु XI. 156, विष्णु 51. 3-4 for similar provisions.

The general rule stated by the Sāma. Br. I 5.13, Manu XI. 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some *prāyaścitta* (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I. 10)²³² narrates the story of Uṣasti Cakrāyana, who when the country of the Kurus had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were *ucchiṣṭa*), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (*ūpad*) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of *brahman* should not violate the injunctions of śāstra about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4.28) has an aphorism on this incident. Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud. Manu then refers (X.105-108) to the stories of Ajigarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vṛdhu (Brbhu ?) or of Viśvāmitra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāṇḍāla.^{232a}

232. स हेतुं कुलमाश्लादन्तं विमिश्रे त होवाच जेतोषे विद्यान्ते यच्च ये न ह्यन उपनिहिता इति । एतेषां मे देहीति होवाच तानस्मै यद्वदौ ह्यनमुपानमिरुच्छिष्टं वै मे धीतं दयादिति होवाच । न विदेतेऽपुच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमाकं कादकिति होवाच कामो न उद्धयानमिति । छा. उप. 1. 10. 2-4; सर्वाकाशमतिश्च प्राणारपये वदन्मनात् । वेदान्तसूत्र III 4.28; on this शाङ्करभाष्य observes: तदेतदुच्छिष्टोच्छिष्टपद्विधितभक्षणं वर्ज्यपण्याः क्षुतेराज्ञयातिशयो लभ्यते प्राणान्तरयमसङ्गे प्राणसम्भारणावाभ्ययमपि अज्ञायितव्यमिति । स्वस्था-वस्थायां तु तत्र कर्तव्यं विद्यावतापीत्यनुपानमस्याकथयानाहुष्यते ।

232a For the legend of Ajigarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33.1 ff) and H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 563-64, 660, 663. In Rg. VI 45.31-33 Brbhu is described as the carpenter of the Panis and his liberality is highly praised. For Viśvāmitra trying to steal from a hamlet of cāṇḍālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26-96

or any other non-brāhmaṇa, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI. 162-168 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 41-47) and Viṣṇu 52. 5-13 prescribe various penances such as kṛcchra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyana for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; sāntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh; subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones; subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or uncloven hoofs (horses &c.), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI. 164 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII. 321, 323, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5.82).²³³

Steja (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called *sāhasa*) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a ksatriya or vaiśya (*parādyā brāhmaṇānām*, quoted above, Par. M. II part 1 p. 231). In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmaṇa and the thief a ksatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmaṇa thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on *sāhasa* verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmaṇas and kings is the best). But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Brhad-Viṣṇu ('vipre tu sakalam deyam,' quoted above in note 192) will apply.

233. विप्रादिमावात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणवदुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम् । किं च सुवर्णचतुर्नपरिमाणहेमहरणे शपथितान्तरोपदेशाच्चत्वारिमासवैव हेम्नो हरणे मरणास्तिकादि शपथितमिति युक्तम् । तथा चोक्तं बद्धिहस्त्येति । निता. on वा. III 257.

The penance for incest with the *guru's* wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut. ²³⁴ 23. 8-11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25. 1-2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14-16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20. 13-14, Manu XI. 103-104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance (viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārijāta (p. 837), Medhātithi ²³⁵ on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word 'vā' (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. (p. 138) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170-71, Yāj. III. 231, Samivarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend's wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one's son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an *anyaja* woman as equal to *gurutalpaganama* and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI. 105 and Yāj. III. 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājāpatya Kṛochra for one year (three years acc. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III. 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyana for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or *nivāra* grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasambhita. The commentators say that this applies in cases where the *guru's* wife is of a lower varṇa or of the śūdra class.

234. तस्मै लोहस्यने ह्युक्तकल्पः कथ्यते । हस्ती वा भिक्षवेऽजलन्ती । लिङ्गं वा सङ्घनमुत्तराङ्गलाभाय हस्तिनाम्नीर्षीं हनेद्दक्षिणमा करिष्यात्तात् । औ. 23.8-10.

235. आचार्योर्षीं तस्मै ह्यंशविस्तमपरा तस्मै । समानजातीयगमने ह्यमानि त्रीणि मासश्चित्तानि कल्पन्ते । मेधातिथि on मनु XI.103.

Parāśara (X. 10-11) provides three different *prāyaścittas*, viz. excision of the organ, three *kṛcchras* or three *cāndrāyamas* if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X. 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 quotes Śāṅkha for twelve years' penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc. to it to intercourse with guru's wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further *smṛti* passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance. Manu XI. 178 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 53. 9 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 41), Śānti 165. 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a *vr̥ṣālī*²³⁶ (a *cāṇḍāla* woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the Gāyatri). Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmana's intercourse with a śūdra woman²³⁷. Yāj. III. 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same *prāyaścitta* as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle's wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent. Manu XI. 175 (= Laghu-Śītātapa 155 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 38) holds that a brāhmana, who has sexual intercourse with a *cāṇḍāla* woman or *mleccha* woman or dines with *cāṇḍālas* or *mlecchas* or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were *patita* if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly. Compare Vasistha 23. 41, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 53. 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI. 176 (latter half), Kātyāyana and Brhaspati²³⁸ was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other's wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

236. वृषली in मनु XI.177 is explained as वण्डाली by कुल्लुक and मिता. on या. III. 260, which quotes a *smṛti* verse 'वण्डाली वण्डकी वेदया राजःस्था या च कम्पया । ऊडा या च सगोत्रा स्वाहृद्वचयः पञ्च कीर्तिताः ॥' झूलपाणि understands वृषली as झुली, vide Fr. Prakāśa folio 111 b for this difference.

237. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कुल्लुक् वर्जं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानश्चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवापी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तद्वपन्ति पापम् ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11. ज्ञानिपर्व 165.29 reads 'निकृष्टवर्ण' and 'श्चानासनाभ्यां विहरन् ब्रवी स त्रिभिर्वर्षैः शम्भवेद्यात्मपापम्' ॥

238. चतुर्दशः परदारैश्च समानेषु वर्त चरेत् । अभिचारान् मृत्युः की तद्वशेन समाचरेत् । सूत्र. q. by अवतारक p. 1124, भाव. वि. p. 371 ; एवं दोषश्च झुल्लिश्च पतितानाहुताहुता । कीनापि मृतकानामेव एव विधिः स्मृतः । कारवा. q. by मिता. on या. III. 260.

cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Āngiras^{238a}. If a woman became *patita* and did not undergo *prāyaścitta* she could be excommunicated by the process called *ghaṭasphoṭa* (described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 615-616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be *patita*, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21.10 provides²³⁹ that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c.) viz. a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband's) pupil or with his *guru* or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however *patita* they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III. 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a *sūdra* can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 946-949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (*mahāpātakas*). Manu XI. 181, Visṇu Dh. S. 54.1, Yāj. III. 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

238a. ब्रतं यजोदितं दुर्लभं पतितस्त्रीनिषेवणात् । तच्चापि कारयेन्मूढां पतितालेवणात् क्षिप्यम् अङ्गिरसः q. by माय. वि. p. 372.

239. चतसस्तु परित्याज्याः क्षिप्यमा युवना च वा । पतिग्री च विधेयेन जुह्वितोपगता च वा पतिष्ठ 21.10 q. by the मिता. on य. III. 297 and अपराधे p. 1208 on य. I. 72. The मिता. attributes the verse to व्यास and explains जुह्वित as 'मलिलोमजधर्मकारादिः'. The दीपकलिका explains as 'जुह्वितः 'मलिलोमजः'. The माय. वि. p. 374 interprets it to अङ्गिरसः and explains 'जुह्वितः जुह्वितो हीनवर्णः'.

of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the *vrata* (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association. Kullūka, the Pr. sāra (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word *vrata* that is employed by Manu and *vrata* does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.²⁴⁰ If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed ²¹¹ for the knowing associator $\frac{1}{2}$ the of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V. (p. 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmaṇa ²⁴¹ and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varṇa. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the *patita* condemned but even his son born after he became *patita* and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a *patita* was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13.51-53, Yāj. III. 261, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 73-74, Hārta q. by Pr. V. p. 174 and Pr. prakaraṇa p. 110 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614-616.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 36) speaks of certain sins as *anupātakas* which are declared by Manu (XI. 55-58) and Yāj. (III. 228-233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages. It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by $\frac{1}{2}$ th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves.

The penances for *upapātakas* must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately. First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

240. अत्र च ब्रह्महादिषु यथापि कामतो मरणान्तिकमुपदिष्टं तथापि संसर्गिण्यस्तत्कालि-
विश्यते । स तस्यैव ज्ञतं कुर्यादिति ज्ञतस्यैवातिदेशात् । मरणस्य च ज्ञतकाव्यवाच्यत्वाभावात् ।
अतोऽत्र कामकृतेऽपि संसर्गे द्वादशवार्षिकमकामतस्तु तदर्थम् । मित. on वा. III. 261; vide
also मद्. पा. p. 853.

241. यो येन संबन्धेनैव सोऽपि तत्समतामिवात् । पादरीन चरेत्सोऽपि तस्य तस्य ज्ञतं
द्विजः ॥ व्यास q. by the मित. on वा. III. 261, कुल्लूक on मद्. XI. 181.

242. अतः संसर्गिणि ब्राह्मणे ब्रूते च न प्रायश्चित्ते विरोधः । तथा निरन्तरसंबन्धसंसर्गे
यत् प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं तस्य च संबन्धसंसर्गसंभूतौ भागहारः कार्यः । तथा च ब्रूयस्वतिः । चाण्मासिके
तु संयोगे याजनाश्रयणादिना । एकत्रासनश्राव्याभिः प्रायश्चित्तार्थमाचरेत् । प्राय,
pp. 171-172.

a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The Sāmavidhāna ²⁴³ Br. (I 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yāj. III. 265, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37.35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the *avakīrṇin*) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for *govadhā* or by *cāndrāyana* or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by *Parākā* or *Gosava*. The digests prescribe that *Parākā* is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, *Cāndrāyana* for him who is weak, *Gosava* for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāśa, folio 122 a).

Govadhā stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yāj., the Agnipurāṇa (168. 29-37). Several smṛtis provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes²⁴⁴ the same penance for *govadhā* as for killing a vaiśya (Gaut. 22. 15) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a śūdra. Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe Kṛcchra or Atikṛcchra for six months. Manu²⁴⁵ XI. 108-116, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, Samvarta 130-135, Parāśara VIII. 31-41 (q. in Smṛtimuktāphala p. 875, prāyaścitta section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for *govadhā*. Yāj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate prāyaścittas, viz. (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on *pañcagavya* (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform Kṛcchra penance while sleeping in a cow-pan and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an *atikṛcchra* in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

243. बहुमुपपत्तीनां कृत्वा त्रिभिरनहमपराधजैः दूतो भवति । सामविधानम् । I. 5. 14.

244. नां च वैश्यवत् । गो. 22. 18; श्रेष्ठमहोष्वाकारणात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26. 1.

245. अग्निपुराण 169. 5-7 are the same as मनु XI. 108-110; संवर्त 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विश्वरूप on वा. III. 262.

one bull. Śaṅkha provides²⁴⁶ that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smṛtis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmaṇa or to a mere brāhmaṇa by caste, to a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra. For example, Devaḷa (q. by Pr. V. p. 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmaṇa were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow's hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śāśatapa (q. by Pr. V. p. 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomati-vidyā²⁴⁷ and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvā-mitra (Pr. V. p. 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a śūdra that he should undergo four kṛcchras if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The Gomati-vidyā as quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pārijāta (p. 862) and Pr. T. p. 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: 'cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of guggulu (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing; cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings ooze from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the mantras recited over them; in the agnihotra (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

246. गोघ्नः पञ्चगव्याहारः पञ्चविंशतिरात्रमुपवसेत् सक्थिं वपनं कृत्वा गोचर्मणा माहृतो नाश्यायुगच्छन् गोद्वेषो वा च वृष्यात् । शङ्ख q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262, मित्त. on या. III 264, हरदत्त on गो. 22. 18, अपरार्क p. 1094. The मित्त. and हरदत्त ascribe the passage to both शङ्ख and प्रवेत्तत्.

247. गोमतीविद्यामाह मायश्वितकाण्डकल्पतरी यमः । गोमतीं कीर्तयिष्यामि सर्वपाप-प्रणाशिनीम् । तां तु मे गदतो विभोः शृणुष्व सुसमाहिताः ॥ गावः सुरभयो नित्यं गावो ह्युच्छ्र-गन्धिकाः । गावः प्रतिष्ठा धृतानां गावः स्वस्वयनं महत् । अन्धमेव परं गावो देवानां हविस्तमम् । पावनं सर्वधृतानां क्षरन्ति च हवींश्चि च ॥ हविषा मन्त्रपूतेन तर्पयन्त्यमराद्वि । क्षत्रीणामग्नि-होत्रेषु गावो होमप्रयोजिकाः ॥ पावनं सर्वधृतानां गावः क्षरणमुत्तमम् । गावः पवित्रं परमे गावो मङ्गलमुत्तमम् । गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावो धर्म्याः संजातनाः । नमो गोभ्यः श्रीमतीभ्यः सौमनेयीभ्य एव च । नमो ब्रह्मसुताभ्यश्च पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः । ब्राह्मणाभ्येव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधा कृतम् । एकत्र मन्त्रास्तिष्ठन्ति हविरग्नयश्च तिष्ठति ॥ गावः तत्र pp. 522-523, अपरार्क and श. प्रकाश folio 1166 with some variations such as 'सर्वधृतानां रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च.' अपरार्क p. 1102 quotes the verses from गावः सुरभयो to पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः ।

to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabheji* salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of Brahṁā. Brāhmaṇas and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (brāhmaṇas) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c.)." The Pr. prakaraṇa ²⁴⁸ (p. 33) says that Kātyāyana, Gautama, Saṁvarta, Parāśara and other sages prescribe differing penances for *govadha*, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a brāhmaṇa engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda with the six auxiliary śāstras, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a brāhmaṇa possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *kapilā* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, ²⁴⁹ Saṁvarta 137, Agnipurāṇa 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being branded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of brāhmaṇas, cows or other animals. Parāśara (IX. 4 ff.) and Āṅgīras (q. by Pr. T. pp. 526-527) prescribe $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the *prāyaścitta* for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow's or bull's free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for *govadha*, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the Brahmapurāṇa and Parāśara. ²⁵⁰

248. यत्पुनः कात्यायनेन...पराशरादिमुनिमिरपि ग्नुसाधिकप्रायश्चित्ताद्युक्तानि तानि कामकामकृत-सर्वमर्थ-श्रोत्रिय-कडङ्गवेदाभ्यासि-ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिषुजबद्धोभयेन-गमिणी-कपिलशिवशिवश्यामि यथाशेखर्यं श्वाकवेद्यामीति । इदानीं तु तथाविधगवाभयेन व्यवहारानङ्ग-लाक पर्येकं विषयव्यवस्थया श्वाकवातामीति । प्राय. प्रक. p. 33.

249. क्षिपमाणोपकारे तु मृते विधे न पातकम् । विपत्ते गोवधवागं तु भेदजाग्रिकियाह
य. III. 284; पश्यन्ते गोविधिकेस्तार्थे मृद्वगर्भविमोचने । यदि तत्र विपत्तिः स्यात् स
पापेन लिप्यते । संवर्त 137 q. by the mīta. on य. III. 284, प्राय. प्रकरण p. 33.

250. गोवधे तु स्वामिने गोमूल्यं दत्त्वा ज्ञतं करणीयम् । आदौ गोपतये दत्त्वा गोमूल्यं
साधुकल्पितम् । इति ब्रह्मपुराणम् । न खैतद्व्यवहारे दोषः । ...तथा च पराशरः । प्रमाणे
माणभूतां मृद्यात् प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्याद्युक्तं मूल्यं वा वृथादित्यमवीन्मनुः । प्राय. त. 19 p.
513. The verse प्रमाणे is quoted as कात्यायन's (792) by the परा. मा. III. p.
425 and वि. र. p. 284.

The Sāmavidhāna Br. (I 7.8.) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse 'Agnis-tigmena' (I 1. 3. 2). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a *chakravāka*, *hansa*, *bhāsa*, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a śūdra. Gaut. 22. 19-22, 24-25, Manu XI. 133-137, Yāj. III. 269-274, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50.25-32, Parāśara VI. 1-15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here. Some smṛtis such as Samvarta 10 and Paithīnasi make a difference between *grāmya* and *āraṇya* (forest) animals, in each class seven being specified by Paithīnasi.²⁵¹ The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred ṛk verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture ²⁵² (Manu XI. 142, Yāj. III. 276, Vas. 19. 11-12). These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) *prānāyāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI. 199, Yāj. III. 277, Vas. 23. 31). Parāśara V. 1-9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and *japa* of Gāyatrī &c.).

PĀRADĀRYA (adultery with another's wife)—is a minor sin (acc. to Yāj. III. 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with *guru's* wife and other intercourse declared to be like *gurutalpaganana* or with *cāṇḍāla* women (Manu XI. 170-172, 175, 178, Yāj. III. 231-233, Vas. XX. 15-17 and XXIII. 41). Āp. Dh. S. I. 10.28.19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

251. ग्रामारण्यपशुविके पेशीगतिः । ग्रामारण्यान्धतुर्वह । नीरविरजोऽन्धोऽन्तरौ गर्दभो मनुष्यश्चेति सप्त ग्राम्याः पशवः । मण्डिवानरक्षससरीसृपवहपृषतक्षुणाश्चेति सप्तारण्याः पशवः । माघ वि. p. 233. Even the तै. सं. VII. 2.2. 1 says 'सप्त ग्राम्याः पशवः सप्तारण्याः'.

252. पुष्पफलोपकाम्यादृषाज हिंसात् । कर्षणकारणार्थं नोपहृत्वात् । वसिष्ठ 19.11-12.

outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months". Conversely, Āp. (I 10.28.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i. e. six months) the twelve night krochra penance. In another place Āp. Dh. S. (II 10. 27. 11) states that if a brāhmaṇa commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut. (22. 29-30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned brāhmaṇa. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a mahāpātaka and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI. 176 and Bṛhaspati), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1-5 and Saṁvarta 167-172). Bṛhadyama IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the *anuloma* order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.²⁵³

Vrātyatā (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*. Vide Āsv. gr. I. 19. 5-7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22-26, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5-6, Vas. XI. 71-75, Manu II. 38-39, Yāj. I. 37-38. The penances also such as the performance of *Vrātyastoma* and *Uddālakavrata* (Vas. XI. 76-79, Gaut. 19.8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26-27 = Agni-purāṇa 170. 8-9) prescribes a milder penance of three *kṛcchras* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes Uddālakavrata as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on *amikṣā*, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.1. 24-27) prescribes another penance for *vrātyatā*. For *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 376-379. Haradatta as

253. संवर्त 167-168 are q. by माघ. वि. p. 358 and परा. मा. II part I p. 330; संवर्त 169 is q. by विश्वरूप on मा. III. 254 p. 132; बृहस्पति IV.48 is मातिलोभ्ये महत्प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिणा। प्रायश्चित्तं चाबुलोभ्येन भवत्येव चाप्यथा ॥

quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without *upanayana*, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism. But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without *upanayana* then nothing could be done for that man.^{253a}

Vratalopa (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmachārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called *avakīrṇin*. The Tai. Ā. II. 18 contains the penance for *avakīrṇin* first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa²⁵¹. Āp. Dh. S. (I 9. 26. 8-9) provides²⁵⁵ that such a student shall offer to Nirṛti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of *Pākuyajñas* and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jaimini (VI 8. 22) provides that the offering is to be made in the ordinary fire (*laukikāgni*) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire.²⁵⁶ Vas. (23. 1-3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (*rakṣas*) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirṛti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, *svāhā*; to him

253a. इदं स्वात्म्यात् हरद्वयेन भाष्यकृता । ... यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितुरात्म्यमात्मन्येत उपनयनं तस्य प्रापश्चितं लोकमिति । तथा च संस्कारस्य त्रिपुरबोधमपि ज्ञात्वात्येकधमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुक्तावली folio 80 a.

254. यो ब्रह्मचार्यवकिरेदमाचार्या रात्र्यामग्निं यजीयोपसमाधाय द्विराग्नयोपवातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्यवकीर्णोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा कामाभिमुखोऽस्म्यभिमुखोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहेत्यमुत वा आज्यममुतमेवात्मन्येते । तै. आ. II. 18.

255. गर्भमेनावकीर्णं निर्रतिं पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य स्रुजः प्राचीयात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26. 8-9; ब्रह्मचारिः कलिप्रमुपेयादग्नये ऋतुष्वप्ये लोकिकेऽग्ने रक्षोदेवतं गर्भं पशुमालभेत् । नेर्यतं वा चरं निर्वपेत् । तस्य जुहुयात्कामाय स्वाहा कामकामाय स्वाहा नेर्यते स्वाहा रक्षोदेवतायः स्वाहेति । वसिष्ठ 23.1-2. अवकीर्णम् is explained by क्षीरस्वामी as अमरकोश as 'अत्र अन्तरे कीर्णं रतेऽस्यावकीर्णः'. The वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र VI.8 employs the word in a wider sense 'सतरात्रो द्वीमे निरवकर्मणि अवकीर्णो भवति'. For पाकयज्ञः which are ordinarily said to be seven, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 194. The Āśv. gr. I.1.2-3 speaks of three and quotes Rg. VIII. 19.3 in support. The commentator explains 'पाकयज्ञाः अस्ययज्ञाः प्रसूतयज्ञा वा' and quotes Rg. VII. 104.8 in support for the latter meaning. The कादिरसूत्र I.1.20 defines 'पाकयज्ञ इत्यप्यप्यपः कश्चेकाग्नीः'. बृहदी. VIII. p. 557 speaks of five पाकयज्ञः.

256. अवकीर्णियपशुः तद्वधाधानश्चात्रातकालत्वात् । जै. VI. 8.22, on which क्षरर says 'अस्यवकीर्णियपशुः, ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णो नेर्यतं पशुमालभतेति । ... तस्माद्विदमपि कर्म लोकिकमिति ।'

who follows his lust, *svāhā*; to *Nirṛti svāhā*; to the deities called *Rakṣas*, *svāhā*'. Gaut. 23. 17-19, Manu XI. 118-123, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 35-43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāṇa 169. 15-18, Pār. gr. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall beg for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh. S. and Pār. gr. furnish elaborate details. The former states that the *Paśupuroḍāśa* may be offered to *Rakṣas* or to *Yama* or he may offer on the *Amāvāsya* at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a *darvi-homa* and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II. 18) 'Sam mā ciñcantu marutaḥ &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, *Sanivarta* (171-172) prescribes the penance of *krechra* for six months²⁵⁷. Such a man is called *pratyavasita*. The *pratyavasitas* are said to be of nine kinds²⁵⁸ by *Yama* (22-23), *Brhad-Yama* (3-4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of *sannyāsa* or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting *dharmā* and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed); these nine are called *pratyavasita* and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of *Cāndrāyana* or two *Taptakṛccras*. *Vṛddha-Parāśara* quoted by *Par. M.* and *Prāyascitta-anukṛtāvali* provides that *sannyāsins*, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as *cāṇḍālas* even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among *cāṇḍālas*. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint *Jñāneśvara* and his brothers at *Paithan* in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a *sannyāsīn* reverts to another *āśrama* or acts contrary to the

257. संवस्य पुनरिति कश्चिदपरार्थं सिद्धं ब्रजेत् । कुर्वाकृच्छ्रं समानं तत्पन्मासा-
स्तद्वन्तरम् ॥ संवर्ते 171-172, quoted in परा. मा. II part 2 p. 129 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं
ब्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्वाकृच्छ्रमध्यास्तः पन्मासांश्च वन्तरम्) and प्राय. सा. p. 123 (reads
प्रत्यापत्तिं चिकीर्षति) । 'सर्वेषु प्रायश्चित्ते तु सधर्माः परित्राजका वर्हिता इत्याह वृद्धपराशरः ।
तु सधर्मोस्तु आश्रमाः परित्राजकतायसाः । तेभ्यो ज्ञातापवर्तमानि आश्रमाः सह वासयेत् ॥
इति । प्राय. सुक्तावली folio 73 b, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 11.

258. जलाग्न्युद्वग्धनग्रहाः प्रवृत्तानाशकच्युताः । विषवतनमायज्ञायातहताश्च ये ॥
पथे प्रत्यापत्तिताः सर्वलोकप्रद्विमुक्ताः । आश्रमवर्गेण सुधर्मे तप्तकृच्छ्रहेन वा ॥ यम 22-23
q. by प्राय. सा. p. 126.

rules of his āśrama is called *ārūḍhapāṭita* also (vide Par. M. II. part. I. p. 373 quoting *Hārīta*).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (*Manu* V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. *Gautama* ²⁵⁹ (14, 28) provides that on touching *patita*, *cāṇḍāla*, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. *Manu* V. 84 and *Yāj.* III. 30 contain similar provisions. The *Pr.* V. (pp. 495-499) discusses the question whether *sparśa* ²⁶⁰ (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites *Āpastamba-smṛti* in support that if a *brāhmaṇa* and a *cāṇḍāla* or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the *brāhmaṇa* can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as *Yājñavalkya's* by *Pr. Prakaraṇa* ²⁶¹ p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states: 'on touching a *cāṇḍāla*, *pukkasa*, *mleccha*, *bhilla*, a *pūrasika* (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.' The *Śat-triṃśan-mata* ²⁶² provides 'on touching

259. पतितच्छण्डालं हतकोदकया वा वस्तुष्वितस्तु हृद्यपर्यग्रे सचैल्लोकस्यार्जनाप्युपयेत् ।
शौ. 14. 28. The *मिता.* on *य.* III. 30 reads it as सचैल्लुहको and *हरदत्त* observes that the latter is the better reading.

260. उवस्पर्शो यद्यपि न स्पर्शश्चन्द्रार्थः तथाप्यत्र वचनादेकाग्रविद्वारा परम्परा-
स्पृशेति श्रावः । तथा आपस्तम्बः । एकशालां समास्य व्याण्डालादिवर्षा भवेत् । ब्राह्मणस्तत्र
निवसन् स्नानेन शुचिर्तामियात् । आदिभ्यश्चानुवक्यादीनां ब्रह्मण्य । शास्त्राग्रहणमेकाग्रयण-
पलक्षणार्थं तेनेकपावा गादेरि ब्रह्मण्य । *याव. रि.* p. 496. The verse is *आपस्तम्बस्मृति*
VII. 14 (reads somewhat differently). It is quoted in *या. प्रक.* p. 111 also.

261. तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः । चण्डालपुत्रसंस्लेष्टभिक्षुपारस्तिकादिकान् । महापातकिनश्चैव
सृष्ट्वा स्नानासचैल्लोकः । *या. प्रक.* p. 110. This verse is quoted as *हृद्ययाज्ञवल्क्य's*
by *अपरार्क* p. 923.

262. वद्विकान्मत् । वीद्वाभ्यामुपतांश्चैव लोकायतिकानस्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान्
हिजान् सृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् । चैत्यहृदाभितर्युपव्याण्डालः सोमविक्रयी । एतास्तु
ब्राह्मणः सृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् । *या. प्रक.* p. 110, and *स्मृतिच.* I. p. 118 (which
reads पाण्डुपतान् जैवान् लोकायतिकपापिलान्). The first verse is quoted as from
the *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa* by the *मिता.* on *य.* III. 30 and by *स्मृतिच.* I. p. 118
(reads जैवान् पाण्डुपतान् सृष्ट्वा and ज्ञान् for सृष्ट्वा) and the 2nd is ascribed to
परशर by *अपरार्क* p. 923.

Bauddhas, Pāsupatas, Laukayatikas, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a *cāitya* tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the *śrauta* rite called *Agnicayana*), a sacrificial post, a *cāṇḍāla*, one who sells the soma plant, a *brāhmaṇa* should enter water with the clothes on.' *Samvarta* ²⁶³ requires a *dvija* to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a *veṇa* (Manu X. 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (*naṭa*) and *Śātātapa* ²⁶⁴ provides that if any limb of a *dvija* (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a *thaka* (*Thug*), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all *varṇas* to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform *ūcamana*. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the *Garudapurāṇa* and (on p. 316) *Parāśara* for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as *cāṇḍālas* in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on *prāyaścitta* p. 312) says that *Cāṇḍāla* and *Turuṣka* (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh. pp. 165-179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175-176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, *Śātātapa*, *Bṛhaspati* and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processions, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

263. चर्मरं रजकं वेणं धीवरं नटमेव च । एतान् स्पृष्ट्वा द्विजो मोहादाद्यामेत् प्रयतोऽपि सन् ॥ संवर्त q. by प्राय. वि. pp. 472-473.

264. रजकश्चर्मकुक्षीश्च व्याधजालोपजीविनो । निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च ठकः शैलूचकस्तथा ॥ हुलेभगस्तथा च वनिता सर्ववर्णना । चर्मी ध्वजी वधवासी ग्राम्यशूकरकुटो । एभिर्विचङ्गं संस्पृष्टं शिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु । तोयेन कालम् कृत्वा आचान्तः क्षुधितामियात् ॥ ज्ञातात्प q. by प्राय. वि. p. 473 and स्मृतिच. I p. 119. The word ठकः explained by प्राय. वि. as धूर्तः may be noted as the original word for the modern word 'Thug'. The स्मृतिच. reads नटः for ठकः and explains as जातिविशेषः रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो वुरुड एव च । कैवर्तमेहमिलाश्च स्वर्णकारश्च सौनिकः (सौनिकः ?) ॥ काचको लोहकारश्च शिलाभेदी तु नापितः । तक्षकस्तिलवर्णी च वृषश्चर्मी तथा ध्वजी । एते बोद्धव्या मोक्षाध्यायबाला ग्रामवासिनः । गरुडपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (on मा. p. 38 and also बराहर् on p. 316.)

to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed.

The smrtis were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brāhmaṇas as regards receiving gifts. The Sāma. Br. (I. 7. 1-2) prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa receives a gift from a ksatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse 'mahat tat soma mahiṣaścakāra' (Sāmaveda I. 6. 1. 5, 10, No. 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo *krcchra* penance and recite the sāma verse 'trikadrakeṣu' (Sāmaveda I. 5. 2. 3. 1, No. 457). Yaj. I. 140 provides that a brāhmaṇa should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of sāstra and Manu XI. 194 (= Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 54. 24) provides that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatri three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102-103 and Yaj. III. 41 allow a brāhmaṇa when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptances of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him. A brāhmaṇa was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such ^{264 a} as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees' wax (ksaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

264 a. अन्धविकेयविक्रयप्रयश्चितानि । सङ्कलितानि । न विक्रियाद्विकेयानि । तिलतिलविकेयैश्चलवणद्राकामद्यमांसकुताकलीपुरुषहस्यश्चरुचनम्बरसौमकुण्डाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात् सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणस्तत्र अपश्चितमकामावासी कामकृतेऽप्येकं पतितं ब्राह्मणमुद्धरेत् । संवत्सरं तमकुच्छमाचरेत् । कुतवापनः क्षुचिर्योऽप्युपेयात् त्रिकैर्वापनाः काष्ठमौनी वीरासन्मसीत राज्ञे विवातिष्ठेद्यकोशिः कार्यपरः (श्रिकार्यपरः ?) सावित्रीं सयनायुगं अपेत्यायं ब्रतमभ्युपगम्य कुक्षीचीरवासा मौकी मेकली इन्ध्री पवित्रपाणिर्हविष्यं वा अपयेद्धवं मेकमकुष्ठं वा वात्रिकमग्नीचात् द्वाद्विंशत्यं चोपवासी ब्राह्मणतपेण तृणाद्विक्रमिष्यं पयवाप्यं यथा पतितः सिद्धैर्लभ्यतः क्षुद्रचर्मैति । वा. प्रकाश folio 127b.

male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauma), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise *Tapta-kṛcchra* for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the *Virāsana*, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the *Gāyatri*.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the *smṛtis* and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading *mlecchas*. About the meaning of the word *mleccha*, there is some divergence of views. From the *Sat. Br.* (III. 2.1. 23-24) it appears that the *mlecchas* spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'heḷavaḥ' for 'heṣrayaḥ'). *Parāśara* (IX. 36) refers to the *mlecchas* as the eaters of cow's flesh. The *Pr. T.* (p. 549) quotes a *smṛti*²⁶⁵ text to the effect that a *mleccha* is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the *Harivamśa* for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of *Śakas*, *Yavanas*, *Kāmbojas*, *Pāradas*, *Pahlavas* &c. Vide for *mleccha* and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by *mlecchas* and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 92, 383-385, 389-392 (where verses of *Devala* ascribed by some like the *Mit.* to *Āpastamba-smṛti* are set out), 973-974. A few matters not dealt with there may be added here. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*²⁶⁶ *purāṇa* (II. 73. 203-206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by *mlecchas* or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (*varṇa*), viz. that a

265. गोमांसखादको यश्च विरुद्धं बहु भाषते । सर्वाचारविहीनश्च स्तेय्य इत्यभिधीयते ॥ बोधायन q. by मा तत्त्व p. 519; रायसुकुट as q. by प्रायः सुकृतावली (folio 104 b) reads गो. ... भक्षको यस्तु अपराधं च भाषते । सर्वाचारविहीनश्च ॥ सगरः स्वां प्रतिज्ञां च सुरारिर्वाचं निशम्य च । धर्मं जपान् तेषां वै देशागम्य च कार ह ॥ अथ शकानां शिरसो मुण्डं कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत् । यवनानां शिरः सर्वे काम्बोजानां तथैव च ॥ पारदां शुक्लेकांश्च पङ्कजाः शमशुधारिणः । निःस्त्रायायवक्त्रकाराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥ शका यवनकाम्बोजाः पारवाश्च शिरांपते । कौलिस्पर्षा समहिषाः दायाश्चोलाः सकेरलाः ॥ सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां निराकृतः । हरिवंश, हरिवंशपर्य 14.15-19 q. by प्रायः तत्त्व p. 549.

266. स्तेष्टेष्टानां चौरैर्वा कापतारै वा प्रवासिताम् । भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविशुद्धयर्थं तेषां बध्नामि निष्कृतिम् ॥ पुनः प्राच्य इत्येवं च वर्णानामनुपूर्वशः । कृच्छ्रस्यार्थे ब्राह्मणस्तु पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ पादोनामते क्षत्रियस्तु अधोर्ध्वं वैश्य एव च । पादं कृत्वा तथा शूद्रो दानं दत्त्वा विष्णुपूजति ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 203-206.

brāhmaṇa should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a kṣatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vaiśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a śūdra becomes pure by undergoing only ½ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift. In view of the fact that Manu VIII. 169, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 6-7, Yaj. II. 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called *buddhi* should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society. It is better to call this return by the name of 'parāvartana'. A model but brief rite for the *parāvartana* of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix. The same *prayoga* with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of *Vṛātyastoma*. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 385-387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 934-935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvālāji at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Ganeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below.²⁶⁷

Manu XI. 124 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38.7) prescribes the penance of Śāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as *jātibhramakara* and the penance of Prājāpatya for doing it unintentionally. For doing any of the deeds called *saṅkarikarṇa* or *apātrikarṇa* described above, Manu XI. 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyana for a month and for doing any of the deeds called *malāvaha* prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

267. श्लोकः। देवयज्ञे ब्रूते तीर्थे सत्पात्रमङ्गभोजने। विष्वक्कादे जदीहस्ते धनं ब्रजति धर्मताम्॥

days. Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāṇa (170, 23-25). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (39.2, 40.2, 41.5) prescribes somewhat different penances for saṅkarikaraṇa, apātrikaraṇa or malinikaraṇiṇya deeds. Vide also the Mit. on Yaj. III, 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Bṛhaspati. About miscellaneous *pātakas* the rule laid down by Manu XI, 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42.2, Yaj. III, 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmanas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Hārīta that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to purification at once. Dakṣa²⁶⁸ II, 73 also states that all *naimiṭṭhika* and *kāmya* matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.²⁶⁹ The Pr. T. (pp. 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi²⁶⁹ and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th *tithi* of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścittendusekhara (p. 15) says that according to respectable people (*śiṣṭas*) the *saṅkalpa* (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th *tithi* and the actual rite should be performed on the *amāvāsya*. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh. S. 26.6-17 prescribes

268. नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि नियतानि यथा यथा । तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कालं तु विवक्ष्येत् ॥ दक्ष II, 73 q. by मा. तत्त्व p. 512.

268 a. यथा स्मृतिसामग्रे देवतः । कालान्तरेके द्विगुणं यावन्निश्च समाचरेत् । द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा क्षुद्रिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ कालान्तरेके संवत्सरान्तरेके । संवत्सरान्तिष्ठान्तरेके द्विगुणं दण्डः । इति मनुवचने ० । मा. तत्त्व p. 474. This is मनु VIII.374.

269. 'तस्माद्विजग्म्यात् स्नेहात् लोभाद्भयमायाद्वा अक्षुब्धं कृत्वा सद्यः शीघ्रमारभेत्-इति हारीतेन सद्यःकरणमुक्तम् । अत्रापि 'यवहारचिन्तामणी विलोकः । नाहम्यां न चतुर्विद्यां यावन्निश्चयपरिक्षिणे । न परीक्षा विवाहश्च कालौमदिने तथा ॥ मा. तत्त्व p. 474. The words 'तस्मात्...चरेत्' (for आरभेत्) are quoted from हारीत by मनु पृ. 703-704.

the method of performing Kṛcchra penance. It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (i. e. should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with *amāryas* (śūdras &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses 'āpo hi śthā' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the verses called Pavitravati and with the eight verses beginning with 'hiranyavarnāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6.1.1-8). Then he should perform the *tarpaṇa* ²⁷⁰ (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with *namah* and ending with *namah* (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities). This constitutes for him the worship of Aditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen mantras and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the *Viśve Devas*, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Svīstakṛt. Then he serves dinner to brāhmaṇas. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6.15.9 states ²⁷¹ the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmaṇas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 95-99) prescribes that in a kṛcchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c.), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one's hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one's nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head. Manu (XI. 222-225) prescribes that in all penances there is *homa* with the *mahāvīhrtis* every day, the sinner has to practise *ahiṃsā* (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, śūdras and *patitas*, he should stand by day and sit down at night or if unable to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called *sthaṇḍila*), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of *mūṇja* grass and carrying a staff (of *palāśa* &c.), should honour gods, brāhmaṇas and his elders, should always recite the Gayatri and sacred texts.

270. For the usual *tarpaṇa*, vide II. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 689-695.

271. *शुचीन्मात्रवतः सर्वकृतेषु भोजयेत्। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9.*

Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yaj. III. 312-13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called *yamas* (such as *brahmararya*, kindness, forbearance, truthfulness, *ahimsā* &c.) and *niyamas* (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugākṣigṛhya (V. 3-11) prescribes the procedure for all penances. Yaj. III. 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of *kṛcchra* or *cāndrāyana*, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas. 28.11-15) and should eat balls of rice over which the Gāyatri has been recited. Śāṅkha²⁷² (18.12-14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance. The Madanapārijāta (pp. 781-784), Pr. V. (pp. 503-506), Pr. Sāra (pp. 21, 22 and 200-203), Pr. T. pp. 497-510, 523-524, Pr. Mayūkha pp. 18-21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), Prāyascittendusekhara (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing *prāyascittas*. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c., drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform *śrāddha*, drink *pañcagavya*, should perform *homa*, give *dakṣiṇā* (gold, cows &c.) to the *brāhmaṇas* and feed them. Parāśara (XI.3) says that at the end of the rite of penance *pañcagavya* should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a *brāhmaṇa*, a *kṣatriya*, a *vaiśya* and a *śūdra*. Yama (verse 63) says that *brāhmaṇas* should be fed on the performance of a penance and a *dakṣiṇā* of one golden *māṣa* should be given to each *brāhmaṇa*. Jābali says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the *smārta* fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the *Vyāhṛtis*, perform *śrāddha* and offer *dakṣiṇā* consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M. II part 2 p. 195 for Jābali's verses. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the Mahārṇava the number of *vyāhṛti-homas* should be 28 or 108.

272. सुष्कलिवन्मनसोऽथःशारीरजितेन्द्रियः। श्रीशुद्धपातितानां च वर्जयेत्यविभाज्यम्। पवित्राणि जपेच्छ्रुत्वा उद्धृत्वा चैव शक्तितः। अथ विधिः स विज्ञेयः सर्वदुष्टेषु सर्वदा। सङ्ख्य 18. 12-14, which are almost the same as the last two verses of विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.

A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (*vapana* or *mūṣṇa*). The Tai. Br. (I.5.6.1-2) states²⁷³: 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits; therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head.' The Pr. Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that *vapana* is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *āsura* (of the *asuras*) and *mānuṣa* (of men), that the *āsura* method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *śītis* and *soma* sacrifices the *daiva* method is ordained, while in *prāyascittas*, there being no special *vidhi*, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e.g. the Viṣṇupurāṇa provides: ²⁷⁴ 'Tonsure should be carried out at Prayāga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother; one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head'. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the Madanaparijāta and Pr. M. states. ²⁷⁵ Gaut. (27.3), Vas. ²⁷⁶ (24.5), Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.98-99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure. Dakṣa²⁷⁷ forbade tonsure, the offering of *piṇḍas* and the carrying of a corpse and all funeral rites to

273. तेऽसुरा ऊर्ध्वं पृष्ठेऽथो नावदधन् । ते केसान्धोऽवपन्त अथ इमंशृणि अथोपयक्षी । तत्तरेऽन्धोऽप्यन्य पराभवन् । यस्मै च यस्मि अवाक्येति ।...अथ देवा ऊर्ध्वं पृष्ठेऽथोऽवधन् । ते उपयक्षी अन्धोऽवपन्त अथ इमंशृण्य केसान् । सुवर्णं लोकाभाय । ते मा. I. 5.6. 1-2 (about the vapana of a Cāturmāsya-yājīn); यस्मै त्रिविधं देवमासुरं माणवं चेति । आसुरं निगृह्यत माणवं देवोर्विकल्पः । आश्वमेदिसोमेभ्यु देवरयं विहितत्वात् । प्रायश्चित्तेषु तु विशेष-विषयभावाद् विकल्प एव । मा. प्रकाश folio 31 b.

274. प्रयागे तर्धयात्रायां पितृमृत्युविशेषतः । कच्चानां वपने कार्यं न ह्येषा विकचो भवेत् ॥ विश्वपुराण q. by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 489.

275. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यात्मनानि च । केसान्धोऽप्यन्य तैर्दृष्टि तस्मात्केशा-न्धोऽप्यन्य ॥ इति मन्त्रमुक्त्वा कसोपरयस्मिन्नावर्जं क्रमेण इमंशृण्य केसान्धोऽवपन्त प्राययेत् । यतिविधवादीनां सतिशं वपन् ॥ ब्रह्महत्यादिष्वपि सतिशं सर्वाङ्गलोभनां च । प्राय. म. p. 19.

276. कुण्डलाणां व्रतकृपाणि इमंशृकेऽन्यः । यदेवमुक्तोऽसिरोमसिक्कावर्जः । वसिष्ठ 24.4-5 ; कुण्डे त्रिवक्त्रमुक्तोऽप्यन्यः । अथः सपन् । एकवक्त्रः । केस इमंशृलोमनकापायन् । एतदेव स्त्रियाः केसोपनवर्जः । यो च वृ. II. 1. 95-99. The Mitta. on वा. III. 325 reads वसिष्ठ as इमंशृकेऽन्यः प्राययेत् कुक्षिरोमसिक्कावर्जः । : should it not be असिरोमः ?

277. मुण्डनं पिण्डदानं च संस्कारं च सर्वज्ञः । न जीवन्मुक्तः कुर्वाद् हविर्निपतिरेव चेति वक्षीयमिदं धरय रथयासविधवायाह विधिरपृष्टे निवेधानवकाशात् । मा. प्रकाश folio 32a.

one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh. S. already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances. Āngiras 163, Āpastamba-smṛiti I. 33-34, Brhad-Yama IV.16, Vṛddha-Hārta IX. 386, Parāśara IX. 54-55, Yama 54-55 provide ²⁷⁸ that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52-54), Śaṅkha (q. by Par. M. II. part I, pp. 290-291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmaṇa tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the *daśśinā* would have to be double. ²⁷⁹ The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu ²⁸⁰ (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmaṇas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahāpātakas, of cow-killing or of being an *avakīrṇin*'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III.264) further quotes Samvarta ²⁸¹ to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the *śikhā* (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M. (II part I. p. 300) while describing cāndrāyana penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

278. सर्वान्केशान् ससृक्षुरप्येवमेवकुलिङ्गयन् । एवं नारीकुमारीणां शिरसो लुङ्घनं रघुनम् । न स्त्रियाः केशवर्णनं न दूरे शयनाशनम् ॥ पराशर IX. 54-55.

279. केशानां रक्षणार्थाय द्वियुगं व्रतमाचरेत् । द्वियुगे व्रत आदिष्टे द्वियुगा दाक्षिणा भवेत् । राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा ब्राह्मणो वा बहुश्रुतः । अकृत्वा व्रतं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । पराशर IX. 52-54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वार्धे 14.52-54; for the half केशानां, vide बृहदारणित IX. 387. The मित्ता on या. III. 325, प्राय. वि. p. 503, प्राय. सार. p. 22, प्राय. पा. p. 782 quote these verses as हारित's in a different order and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 519 ascribes almost similar verses to लघुहारित.

280. विहृद्विषयपक्षीणां नेष्यते केशवापनम् । ज्ञते महापाताकिनो मोहन्तुश्चावकीर्णिनः ॥ मनु. q. by मित्ता. on या. III. 325, प्राय. सार. pp. 22-23 (as महर्षि). The प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the मित्ता.

281. पश्येद्भूतोत्पद्यते द्विपादे स्मृत्स्वोऽपि च । द्विपादे तु शिखरार्धं सक्षिप्तं तु निपातने ॥ सर्वार्थ. q. by मित्ता. on या. III. 264, प्राय. सार. p. 14, मा. प्रकाश folio 31a, which remarks: 'शिखरार्धमिति शिखाध्यानेन तेन वतिविषयादीनां सर्वपननेन । वतिः सूक्ष्मं विषया सक्षिप्तं वपने चरेदिति वचनात् ॥'

of the body (including private parts).²⁸² The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the *saṅkalpa* is 'vapanam karisyē' and not 'vapanam kārāisyē'. From Gaut. 27.3 (vapanam vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyana Haradatta and others infer that *rapana* is unnecessary in krochra penance.

Baths that are subsidiary to prāyaścitta are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pañcagavya and water in which *kūśa* grass has been dipped. *Mantras* that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the *Linga-purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all prāyaścittas whether secretly or openly undergone. They are called *yamas* and *niyamas* and have been set out above (p.121) from Yāj. III. 312-313. Atri (verses 48-49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to *yamas* and *niyamas* which Medhātithi explains as follows: viz. *yamas* are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a brāhmaṇa should not be killed), while *niyamas* consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing prāyaścittas certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, Hārita²⁸³ prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days *māṣa* and *masūra* pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform *ācamana* if he speaks with women or *sūdras* or those who are *ucchiṣṭa*. Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of *tāmbūla*, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr.²⁸⁴ Prakāśa when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapate

282. धौर्म्यस्य सुपेतस्तु ब्राह्मणः सुसमाहितः । केशादमृच्छन्नि लोमानि कक्षोपर्यं च वापयेत् ॥ q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 300.

283. मासमसुरमधुपराकर्मधुलानि ग्रस्यं वर्जयेत् । व्रतोपेतो नाकाले वाचं बिभृजेत् । क्षीशुहोन्निष्ठामिमांशव आचामेत् । हारित q. by अथर्वक p. 1230; नात्रागच्छं क्षिरोऽयं क्षं ताम्बूलमनुलेपयत् । व्रतस्यो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यज्ञायज्यं बलरायकृत् ॥ यम q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 196.

284. व्रतनिवेदनविमोक्षणमञ्जो तैत्तिरीयशाखायां अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतं करिष्यामि तच्छ-
केयं तन्मे रात्र्यताम्, अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तद्व्याकं तन्मे रात्रि इति तु व्रतसमाप्ती ॥ या. प्रकाश
follo 37 b; अग्रे... रात्र्यताम् is ते सं. I 5.10.3 = वाज. सं. 1.5 and अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं
is ते. सं. I.6 6.3 = वाज. सं. II.28.

vrataṃ carisyāmi' (O! Fire, lord of vrataṃ! I shall perform a vrata) and when finishing a penance one should repeat the mantra 'agne vratapate vrataṃ-acāriṣam tad-aśakam tan-me rādhi' (O! Fire, lord of vrataṃ; I have performed the vrata, I had the strength to do it, may it be propitious for me &c.').

Prāyaścittas are of two kinds, *prakāṣa* (undergone openly) and *rahasya* (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24.1-11), Vas. (25.1-3), Manu XI 248-265, Yaj. III. 301-305, Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 55 and other smṛtis lay down rules about secret prāyaścittas. Where a man's²⁸⁵ sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a mahāpātaka is aware of the association. Vas.²⁸⁶ 25.2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (*parād*), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are always intent on *prāṇāyāmas*, holy texts, gifts, *homas* and *japa* are released from sin. Manu XI.226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by *homas* and *mantras*. Even women and śūdras can perform penance in secret, since, though they cannot perform *homas* and repeat Vedic *mantras*, they can, as the Mit. on Yāj. III.300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and *prāṇāyāmas*. Gaut. 26.2 and Manu XI 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with 'tarat

285. हारीतोऽप्याह । अथ ब्राह्मणस्य सुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुकर्मिण्यामः । रहस्ये रहस्यं प्रकाशे प्रकाशमिति । माच. सा. p. 161, परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 153; vide मा. सार p. 161 and माच. रि. p. 500 for रहस्ये...प्रकाशमिति as from यम.

286. आहिताग्नेर्विनीतस्य ब्रह्मस्य विदुषोऽपि वा । रहस्योक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं दुर्योक्तमितरे जनाः ॥ मायाचामीः परिविश्वं दागेर्होमेर्जवेस्तथा । नित्यबुद्धाः प्रमुच्यन्ते पातकोऽप्यो न संज्ञायः ॥ वसिष्ठ 25. 2-3 ; the first verse is q. by अपरार्क p. 1212 as from अतुर्विशितमित (reads इतरस्य तु).

sa mandī' (Rg. X.58.1-4). For one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa murder Gaut. (24.6) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic *homas* with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end.²⁸⁷ Yāj. III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Rg. X.190) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Viṣṇu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 *prāṇāyāmas*, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Viṣṇu provides that the drinker of *surā* becomes pure by observing the *vratā* (as stated) for brāhmaṇa murder and reciting Aghamarṣaṇa; while the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred *Gāyatrī* ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with 'sahasraśīrṣā' (Rg. X. 90).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old smṛtis were terrible and involved loss of life. Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed. For example, Harita²⁸⁸ states 'brāhmaṇas who have studied dharmasāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmaṇa (sinner), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress (to the sinner). Āngīras also says that the *parṇad* should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life. Śaṅkha

287. हरदत्त on जी. 24.6 explains that he will have to say लोमानि आत्मनो हृत्वे सुयोरारवे जुहोमि स्वाहा नक्षाम्यात्मनो हृत्वे सुयोरारवे जुहोमि स्वाहारेचयंकारा होमाः.

288. यथायथो यथाकालं यथाशक्ते च ब्राह्मणे । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं ब्राह्मणेर्धर्मपाठकैः ॥ येन क्षुद्रिमयाऽमोति न च प्राणैर्विजुज्यते । आर्तं वा मर्त्यं याति न चैतद् ब्रह्ममादिशेत् ॥ हारीत q. by परा. भा II. part 1 p. 235 ; पर्यस्तं चित्तं तत्तर्षं प्रायश्चित्तं विमिर्षिणेत् ॥ तर्षेण निश्चितं पत्न्याद्यञ्च प्राणान् न वातयेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by परा. भा. II part 1 p. 236, मद्. पा. p. 779.

declares:²⁸⁹ 'a brāhmaṇa should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i. e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body'.

As times changed easier substitutes (called *pratyāmnūyas*) were found and prescribed. The word *pratyāmnūya* was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20.18 (*yadyanāḍhyo-gñin-ādadhita kāmam-evaikām gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnūyo bhavatīti vijñāyate*), 6. 30.9 and Śān. Śr. S. 14.51.6 and other sūtras. Samvarta²⁹⁰ states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājāpatya penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Parāśara²⁹¹ (XII. 63-64) provides four substitutes for a Prājāpatya penance viz. the recital of the famous Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III. 62.10) ten thousand times or 200 *prāṇāyāmas*, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two *yojanas* towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19.16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāṇa²⁹² provides that in the absence of a cow a *nīṣka* or half *nīṣka*

289. तस्मात्स्वापदाकीर्णं बहुपालसुखे वने । न व्रतं ब्राह्मणः कुर्वाण्यनयाध्यायतस्तदा ।
शरीरं धर्मसर्वरसं रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नतः । शरीरात्स्ववते धर्मः पर्वतात्सलिलं यथा । शब्द 17. 63 and
63 q. by मव. पा. 728, अपराकं p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between
the two (सर्वतो जीवितं रक्षेजीवन्त्यायं व्यपोहति । व्रतैः कुश्चैस्त्वया दानैरित्वाह भववाच्यमः ॥).
This is शब्द, 17.64.

290. प्राजापत्यव्रताशक्तीं धेनुं दद्यात्स्वपरिग्रीय । जेनेरभावे द्वातल्पं तुल्यं मूल्यं न
कंसकः ॥ सर्वतः q. by परा. भा. II. part 2 p. 197, म. सार. p. 203, भाव. तत्त्व pp. 517
and 541. The मिला. on वा. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्वरचम्पूर and adds
another half as 'मूल्यार्थमपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शकरवपेक्षया'. The verse is q. from
मार्कण्डेयपुराण by अपराकं p. 1248.

291. प्राजापत्यकृद्गुरुः चातुरः प्रत्याम्नावाभाह कुष्णं देवचतुर्धैव प्राणावासासहस्रयम् ।
कुष्णतोर्ध्वमाहृक्षिणः स्थानं द्वादशालोक्यवा ॥ द्विचोर्ध्वे तीर्थवासा कुष्णमेकं प्रकल्पितम् ॥ पराकार
XII. 63-64 and परा. भा. II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूल्यं वा वचाशक्तिं देवम् । अत एव बहुपुराणे न्यायभाष्ये निष्कं दद्यात्तदर्थं पादमेव
वा । परा. भा. II part 2 p. 197, म. सार p. 203. The मिला. on वा III. 326 quotes
it without name.

or a quarter niṣka may be given. The Caturviṃśatimata²⁹³ provides several *pratyāmnāyas* for Prājāpatya viz. recital of Gāyatri ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a brāhmana—these four (including Prājāpatya) are equal, as also a thousand *homas* with sesame, recitation of the whole *samhitā* of the veda, feeding twelve brāhmanas, Pāvakeṣi are equal. The Caturviṃśatimata²⁹⁴ stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for Prājāpatya penance, of two cows for Śāntāpana, of three cows for Parāka, Tapta-krocra and Ati-krocra and eight for Cāndrāyana. The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of mahāpātakas there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding brāhmanas or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 326) says that in the case²⁹⁵ of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 prājāpatyas could be performed, each prājāpatya extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i. e. 360) milch cows; if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 niskas or even half or quarter thereof &c. Yaj. III. 309 provides (a lakh of) *homas* with sesame to the accompaniment of the Gāyatri or making brāhmanas recite the Veda by the gift of sesame. Vas. 28.18-19 (= Atri VI. 7-8) and Viṣṇu Dh. 8.90.10 state that by feeding seven or five brāhmanas on the Full moon of Vaiśākha with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi-

293. कृष्णोऽमुत च मायसा उदवासस्तथैव च । वेदवदानं विभय समनेतश्चतुष्टयम् । तिलोमसहस्रं तु वेदस्यापायनेन च । निमा द्वादश वा भोज्याः पावकेष्टिस्तथैव च । अथानि वा पवित्राणि समान्वाहुर्मनीषिणः । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 47 and also p. 196 (with some variations). मा. मयूक p. 26. The मित. on य. III. 326, मा. सार p. 204 ascribe the first verse to पराशर and the latter reads उपवासः for उदवासः. There are similar verses in the बह्विंशत्यमत also (vide मा. सार p. 204).

294. प्राजापत्ये तु गमेकां दद्यात्साप्तपने द्वयम् । पराकतवातिकृष्टे तिस्रस्तिस्रस्तु वास्तथा ॥ अहो चाग्नायणे द्वेयाः मय्याम्यापयेयौ सदा । यथा विभवसारेण दानं दद्याद्वि-
स्तुदये । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 200, अपराक p. 1248, मा. सार p. 204 (first verse).

295. न च महापातकमनुकमिष्कृतिकं सम्भवति कस्मादनुकमिष्कृतिकेभापे प्राजापत्यादयो योजनीयाः । तत्र द्वादशवार्षिककाले द्वादश द्वादश दिनाभ्येकैकं प्राजापत्यं परिकल्प्य मन्वमाने प्राजापत्यानां षष्ठ्याधिकसप्तत्रयं द्वादशवार्षिके वैकल्पिकमष्टौषं भवति । तद्दशको तावदेव वा धेनवो द्यातव्याः । तदसम्भवे निष्कानां षष्ठ्याधिकसप्तत्रयं द्यातव्यम् । तथा स्तूपयन्तरम् । प्राजापत्य ...मूलार्धमपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शक्यपेक्षया । नवामभावे निष्कः स्वयंचतुर्थं पाद एव वा इति स्मरण्यात् । मित. on य. III. 326. The मा. वकाशं says 'हृष्यन्चतुष्टयसमतेतलितं कल्पं निष्क इत्यर्थः' (folio 62 b). This is the view of the Prāyascitta-muktāvalī (folio 17 a) which remarks, 'तथा च धरण-पुराण-कार्यायकसद्वा अन्वेषात् पर्वराया भावनाम्'.

sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the *Smṛtyarthasāra* pp. 149, 155, *Prāyaścittasāra* p. 203, *Pr. T.* pp. 517, 541, *Pr. Mayūkha* p. 18 &c. The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the *smṛtis* that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform *prāyaścittas* for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.^{295a}

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers. The *Pr. V.* (p. 199) states that the price of a milch cow (*payasvini*) was 3 *purāṇas*, that of an ordinary cow (*go*) one *purāṇa* and that of a bull was five *purāṇas*. The *Pr. T.* (pp. 517-18) quotes *Kātyāyana* to the effect that the price of a cow (*go*) is 32 *panas* and that of a male calf one *purāṇa*, that a *pana* is copper weighing 80 *raktikās* or equal to 80 *varāṭakas* (cowries), that 16 *panas* were equal to one *purāṇa* (following *Bhaviṣya* and *Matsya purāṇas*), that by *niṣka* is not meant the one indicated by *Manu* (VIII. 137) but a *dināraṇiṣka* i. e. gold weighing 32 *raktikās*. The *Prāyaścittendusekhara* p. 7 follows *Yāj. I.365* and holds that *niṣka* is silver equal (in weight) to four *suvarṇas* or a *pala*. A *raktikā* weighs on an average 1·8 grains; so a copper *pana* of 80 *raktikās* would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a *dhenū* was equal to 32 *panas* (or two *purāṇas*) i. e. about 26 *tolas* of copper (one *tola* being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 120-121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers. According to *Vijñāneśvara* four *suvarṇas* are equal to a silver *niṣka*. According to the *Līlāvati* 20 *varāṭakas* are equal to a *kākaṇi*, 4 *kākaṇis* are equal to a *pana* and a *niṣka* is equal to 256 *panas*.

^{295a}. There was a parallel to this method of *pratyāmnāya* in Europe as remarked by Gibbon 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 *solidi* or nine shillings for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion' *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. VII. p. 187 (Smith's ed. of 1862).

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF ALL PRĀYAŚCITTAS

Now all the prāyaścittas mentioned in the smṛtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

AGHAMARŚANA—(The hymn Rg. X.190.1-3).

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmasāstra works such as Gaut. 24.11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.19-20, Vas. 26.8, Manu XI.259-260, Yāj. III.301, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Śāṅkha 18.1-2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Aghamarśana hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Āsvamedha sacrifice. The Pr. Sāra p. 199 speaks of the Aghamarśana-vrata. He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end. Śāṅkha 18.1-2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S.46.1-9 prescribe the details.

ATIKRCCHRA—Vide under Kṛccra. Manu XI. 213 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days. Yāj. III.319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel). The Mit., Pr. Sāra (p. 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj. is meant for those who are unable (*atākta*). The Sāmavidhāna Br. I.2.6-7, Gaut. 26.18-19, Viṣṇu Dh. S.54.30, Laugākṣigṛhya V.12-13, Parāśara XI.54-55, Vas. 24.1-2, Baud. Dh. S. IV.5.8 also speak of this. Manu XI.208 (= Viṣṇu 54.30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmaṇa with a weapon or a cudgel. Gaut. 26.22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the *mahūpātakas*.

ATISĀNTAPANA—See under Mahā-sāntapana. This is variously defined. According to the Agnipurāṇa 171.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow's urine and five

other things). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 12 days.²⁹⁶ The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

ARDHAKṚCCHRA—See under Kṛcchra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9.43-44, this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days²⁹⁷ (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

ĀSVAMEDHĀVABHRTHASNANA—the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Āsvamedha sacrifice. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Āsvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Āsvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1228-1236 for a description of the Āsvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a kṣatriya could perform Āsvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kullūka (on Manu XI 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhaviṣya-purāṇa) even a brāhmaṇa could participate in the bath at the end of the Āsvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder if committed unintentionally.²⁹⁸

AGNEYA KṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is āgneya Kṛcchra.²⁹⁹ Vide also Pr. Pr. (folio 48 b.)

296. यदा तु वर्णा सास्तपनद्वयान्तमेकैकस्व इच्छदुपयोगस्तदाऽतिसान्तपनम् । यथाह यमः । एताभ्येष तथा देवाभ्येकोक्तं तु इच्छदं इच्छदम् । अतिसान्तपनं नाम श्वाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥ इति । मिता. on या. III. 315, मा. स. p. 191, अथर्क p. 1234 (reads इच्छदं इच्छदम्).

297. सास्तपनस्तथैवैकं दिनद्वयमवाप्तिम् । दिनद्वयं च जायमीयात्कृच्छ्रार्थं तद्विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति 9 43-44 q. by मिता. on या. III. 318, मा. वि. p. 509, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 173, मा. स. p. 172.

298. अश्वमेधमायचित् तं राज्ञ एव तत्र तस्यैवाधिकारात् । ...अश्वमेधावशुच्यस्नाने नियमाप्यधिकारः । तथा च कल्पतवद्धं नविष्यदुराणम् । यदा तु सुजवाद् विमो हय्याह्नयं तु मिर्तुणम् । अकामतस्तदा ज्योत्स्नानं शैवाश्वमेधिकम् । तत्तन्वावशुच्यस्नानं क्षत्रियविषयमिति शायचित्तविवेकोक्तं हेयम् । मा. स. p. 544. Vide मा. वि. p. 63 for the opinion referred to.

299. तिस्रिंशद्वक्षराज्येन कृच्छ्रमात्रेणमर्तिहृत् । अग्निपुराण 171. 14; विष्णुधर्मोत्तर 9. 1/2 मा. यकाक्ष folio 48b (reads = त्रिचतुष्टये).

RSICANDRAYANA—According to Brhad-Visṇu quoted by Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month.³⁰⁰

EKABHAKTA—According to Pr. Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka.³⁰¹

KṚCCHRA—This is the general word for several penances. The Sāma. Br. (I.2.1) starts³⁰² by saying 'we shall now expound three kṛcchras' and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days. If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2-16) describes the procedure of the first Kṛcchra (called Prājāpatya by later writers), then Atikṛcchra (26.18-19), and then Kṛcchrātikṛcchra (26.20). Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.91) speaks of Parāka as Kṛcchra. Āp. Dh. S. (I.9.27.7) describes the Kṛcchra penances of twelve days. The Kṛcchra penance described by Gaut. 26.2-16 is one for twelve days and is called Prājāpatya by Manu (XI.211), Sāṅkha (18.3), Yāj. III.319 and others. Laugākṣi Gr. (5.3-11) describes Kṛcchra. According to the Par.³⁰³ M. (II. part 1 p. 30) and Pr. Pr. (folio 64a) the word Kṛcchra without any qualifying epithet (*upapada*) means Prājāpatya. The Pr. T. (p. 481) states that the Kṛcchra described by Gaut. (26.1-5) is given the name of Prājāpatya by Manu (XI.211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz. speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

300. तथा बृहद्विष्णुः । त्रींशोऽन्विष्णुः समदनीपाजियतामा हृदयतः । हविष्याकस्य वै माससुविच्छाद्यायन् चरन् । प्राय. प्रक. p. 132. This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr. V. p. 520, Pr. T. p. 544, प्राय. स. p. 196 (reads ब्राह्मन् for विष्णुः).

301. एकभक्तेन मासेन कथितं वैकभक्तकम् । नक्तकृच्छ्रं तु नक्तेन महस्त्वंवत्सराद्भवेत् । प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 48 a).

302. प्रातराशान् सुख्वा निजो रात्रीर्नीलीयात् । अथापरं द्यहं नक्तं सुजीताधारं द्यहं न कञ्चन याचेद्यथापरं द्यहमुपवसेत् तिष्ठेद्दहनि रात्रावासीत क्षिपकामः । साम. भा. I. 2. 1-4. नो. (26. 1-6) is word for word the same except that Gaut. omits the word जीत् in the first sūtra. अथातस्त्रीन् कृच्छ्रान् व्याकथयामः । हविष्यान् द्यहमनक्ताहवादिवासी तत्तद्यहं द्यहमयाचितव्रतस्यहं जादनाति किञ्चनति कृच्छ्राद्वाक्यस्य निधिः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 7.

303. स्तुतिशास्त्रेषु निवचयद्वयं कृच्छ्रसम्बन्धस्य प्राजापत्यस्य एव प्राचुर्येण प्रयोगात् कृच्छ्रमिति प्राजापत्यमिति वेचलमवगच्छ । परा. भा. II part 1, p. 30.

men and women that are *anūryas* (not of the three higher castes), always singing the *sāmans* called 'Raurava' and 'Yaudhājapa', bathing thrice in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing *mārjana*³⁰⁴ (sprinkling of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the mantras called 'pavitratvati' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I 4.8.1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇāḥ' (in Tai. S. V. 6.1), he should perform *tarpaṇa* with water with 13 mantras (Gaut. 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i.e. after *tarpaṇa* with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā'), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devāḥ, Brahman, Prajāpati and Agni Śviṣṭakṛt and then feeds the brāhmaṇas.

Kṛcchra-sainvatsara—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which Kṛcchras are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Krochrātikṛcchra—Gaut. 26.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2.8, Vas. 24.3 define it as a kṛcchra where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I. 2.9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins.³⁰⁵ Yāj. III. 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj. on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digests by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr. (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a kṛcchrātikṛcchra for 24 days.³⁰⁶ Vide Par.

304. For *mārjana* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 317, 812 n and for *tarpaṇa* the same vol. pp. 668-9, 689-695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the rk 'punānaḥ soma dhārayā' (Rg. IX. 107.4 = Sāmaveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duhāna ūdhar' (Rg. IX. 107.5 = Sāmaveda No. 676).

305. अन्नमस्तुतीवः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः ।...तृतीयं चरित्वा सर्वस्यादेनसो मुच्यते । गौ. 26. 20, 23; कृच्छ्रोऽन्नमः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । वसिष्ठ 24. 3.

306. अहर्विंशतिवारं तु निषतात्मा जितेन्द्रियः । कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं कुर्वीत एकस्थाने द्विजोत्तमः वन q. by अपरार्क p. 1238, मह. वा. p. 716; अपरार्क folio 182 explains: द्वर्षोक्तद्वारसहस्रावति कृच्छ्रद्वयेन एकः कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रो भवतीत्यर्थः ।

M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI. 208 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmaṇa with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) states that for those unable to undergo Kṛcchra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikṛcchra two milch cows and for Kṛcchrātikṛcchra four.

GOMŪTRA-KṚCCHRA—The Pr. Sāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow's urine.³⁰⁷

GOVRATA—Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 132) quoting the Mārkaṇḍeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow's urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

CĀNDRĀYAṆA—The word is derived in this way. That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrāyaṇa.³⁰⁸ The word occurs in Pān. V. 1. 72 (pārāyaṇa-turāyaṇa-cāndrāyaṇam vartayati). From very ancient times Cāndrāyaṇa has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadhya³⁰⁹ (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of yava, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pipilikāmadhya (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends). Baud. Dh. S. III 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jabali³¹⁰ there are five

307. आ तुल्यस्वारयित्वा नां मोधूमांश्चामिजितान् । तान् मोमवेत्स्वान् संयुज्य विवेक्षेयून्-
चाकन् ॥ q. by माय. सा. p. 187. This is quoted as from चमवाङ्मनस्य by महाजि-
folio 185a (which reads एवेत् for विवेत्.)

308. चन्द्रायणमनिसाधनं चरणं यस्मिन् कर्मणि द्वास्तद्विज्ञेयं तच्चायणापनम् ।
संज्ञार्था दीर्घः । मित्ता. on वा. III. 323. These very words are quoted in माय. साय.
(p. 192), या. मकार (folio 50b) and other works. The word should be चन्द्रायण,
but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened.

309. तद्वैचक्रायणमर्थं पिपीलिकामध्यं विपरीतं यममध्यम् । जी. ध. III. 8. 33. 'यमम्
मन्त्रचोरणीयो मध्ये च स्थीय इति' माय. सा. p. 192. पिपीलिकायममध्यं द्विष्टं भवतीति
पिपीलिकामध्यमिति कथ्यते' मित्ता. on वा. III. 323.

310. पिपीलिकायममध्यं च यतिचक्रायणमर्थं तथा । चक्रायणं तथा क्षेत्रं चतुर्थं सर्वतो-
दुग्धम् । पञ्चमं त्रिकुण्डलात् च दुग्धपुष्पकलेद्वयम् । आपाति q. by दीपकलिका on वा. 325,
माय. वि. p. 517.

varieties of Cāndrāyana viz. *Yavamadhya*, *Pipilikāmadhya*, *Yajicāndrāyana*, *Sarvatomukha* and *Śiśucāndrāyana*. These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III, 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyana effects purification and cāndrāyana may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death.³¹¹ Manu XI, 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyana for accumulating merit. When the *vrata* of cāndrāyana is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 'vapanam vrataṃ caret' and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22. 20) prescribes that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyana are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V. 21 and XI, 215 (= Baud. Dh. 8. IV, 5. 16). Manu XI, 27, Yāj. III, 323, Vas. 27.21, Baud. Dh. 8. IV, 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyana (of the Yavamadhya type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (*grāsa* or *pinḍa*) is taken, on the second *tithi* two and so on; on the full moon (Paurṇamāsī) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the Amāvāsyā there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is Yavamadhya) just as on the Paurṇamāsī day the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here Paurṇamāsī is in the middle of the period of the observance as Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 47.6 says. If one begins the *vrata* on the first *tithi* of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half and so on. On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the amāvāsyā he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the Paurṇamāsī he takes 15 morsels. The month is taken in this latter case to be Pūrṇimānta. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end. So this is called Pipilikāmadhya. This latter is described by Vas. 23.45

311. अन्तर्दिष्टेषु कार्येषु सुविधान्तराद्येन तु । यन्मार्गं पश्येदेतच्छब्दस्यैति सलोकताम् ॥
या. III. 326: संस्मर्य चाप्यत्र चान्द्रायणः सलोककल्पक्यतेति । यौ. 27. 18.

and Manu XI 216. Visṇu Dh. 8. 47.5-6 say: *Yasyāmamāvāsyā madhye bhavati sa pipilikā-madhyah yasya paurṇamāsī sa yavamadhyah*. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular pakṣa (half of a month) then the number of *grāsas* must be regulated accordingly. There are other descriptions of *cāndrāyana*. Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12-15. The Kalpataru appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābāla) that on the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on *amāvāsyā* one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were taken and there was a complete fast on *Paurṇamāsī*. But this seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of the Moon and to several *smṛti* texts such as Vas. 23.45 and *Parāśara* X. 2. Therefore the *Pr. Prakāśa* (folio 58b) finds fault with it.^{311a} *Cāndrāyana* may be divided from another point of view into two varieties: (1) *MUKHYA* (in the primary sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the moon) and *GAUNA* (having a secondary or metaphorical sense). The former is either *yavamadhyā* or *pipilikā-tanumadhyā*, while the latter is of four kinds, viz. *sāmānya*, *ṛṣi-cāndrāyana*, *śiśucāndrāyana* and *yaticāndrāyana*. The last two will be described later. The *Sāmānya* (or *sarvatomukha*) consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month of 30 days, distributing them according to one's choice (not necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by Manu XI.220, Baud. IV. 5.21, Yaj. III. 324 and the *Mit.* (on Yaj. III. 324), the *Madana-pārijāta* and other works. Here the penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon, is called *Cāndrāyana* for the purpose of prescribing the same procedure and observances in it as in the *Cāndrāyana* which follows the phases of the moon. Here the *Mīmāṃsā* rule of *Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana* applies.³¹² From the words of Gautama

311a अत्र कल्पतन्मयावधानम् । एकैकं ब्राह्मणम् यासमिति कुम्भयतिपदि पञ्चदशब्राह्मण-
मारभ्य एकैकापञ्चवेनामावास्यायामेको यासः । तद्वन्तरं प्रतिपदि द्वौ यासौ २४ इन्द्रिकमेव
चतुर्वेदया पञ्चदशब्राह्मणैः संपद्यन्ते पूर्वोक्तमस्यां चोपवास इति पिपीलिकातनुमध्यं चाप्यवधानम् ।
भाय. वि. p. 519.

312. अर्वायं क्रमः । दिने दिनेऽष्टौ ब्राह्मणं भुञ्जीत, अथवा नञ् चतुरो विना चतुर
इति । अथैकास्मिन्दिने चतुरोऽपरस्मिन् द्वादश तत्रैकपात्रमुपात्तवापरस्मिन् षोडश । षड् दिन-
इत्युपपद्ये तृतीयादिने द्वाविंशद्विंशतिवारानां मध्ये सत्यपेक्षया भुञ्जीतेति । अत्र तिथ्यपेक्षया

(Continued on the next page)

27.12-15 it appears that he envisaged a cāndrāyana of 32 days (piplikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the piplikā-madhyā type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.2 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it). Yāj. III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3³¹³ prescribes the size of a hen's egg and Sāṅkha that of an undried āmalaka fruit (*myrobalan*). The Mit. explains that Gautama's words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (śakti) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of cāndrāyana is described in Gaut. 27.2-11, Baud. III.8, Manu XI.221-225, Vṛddha-gautama chap.16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmasāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛcchra penance in Gaut. 26.6-11 are applicable to Cāndrāyana also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting 'āpyāyasva' (Rg. I. 91. 17), 'san te payāmsi' (Rg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with 'yad devā devahedaṇam' (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

(Continued from the last page)

यासन्निवमो नास्ति उपक्रमस्तु कुक्कुणपतिपक्षोरन्यतरत्र एव कर्तव्यः । मद्. पा. p. 743; च न तु चत्वारिंशदधिकशतद्वययासानां मासेन यथाकथञ्चिद्भक्षणं तत्र चन्द्रग्रहयजुर्विधानाचरणभावेन चाग्नौपायणशब्दः कुण्डपायिनामयने अग्निहोत्रशब्दवत्तद्वर्त्मपाप्यर्थो गौण इति । प्रा. पकाश folio 56b. Vide मद्. पा. p. 743 for the maxim of the Agnihotra in Kundapāyinaṁayana and Jai. VII. 3. 1, where शबर says 'कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते मास-मग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति । तत्रैतत्समधिगत् नैयमिकादग्निहोत्रात्कर्मान्तरमेतदिति । अधुना अग्निहोत्र-शब्दश्चिन्त्यते ।...नैयमिकस्याग्निहोत्रस्य ये धर्मास्तेऽस्मिन्नेन नाम्नातिदिश्येरन् ।'.

313. कुक्कुणपतिमानं तु यासं वै परिकल्पयेत् । पराशर. X.3; vide also प्राय. म. p.21.

four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with 'devakṛtasya' (Vāj. S. VIII. 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the ³¹⁴ following words 'om bhūh, bhuvah, svah, tapah truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and siva' ³¹⁵; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying 'adoration! svāhā'. The sacrificial food must be one of the following: boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

JALA KṚCCHRA—See under Toyakṛcchra.

TAPTAKṚCCHRA—There is great divergence of views about this penance. Manu XI. 214, Vas. 21.21, Visṇu Dh. S. 46. 11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.10, Śāṅkha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipurāṇa 171. 6-7, Atri verses 122-123, Parāśara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days' duration comprising four periods of three days each. In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc. to Manu XI. 214). Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control. Yāj. III. 317 (= Devala 84) speaks of this as of four days' duration, viz. he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 317 calls this *mahūtapta-kṛcchra* and also mentions a *taptakṛcchra* of two days, viz. on the first day the sinner takes all the three, viz. hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days' taptakṛcchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāhuti mantras, viz. 'prāṇāya svāhā, apānāya svāhā' etc.

315. The words of the Mantras are 'ओं भूभुवः स्वस्तपः सत्यं यज्ञः श्रीकृतिर्ज्ञान-स्तेजो वर्चः पुण्यो धर्मः शिव इत्येतैर्वासाहुमन्त्रणं प्रतिमन्त्रं मनसा । नमः स्वाहेति वा सर्वान् ।
गी. 27. 8-9; some MSS omit वर्चः.

of by the Mit. has to be found out. The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a *tapta-kṛcchra* for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of *tapta-kṛcchra* for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins. The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara ³¹⁶ IV. 8, Atri 123-124 and Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six *palas*, three *palas* and one *pala* respectively. The Brahmapurāṇa adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon.

TULĀPURUṢA KṚCCHRA—Jābāli speaks ³¹⁷ of the duration of this penance as eight days; Śaṅkha (18.9-10) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day. Yāj. III. 322 (= Atri verses 129-130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpuruṣa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 322). Aparārka pp. 1239-1241, Par. M. II, part 2 pp. 184-189, Madanapārijāta pp. 718-727, Pr. Sāra pp. 179-181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpuruṣa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant *uśira* grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun,

316. दृष्टपलं तु पिबेद्दम्भक्षिपलं तु पयः पिबेत् । पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिलसकृच्छ्रं विधीयते ॥ पतञ्जल IV. 8 (B. S. series) vol. II part 1 p. 26. It may be noted that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 317, the Pr. Sāra p. 136 read पराशर's verse as 'अपं पिबेत् त्रिपलं द्विपलं तु पयः पिबेत् । पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिलसकृच्छ्रं विधीयते ॥' and that the Mit. explains 'त्रिरात्रमाहृतस्य पूरणे उष्णीदकवाण्यं पिबेद्विषयः' 1. The मद्. पा. pp. 735-736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to पराशर. According to Yāj. I. 363-64 a *pala* is equal to 4 or 5 *suvarṇas* and a *suvarṇa* is equal to 80 *kṛṣṇalas* (*guṇjas*) in weight.

317. तत्र जाबालिः । पिण्याकं च यथाचारं तत्रं बोद्धकस्तत्रः । त्रिरात्रमुपवासश्च तुलापुरुष उच्यते ॥ q. by या. सार p. 178, परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 183.

TOYA-KṚCCHRA—This is also called Varuṇa-kṛcchra by Yama (q. in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śaṅkha (q. in Pr. Śāra p. 182). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 14) states ³¹⁸ that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called *Udakakṛcchra*. Since Varuṇa was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the Rgveda (e. g. in Rg. VII. 49. 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toya-kṛcchra was called Vāruṇa. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)³¹⁹ quotes Jābāla to the effect 'If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuṇa) he removes by the *jalakṛcchra* the sins which he may have committed for a year'. According to Yājñavalkya (q. in Pr. Śāra p. 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatrī mantra 1008 times. According to Śaṅkha (q. by Madana-pārijāta p. 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on *saktus* boiled in water.

DADHIKṚCCHRA—This is spoken of by the Pr. Prakāśa quoting from the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.³²⁰

DEVAKṚCCHRA—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II. part. 2 pp. 191-192) describes this as follows ³²¹: One should partake

318. उदकसक्त्वा मासाभ्यवहारेणोदककृच्छ्रः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46. 14; 'चितान्युदक-सिद्धानि मासमन्वीत संयतः । सक्त्वा सोदकान्मासं कृच्छ्रो वारुण उच्यते ॥' शङ्ख q. by चालम्भट्टी on या. III. 318, प्रा. सार. pp. 186-87.

319. अनदनजलमध्यस्थस्त्वहोरात्रं जपन्बुधः । संवत्सरकृतं पापं जलकृच्छ्रे व्यपोहति ॥ जाबाल q. by प्रा. सार p. 187, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 47 b, where it is said जपश्च वारुण-मन्त्राणाम्; as to योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 'वायुभक्षो दिवा तिष्ठेद्वात्रं नीरान्पु क्षपेद्दक्षः सहस्राष्टाधिकं जप्त्वा गायत्रीं जलसंज्ञकः ॥', vide द्वितीयेष्टिं सूयं दृष्ट्वाष्टोत्तरसहस्रमायत्रिजपं कृत्वा पारणं कुर्यादिति । प्रा. सार p. 187. This is q. by प्रा. प्रकाश folio 47 b. The first half is या. III. 311.

320. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । दधना क्षीरेण तन्नेन पिण्याकाद्यामकैस्तथा । शाकैर्मसं तु कार्याणि स्वनामानि विचक्षणैः ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48a.

321. यवान् वायवं शाकं क्षीरं दधि घृतं तथा । इयं इयं तु माश्रीयाद्वायुभक्षस्यहं परम् । मरुद्भिस्तुभी वज्रैरादित्यैश्चरितं ब्रतम् । ब्रतस्यास्य प्रभातेन विरजस्का हि तेऽभवन् ॥ कृच्छ्रं देवकृतं नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् । यम q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 191-192 and by प्रा. सार. pp. 183-184 (which omits the last verse मरुद्भिः). लौगाक्षियुक्ता VI. 3 reads 'यवान् ... शाकं पयः सर्पिः कुशीदकम् । इयं... इयम् ॥'. देवपाल explains 'यवान्पर्यासिततुषयः सम्पाद्या वेद्यया प्रसिद्धा वायव्योपि तद्वत्स तु भक्तमायः कठिनः'.

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called *Devakṛta* (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from *rajas* (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

DHANADAKṚCCHRA—See under *Vāyavya-kṛcchra*. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* ³²² (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i. e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

NITYOPAVĀSA KṚCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. ³²³

PAÑCAGAVYA—For the various details connected with *pañcagavya* prepared from cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 773-774. *Pañcagavya* is to be offered into fire with the mantras 'Irāvati' (Rg. VII. 99.3), 'idam Viṣṇu' (Rg. I. 22. 17), 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8), 'Śam no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three *Palāśa* leaves or with a lotus leaf. Manu. XI. 165 (= *Agnipurāṇa* 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of *pañcagavya* as the penance for petty thefts. Similarly, Yāj. III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink *pañcagavya* for a month. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 263 quotes *Viṣṇu* to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three *palas* of *pañcagavya* every day for one month or undergoing the penance of *Parāka* or *Cāndrāyana*. ³²⁴ Though *Viṣṇu* 54. 7 and *Atri* (verse 300) state that a *brāhmana*

322. बाजप्रयुक्तिमयेकां कनकेन समन्विताम् । शुक्रानस्य तथा मांसं कृच्छ्रं धनद्वैतम् ॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by प्र. प्रकाश folio 48 b.

323. सायं यातश्च शुक्रानो नरो यो ज्ञानतरा पिबेत् । बहुभिर्बर्षैरिव मोक्तं कृच्छ्रं नित्योप-
पासेता ॥ प्र. प्रकाश p. 48a.

324. मोहनस्य पञ्चगव्येन मांसमेकं पलत्रयम् । प्रत्यहं स्वात्पराको वा चान्द्रायणम-
थापि वा ॥ विष्णु q. by मिता. on वा. III. 263 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 243 (which
reads मांसमेकं निरन्तरम् । प्राजापर्यं पराको वा).

drinking *surā* and a *śūdra* drinking *pañcagavya* both went to hell (Mahāraurava, according to Viṣṇu), yet Devala (verse 61) and Parāśara XI 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr. M. (p. 13) and Śūdrakamalakara (p. 42) allowed *śūdras* to take *pañcagavya* without Vedic *mantras*. And women of all *varṇas*, being treated like *śūdras* for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

PATRAKṚCCHRA—Vide Parna-kūrca below.

PARAKA—Manu XI 215 (= Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.16), Yāj. III. 320 (= Śāṅkha 18.5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāṇa 171, 10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Br. ³²⁵ prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

PARNAKŪRCA—This is a more severe type of *patra-kṛcchra*. Yāj. III. 316 (= Devala 83) and Śāṅkha-Likhitā ³²⁶ define *Parnakṛcchra* as one where the leaves of *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *lotus*, and *bilva* are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which *kūśa*s have been dipped is drunk. Thus *parnakṛcchra* is a penance of five days. The Mit. on Yāj. III 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and *kūśa* water on the same day then the penance is called *parnakūrca*. The Par. M. (II, part 2 p. 181)³²⁷ regards *Parnakūrca* as a variety of *Parnakṛcchra*. Vasiṣṭha, Jābali and Atri (116–117) make *Parnakṛcchra* a penance of six days by adding the leaves of *Aśvattha* to the five mentioned above. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 23 mentions another variety of *Parnakṛcchra* for seven days. ³²⁸

325. जपहोमरतः कुर्याद् द्वादशाहमभोजनम् । पराक एव विरुवातः सर्वपापमनाशनः ॥
इह प. by माच. वि. p. 515.

326. शङ्खलिखितौ—एषाभिलषलशोदुम्बरकुशोदकान्येकैकमपस्तानि पर्णकुच्छः । मद्
पा. p. 733, दीपकलिका on या. III. 317; while अपरार्ध p. 1234 reads
एकैकमपस्तानि पर्णकुच्छः समस्तान्येतानि त्रिरात्रेणोपयुक्तानि च पर्णकुच्छः (0 कूर्चः ?)
The मद्. पा. p. 734 reads पर्णकुच्छः.

327. तथा वसिष्ठः । पञ्चोदुम्बरपलाशविल्वान्धकुशानामुदकं पीत्वा च द्वादशैव
ब्रूयति । मा. प्रक. p. 128.

328. कुशपलाशोदुम्बरपञ्चशङ्खपुष्पीवद्वह्मसुवर्चलानां पत्रैः कथितस्याम्भसः प्रत्येकं
(प्रत्येकं ?) पानेन पर्णकुच्छः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46. 23. बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 316
remarks on this 'इति विष्णुना सप्ताहसाध्य उक्तः' ; मद्. पा. p. 733 explains 'शङ्खपुष्पी
लताविशेषः । ब्रह्मसुवर्चला जाड्यविशेषः' ।

PARNAKR̥CCHRA—Vide Parnakūrca above.

PADAKR̥CCHRA—According to Yāj. III. 318 (= Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it. The Caturvimsatimata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively.

PADONAKR̥CCHRA—This lasts for nine days³²⁹ only instead of the 12 days of the Prājāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i. e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

PUSPAKR̥CCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa 171. 12 and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Markandeyapurāṇa) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water.³³⁰

PRASRTA-YAVAKA or **PRASRTIYAVAKA**—Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost *verbatim*) and so does Hārta (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192-194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Viṣṇu and Baud. Prasṛti means the hand with all fingers stretched out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched

329. सायं मातर्षिर्गार्प्यं दद्यात्पादोर्ध्वं नक्तवर्जितम् । आपस्तम्बस्मृतौ I. 14, q. by मिता. on या. III. 318, याव. सार. p. 172, परा मा. II. part 2 p. 173.

330. यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । कलेर्मासेन कथितः फलकृच्छ्रो मनीषिभिः । श्रीकृच्छ्रः श्रीकलेः श्लोकः पञ्चाक्षरपरस्तथा । मासेनामलकैरेव श्रीकृच्छ्रमपरं स्मृतम् । पत्रैर्मतः पत्रकृच्छ्रः पुष्पैस्तकृच्छ्र उच्यते । मूलकृच्छ्रः स्मृतो मूलैस्तोयकृच्छ्रो जलेन तु ॥ मिता. on या. III. 316, मद्. पा. p. 734. We should read कथितः for कथितः as मद्. पा. does, which remarks 'शरीरयात्रामात्रप्रयुक्तफलानि मासं भक्षयेत् तत्र सर्वेव्रतसाधारणेति कर्तव्यतापि कर्तव्या । तानि च फलानि कानीरयाकाङ्क्षायामाह श्रीकृच्छ्रः ॥'.

out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud. who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here.³³¹ "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform (the Vaiśvadeva) offering with (a part of) that nor a *Bali*³³² offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras 'thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuṇa and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification.' Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of *ganas* (guilds or multitudes of men), harlots, *sūdras*, or food offered at *śrāddhas* by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at *navasrāddha* (i. e. on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a *vṛata* or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of *brāhmaṇas*. Then Baud. proceeds "while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite 'Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

331. अथ कर्मभिरात्मकृतैर्गुरुनिवारमानं मन्येतात्मार्षं पशुतयाचकं अपयेदुक्षितेषु नक्षत्रेषु । न ततोऽग्नौ जुहुयात् । न चात्र बालिकर्म । अकृतं अप्यमाणं कृतं चाभिमन्त्रयेत् । यकोसि धान्यराजोसि वाक्यो मधुसंयुतः । निर्णदः सर्वपापानां पवित्रवृषिभिः स्मृतम् ॥... सर्वं पुनश्च मे यवाः ॥ इति । अप्यमाणे रक्षां कुर्यात् । नमो ब्रह्माय भूतधिपतये द्यौः ज्ञान्ता कृष्ण्य पाजः प्रसितं न पृथ्वीमित्येतेनानुवाकेन । ये देवाः पुरःसदोऽग्निनेत्रा रक्षोहण इति पञ्चभिः पर्यायैः । मानस्तोके ब्रह्मा देवानामिति द्वाभ्याम् । कृतं च लघ्वदनीयात्मयतः पात्रे निषिध्य । ये देवा मनोज्ञा मनोजुजः सुरक्षा वक्ष्यितरस्ते नः पान्तु ते मोक्षन्तु तेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्यः स्वाहेति । आत्मानं जुहुयात् त्रिरात्रं मेधायी बह्वरात्रं पीत्वा पापकृच्छ्रदो भवति । सप्तरात्रं पीत्वा ब्रह्महन्तं शुभतत्त्व-गमनं सुवर्णसैन्धवं मुरापाणमिति च पुनाति । एकादशरात्रं पीत्वा पूर्वशुक्लकृतमपि वापं निर्जुहोति । अपि वा मोनिष्कातानां यवानामेकविंशतिरात्रं पीत्वा गणात्पश्यति गणात्पथिति पश्यति विद्यां वदन्ति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यतीत्याह भगवान् बोधायनः । बौ. ध. सू. III. 6. The verses enulogising yava (यकोसि) are Band. III. 6. 5-10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 48. 17-22 and Hārīta (q. in Par. M. II. part, 2 p. 193) with some variations and omissions. As to the rest Hārīta agrees closely with Baud. while Viṣṇu differs a good deal from Baud. as to the mantras. Viṣṇu has a verse referring to food licked by dogs and pigs and food defiled by leavings and the sin of disobeying parents, but omits two verses that occur in Baud. about *mahāpātakas*. Viṣṇu 48.6 prescribes Rg. IX. 96. 6 (ब्रह्मा देवानां) as the mantra to be recited at the time of guarding the grains that are being cooked.

332. For Vaiśvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh. II pp. 741-747.

is the sky'. He should recite the text beginning with 'Kṛṇusva pājah' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with 'Ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1), the two texts 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8 and Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) and 'Brahmā devānam' (Rg. IX. 96.6, Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2). "Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting 'ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1)."

Then Baud. prescribes: "one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights. A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i. e. cowdung) sees the *Gaṇas*, the lord of the *Gaṇas*, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning."

PRĀJĀPATYA—Vide under *Kṛcchra* above where it is shown that the word *Kṛcchra* without any qualifying epithet means *Prājāpatya*. *Manu* XI. 211, *Yaj.* III. 319, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 46. 10, *Atri* 119-120, *Śaṅkha* 18. 3, *Baud. Dh. S. IV.* 5. 6 mention the word *Prājāpatya* and define it. This *Prājāpatya* has several varieties. The first is that described by *Manu* XI. 211 and *Vas.* 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by *Vas.* 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each. The first³³³ is called *Prājāpatya* by 'sthānavivṛddhi' and the 2nd is called 'Dandakalita'. Further, both these are said to be made 'anulomyena' (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i. e. if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अयमेव पातकशुद्धिः यथाकथंचिद्वृत्तकलितवशाद्भूया स्वस्थानविद्वज्ज्ञा वा, तत्राद्याहुलेश्वरेण मातिलेश्वरेण वा तथा वक्ष्यमाणजपादियुक्तं तद्वर्हितं वा विरुध्यस्तः प्राजापत्योऽभिधीयते । मिता. on वा. III. 319. The मय. वा. p. 710 explains 'तत्राद्यं पक्षमाह मयः—इत्यर्हं मातः...॥ अत्रैकभक्तादीनां स्वस्थान एवाभिद्वज्ज्ञत्वात् स्वस्थानवृद्धिः ।'.

and for three days eating by day only, it is Prājāpatya by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and śūdras).³³⁴

PHALAKRĀCCHRA—Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from Mārkaṇḍeya quoted above (n. 330). Śrīkrācchra mentioned below will be also phalakrācchra. The fruits of Bilva and of Āmalaka and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

BĀLAKRĀCCHRA—See Śīśukrācchra.

BRHAD-YĀVAKA—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting Brahmapurāṇa describes it as follows:—One should feed cows on plenty of yavas anointed with clarified butter. Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them. He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow's urine on a fire brought on an altar. He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of *palāśa* leaves and present them to the gods and *manes* and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one's *guru*, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

BRAHMAKŪRCA—The Mit. ³³⁵ on Yājñavalkya III. 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of pañcagavya with Vedic *mantras* and drinks it with *mantras* it is called Brahmakūrca. According to Śaṅkha cow's urine is taken with the Gāyatri (Rg. III. 62. 10), cowdung with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām' (Tai. Ā. X. 1), milk with 'āpyāyava' (Rg. I. 91.16), curds with 'dadhikrāvṇa' (Rg. IV. 39. 6), ghee with 'Tejosi' (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and Kuśa water with 'devasya tvā' (Vāj. S. 22. 1, Ait. Br. 37. 3 &c.). Jābāla ³³⁶

334. तस्माच्छुद्धं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थित्यत् । प्रायश्चित्तं यद्वा तस्य जपहोमविधिति-
तम् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य ५. by the मित्रा. on या. III. 319 and महार्णवः folio 182 a.

335. यदा पुनः पूर्वेष्वपराधेष्वपरेषुः समन्त्रकं संयुज्य समन्त्रकमेव पञ्चगव्यं पीयते तदा
ब्रह्मकूर्च इत्याख्यायते । मित्रा. on या. III. 314. Vide लघुशास्त्रात् 156-156 for ब्रह्मकूर्च,
which is the penance for all sins where no specific penance is prescribed.

336. अथैरात्रोचितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्यां विशेषतः । पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्ब्रह्मकूर्चविधिः
स्मृतः ॥ जाबाल ५. by या. वि. p. 515, या. यकाशा folio 50a and प्राय. म. p. 22.

prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūrca. Parāśara (XI. 27-28) appears to hold that *Pañcagavya* and *Brahmakūrca* are synonyms. The Madanapārijāta p. 729 and Pr. Sāra. p. 189 state that the Sāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūrca.³³⁷

BRAHMAKŪRCCHRA—Vide Hemādri's work on Prāyascitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Viṣṇu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbūla and unguents.

MAHĀTAPTAKŪRCCHRA—Vide Taptakūrcchra.

MAHĀSĀNTAPANA—Sāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Manu XI. 212 (= Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11 = Śaṅkha 18.8 = Brhad-Yama I. 13), Atri 117-118, Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuśa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāsāntapana penance consists, according to Lau-gākṣigṛhya VII. 3, Yāj. III. 315 (= Devala 82 = Atri. 118-119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i. e. it lasts for 7 days). According to Śaṅkha 18.9, Baud.Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābāla³³⁸ the Mahāsāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks³³⁹ of a mahāsāntapana for 15 days viz. when each of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

337. ततश्च योगीश्वरमिहितं सान्तपनमेव ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्युच्यते । स एव ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवास इति । आ. सार p. 189; vide also मद्. पा. p. 729. The reference is to the verse 'यस्माद्यमितं पापं दहे तिष्ठति मानवः । ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवासस्तु दहत्यग्निरिवेन्दनम् ।' cited as पराशर's in आ. सार p. 189, while पराशर (XI. 37-38 reads) यस्व...देहिनाम् । ब्रह्मकूर्चो दहेत्सर्वं मदीयमग्निरिवेन्दनम् ॥

338. षण्णामेकमेतेषां त्रिरात्रमुपयोजयेत् । इयं चोपवसेद्वर्त्य महासान्तपनं विदुः ॥ जाबाल q. by अपराक p. 1234, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 51.

339. इयं विधेः नोमूर्धं इयं वै नोमर्धं विधेः । इयं द्विधि इयं त्रिंशं इयं सर्पि-स्ततः क्षुचिः ॥ महासान्तपनमेतत्सर्वपापमनाशनम् । यम. q. by मिला. on या. III. 315, आ. सार p. 191, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 31.

VĀYAVYA-KṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa³⁴⁸ and Viṣṇudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

VRDDHAKṚCCHRA—VRDDHI-KṚCCHRA—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śāṅkha-Likhita³⁴⁹ and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days.

VYSAKṚCCHRA—This is the same as Maitra-kṛcchra,³⁵⁰ for which see above p. 148.

ŚISUKṚCCHRA—also called Bālakṛcchra by Śāṅkha-Likhita and Pāḍakṛcchra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvalī (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-kṛcchra.³⁵¹ It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food got without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas. 23.43 (q. by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 92. Yāj. III. 318.

ŚISU-CĀNDRĀYAṆA—Manu XI. 219, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.19, Agnipurāṇa 171.5 state that when a brāhmaṇa eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śisu-cāndrāyaṇa (cāndrāyaṇa for boys, old men &c.).

ŚĪTAKṚCCHRA—This is the reverse of Taptakṛcchra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold^{351a} and not hot (as in Tapta-kṛcchra). Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.12, Agnipurāṇa 171. 7 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 317. According to Viṣṇu quoted by Pr. Sāra (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz. cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day.

348. मासं वायव्यकुच्छं द्यात्पाणिपूराक्षभोजनात् । अग्निपु. 171. 14; वायव्यं कुच्छकुच्छं तु पाणिपूराक्षभोजनम् । मासेनैकेन धर्मज्ञ सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by मा. प्रकाश folio 48 a.

349. तत्र झङ्गलिजितौ । मातः सायमयाचितस्तुपवालङ्कयहं इवहमिति माजापत्यं इवहं इवहमिति इवकुच्छः, एकैकमिति बालकुच्छः । माय. वि. p. 511. The प्राच. सार p. 177 quotes a verse of यम to the same effect.

350. The मा. प्रकाश (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्गिरस् which is कविलावा...एष ग्यासकृतः कुच्छः श्वाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥

351. लघुकुच्छरथेयं शिशुकुच्छं इति नामान्तरम् । माय. म. p. 21.

351a. यदा तु शीतं क्षीरादि पीयते तदा शीतकुच्छः । इवहं शीतं विषेक्ष्य इवहं शीतं ययः पिबेत् । इवहं शीतं हृतं पीत्वा वायुमक्षः परं इवहम् ॥ इति यमस्मरणात् । मिता. on वा. III. 317.

ŚRĪKṚCCHRA—According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.16, Agni-purāṇa ³⁵² 171.12 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or amalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

SĀNTAPANA—Vide Mahāsāntapana and Atisāntapana above. It is of five kinds, viz. the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

SURACĀNDRĀYANA—The Agnipurāṇa defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrāyana. Viṣṇu. Dh. S. (47. 9) calls it 'sāmānyacāndrāyana'.³⁵³

SUVARNA-KṚCCHRA—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitta pp. 969-972 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in which a *varāha* or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A Varāha was equal to nine rūpakas and a rūpaka was one māsa of five *guṇjas* (of silver it seems). For killing a brāhmana secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand suvarṇa-kṛcchras and a lesser number for various other lapses.

SOMĀYANA—According to the Madanapārijāta pp. 744-746 (quoting Hārītadharmaśūtra and Mārkaṇḍeya) and Pr. Prakāśa (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next fort-night; the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four

352. बिल्वाभ्यवहारेण भीफलकृच्छ्रः पञ्चाक्षरी । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.16; कलेर्मासं कलं कृच्छ्रं चित्तेः श्रीकृच्छ्र इति । पञ्चाक्षेः स्वाक्षमलकैः पुष्पकृच्छ्रं तु पुष्पकैः । अग्निपु. 171.12. Vide note 330 above for मारकण्डेय.

353. यथा कथञ्चित्पिण्डानां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । मासेन भक्षयेद्देतत्सुराद्यापणं चरेत् ॥ अग्निपु. 171.5-6. य. III. 324 reads the 2nd half as मासेनैवोपभुञ्जीत चाग्न्यापणमथापरम् ॥ The Mit. explains यथाकथञ्चित् as 'प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्नेऽष्टौ घ्रातान्, अथवा भक्तं दिनयोश्चतुरश्वतुरो वा, अथैकस्मिन्चतुरोऽपरस्मिन्द्वादश वा तथैकरात्रमुपोष्यापरस्मिन्बोद्धा वेत्तादिप्रकाराणामन्यतमेन शक्ययाद्यप्येषा भुञ्जीत'. यथाकथञ्चित्पिण्डानां त्रिंशतीं मासेनाश्नीयात्स सामान्यचाग्न्यापणः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47.9

periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk. Vide also *Prāyaścittendu-śekhara* p. 12.

SAUMYAKRCCRA—According to Yāj. III. 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and *saktus* (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed. The Mit., *Madanapārijāta* p. 717, Pr. Sāra p. 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Jābāla (quoted by the Mit., Par. M. II part 2 p. 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, *saktus* and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. Atri (128-129) also mentions it. The Pr. Prakāśa (quoting *Brahmapurāṇa*) speaks³⁵⁴ of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on *saktus* alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

354. प्रकारान्तरेण षडहः सौम्यकृच्छ्र उक्तो महापुराणे । यथमेष्टानि नाश्नीयात्सौम्य-
कृच्छ्रेऽपि सर्वदा । गोमूत्रपावकाहारः कटे सकृच्च तत्तन्मानं ॥ इति । वा. प्रकाश. folio 46b.

CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PENANCES

If a sinner did not undergo a *prāyaścitta*, the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences. *Yāj.* III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells. *Manu* XII. 54 ff and *Yāj.* III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c. *Manu* XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of *prāyaścittas*) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). *Manu* XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*³⁵⁵ echoes the words of *Yāj.* III. 221. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* declares³⁵⁶ that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (44. 1-10) prescribes³⁵⁷ that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of *atipātakas*, *mahāpātakas*, *anupātakas*, *upapātakas*, *jāti-*

355. पापकृष्याति नरकं प्रायश्चित्तपराङ्मुखः । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5 21. q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 209.

356. प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यवासिताः । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ मातृव्यमपि खासाद्य भ्रमन्तीह तथाङ्किताः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 4-5 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and प्राय. वि. p. 120 (both of which read अद्विष्टताः for अवा-सिताः of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापात्मनां नरकोन्मथुतदुःखानां तिर्यग्योनयो भवन्ति । अतिपातकिनां पर्वो-
पेण सर्वाः श्वाश्वर्योनयः । महापातकिनां च कुमियोनयः । अनुपातकिनां पक्षियोनयः । उप-
पातकिनां जलज्योनयः । कृतजातिभ्रंशकराणां जलश्वर्योनयः । कृतसङ्क्रियकरणकर्मणां वृग्यो-
नयः । कृतापाधिकरणकर्मणां पशुयोनयः । कृतमालिनीकरणकर्मणां मनुष्येण्यस्तुत्योनयः ।
मकीर्णेषु मकीर्णां विंशाः कृष्याद्या भवन्ति । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 44. 1-10.

bhramśa-kara actions, saṅkarīkaraṇa, apatrikaraṇa, malīnīkaraṇa and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45.1 provides³⁵⁸ that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins). So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven.³⁵⁹ There are in the Rgveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell. In Rg. II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Viśve-Devas 'save me from the pit, from falling down into it' (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatrāḥ). In Rg. IV. 5. 5 it is said³⁶⁰ that those men who are bereft of *ṛta* and *satya*, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In Rg. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down³⁶¹ into bottomless darkness evil-doers; and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths. Indra is implored in Rg. X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In Rg. IX. 73.8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the Rgveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358. अथ नरकमिभूतदुःखानां तिष्ठन्नुत्पत्तीर्णानां मनुष्येषु लक्षणानि भवन्ति । विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र 45.1.

359. Vide for 'Heaven' and 'Hell' in Vedic Literature 'Vedic Mythology' by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, pp. 167-170; 'The religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' by Prof. Keith pp. 403-410, Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 13 pp. ciii ff, Vol. 61 pp. 76-80, Vol. 62 pp. 150-156.

360. पापासः सज्जो अमुता असत्या इदं पदमजयता गभीरम् ॥ अ. IV. 5. 5.

361. इन्द्रासोमा बुधकुतो वने अन्तरगारम्भे तमसि य विधपतम् । अ. VII. 104. 3; परः सो अस्तु तन्वा तना च तिवः दृष्टीरधो अस्तु विश्वाः । अ. VII. 104. 11; यो अस्मां अभिज्ञासत्यधरं ममया तमः । अ. X. 152. 4; विज्ञास विश्वा भुवनभिपश्यत्यवाजुह्वाम् विधपति कर्ते अजताम् । अ. IX. 73.8.

deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. But there is no mention in the Rgveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30. 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda³⁶² V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmaṇa or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood. Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions 'Nāraka-loka'. In the Vāj. S. XXX. 5 the *Virahan*³⁶³ (i. e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to *nāraku* (*nārakāya viraham*). A *virahan* may also mean 'one who kills a valiant man' but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vāj. S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. 4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed. The Tai. Ā. I. 19 speaks of four *narakas* called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Viśādin and Aviśādin in the south-east, south-west, north west and north-east. From the Kathopanishad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama³⁶⁴ (II. 5-6). The same Upanishad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upanishad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purāṇas. The very words at the beginning of the Katha Up. (I. 21 'devair-atrāpi vicikitsitam') indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed. The Kausitaki Br. (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

362. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यक्षीयन्ते वास्मिन् शुल्कमीषिरे । अहन्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ अथर्व. V. 19. 3.

363. अथाहुर्नारिकं लोकं निदग्धानस्य याचिताम् । अथर्ववेद XII. 4. 36; विरहा वा एव द्वेवानां योमिसुहृत्सयते । तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 5.

364. न साम्प्रदायः प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं विसमोहेन मृदम् । अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्विशमापद्यते मे ॥ कठोप= II, 6; vide p. 94 above for कठोप= V. 7.

just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.³⁶⁵

As regards the opposite idea of *svarga* (Heaven) the matter is much clearer. In certain Rk verses there are said to be three heavens (e. g. Rg. I. 35. 6, VIII. 5. 8, VIII. 41. 9, IX. 113. 9). The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuna are implored to give the worshipper immortality³⁶⁶ (Rg. I. 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X. 107. 2.). Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Rg. IX. 113. 10-11).³⁶⁷ In Rg. IX. 113.8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Vaivasvata, where the sun is confined (i. e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow'. A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven³⁶⁸. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?'³⁶⁹ The pious dead become united in Heaven with their *Iṣṭūpārta* (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Rg. X. 14.8). Those who practise *tapas* or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Rg. X. 154. 1-3)³⁷⁰, and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs.³⁷¹ The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

365. तद्यथा ह वा अस्मिँल्लोके मनुष्याः पशून्मन्यन्ति यथैभिर्भुजत एवमेवाहुष्मिँल्लोके पशवो मनुष्यान्मन्यन्त्येवमेभिर्भुजते । कौषी. ऋ. XI. 3.

366. नाकस्य पृष्ठे अधि तिष्ठति भित्तो यः पृणाति स ह देवेषु गच्छति । ऋ. I. 125. 5; उतो अस्मान्मृत्यवे दधातन । ऋ. V. 55. 4; इहि वा राधो असुतन्ममहे । ऋ. V. 63. 2; उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्वे अश्वदाः सह ते ह्येण । ऋ. X. 107. 2.

367. यत्रानग्दाश्च मोक्षाश्च रुदः प्रसूय आसते । कामस्य यत्रासाः कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृषीन्द्रायेन्दो परिचव । ऋ. IX. 113. 11.

368. अग्न्यब्रतमाहुषमयज्जानमदेवयुम् । अथ स्वः सखा नुपुवीत पर्वतः सुदनाय वसुं पर्वतः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 70. 11.

369. अपाम सोमममृता अधूमागन्त्य उयांतिरविदाम देवान् । किं नूनमस्माकृणवद्वरातिः किं धूर्तिरमृत मर्यस्य ॥ ऋ. VIII. 48. 3.

370. ये युच्यन्ते प्रधनेषु नृणां सो ये तनूत्यजः । ये वा सदक्षदक्षिणास्तान्भिवेवापि गच्छताम् ॥ ऋ. X. 154. 3.

371. इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते । इवमस्य धम्यते नास्तीरयं गार्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ ऋ. X. 133. 7.

character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III. 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution.³⁷² In Atharvaveda IV. 34.2, 5-6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are beves of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease³⁷³. Atharvaveda VI. 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII 3.17).³⁷⁴ The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adābhya cup in Jyotistoma goes to heaven while still living in this world.³⁷⁵ The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I. 5. 2. 5-6)^{375a}. The Śat. Br. (XI. 1. 8. 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'.³⁷⁶ Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance. The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Rg. X. 154.3) quite accurate or justified. There is nothing to show

372. स नाकमग्यारोहति पञ्च शुक्लो न क्रियते अश्लेन बलीयसे ॥ अथर्व. III. 29. 3.

373. नैवां शिक्षं प्र दहति जातवेदाः स्वर्गे लोके बहु ज्ञेयमेवान् ॥ इतह्रदा मधुपूलाः सरोवकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन वृष्टा । एतास्त्वा धारा उप यन्तु सर्वाः स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत्पिण्डमाना । उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु शुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ॥ अथर्व. IV. 34.2 and 6.

374. यत्रा सुहार्दः सुकृतो मद्गति विहाय रोमं तत्रः स्वायाः । अक्ष्रोणा अङ्गैरङ्गुताः स्वर्गे तत्र पश्येम पितरौ च पुत्रान् ॥ अथर्व. VI. 120. 3; स्वर्गे लोकमभि नो नयासि सं जायया सह दुत्रैः स्याम ॥ अथर्व. XII. 3.17.

375. किं तद्यज्ञे यजमानः कुरुते येन जीवन्मुवर्गे लोकमेतीति जीवग्रहो वा एष यद्व्याप्योऽमभिपुतस्य एह्यति जीवन्तमेवैनं सुवर्गे लोकं गमयति ॥ ते. सं. VI. 6.9.2.

375 a. 'यो वा इह यजते अमुं स लोकं लक्षते ... देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि' ते. ब्रा. I.5.2.5-6.

376. स ह सर्वतदूरेव यजमानोऽमुर्ध्वलोकं सम्भवति य एवं विद्वान् निष्कृत्वा यजते । शतपथ, XI.1.8.6.

that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II. 37 'hato vā prāpayasi svargam' or in the Raghuvamśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels. Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects. In the Brhadāranyaka Up. (IV. 3. 33) and Tai. Up. (II. 8) it is³⁷⁷ stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world³⁷⁸. In the Kathopanishad (I. 12) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kauṣṭaki Br. Up. as quoted by Śāṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 1.28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or³⁷⁹ the earth. The Chāndogya Up. in one place remarks³⁸⁰ 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya or vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories. The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions. Later on when the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects.

377. तस्येवं पृथिवी सर्वा वित्तरस्य पूर्णा स्यात् । स एको मानुष आनन्दः । ते ये शत मानुषा आनन्दाः स एको मनुष्यगन्धर्वाणामानन्दः ।...ते ये शतं देवानामानन्दाः स एक इन्द्रस्यानन्दः । तै. उप. II.8.

378. स्वर्गे लोके न भयं किञ्च नास्ति न तत्र त्वं न जरया विभेति । उभे तीर्त्वा शानाया-
विपासे शोकानिगो मोदते स्वर्गलोके ॥ कठोप. I.12.

379. एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति तं यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्योऽधो निनीयते । कौ. भा. उ III.9.

380. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अग्याशो ह यस्ते रमणीया योनिमापद्येरन्नाह्वययोनिं वा
क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वा । अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अग्याशो ह यस्ते कपूया योनिमापद्येरन्
श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा श्वण्डालयोनिं वा । छान्दोग्योप. V. 10.7.

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyesti and Śrāddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Rg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Rg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X. 14. 2 'Yamo no gātum prathamō viveda...yatrā naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ pareyuḥ'). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuṇa. In Rg. X. 14. 13-15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that *yajña* reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Rg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Rg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays 'May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuṇa, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods.'³⁸¹ In Rg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mṛtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a *kapota* is said to be the *dūta* (harbinger) of Yama. Rg. I. 38. 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state 'May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama'.³⁸² Thus, though in the Rgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mṛtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Rg. In A. V. 18. 3. 13 it is said ³⁸³ 'serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men'. In Tai. S. V. I 8.2 and V 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

381. ह्यज्यन्तु मा क्षपयाम्यथो वरुणवाहुत । अथो यमस्य पङ्क्तिज्ञात् सर्वस्मादेवकिल्बिषात् ॥ अ. X. 97.16.

382. मा वो सुपो न वयसे जरिता भूद्विजोष्यः । यथा यमस्य गाहुष ॥ अ. I 38.5.

383. यो ममार्थं प्रथमो मर्त्यानां यः प्रेषाय प्रथमो लोकमेतत् । वैवस्वतं सङ्क्रमन् जनानां यमं राजानं दृषिषा सपर्यत ॥ अथर्व. 18.3.13.

the whole extent of the earth. In Tai. S. III. 3. 8. 3-4 it is declared ³⁸⁴ 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is Yami. When a sacrificer strews *Oṣadhis* on the Vēdi it is indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama. If he (the sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they (Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters round his neck.' In Rg. X. 14. 10³⁸⁵ the *pitrs* are said to enjoy delights in the company of Yama. In the Ait. Br. ^{385a} (XII. 3) Mṛtyu is credited with having fetters (*pāśas*) and wooden maces (*sthāpu*) for catching erring men. It has already been seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world alone and deny the existence of the next. Thus, from being a beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men.³⁸⁶ The Purāṇas contain graphic descriptions of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is Citragupta. For example, the Varāhapurāṇa ^{386a} chap. 205 contains a dialogue between Yama and Citragupta, in which the latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his actions. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls into horrible hells that are declared by Citragupta at the order of Yama.

384. अग्निर्वायवम इयं यमी कुसीदं वा एतद्यमस्य यजमान आदत्ते यदोषधीभिर्वेदिं स्तृणोति वद्वृषोपच प्रपायाद् वीषवद्भूमेनममुष्मिंल्लोके नेनीयेत् । तै. सं. III.3.8.3-4.

385. अथा पितृन्धुविद्वज्जं उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मवृन्ति । अ. X. 14. 10.

385a. स सर्वान्पाप्मान्सर्वान् स्थापयन् दुर्योरासिदुष्टस्य स्वस्त्येवोदुष्टवयस । ऐ. ब्रा. XII.3.

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. IV pp. 19-46 on 'Yama and the Pitrs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the light of dawn, pitrs as 'rays of light' and saramā 'light of twilight'). Vide Dr. R. N. Dasdekar in B. C. Law Presentation vol. I, pp. 194-209, where most of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined. The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as the Kāthaka Sāmbhitā VII.10 implies 'अहर्वावासीक राक्षी सा यमी आतरं दूतं नायुच्यत वां वद्वृषच्छन् यमि कर्हि ते धातादुतेत्यद्येवोवाजयीत्'.

386 a. अयं दृष्टस्त्वयं तिर्यग्यं मोक्षं व्रजेत्तारः ॥...2 अयमावाधने हापुं हत्वा तु निधनं गतः । बाह्याण्यर्थं नवार्थं वा राष्ट्रायं निधनं गतः । हाकरय ह्यमरावर्त्ता निवेद्यत मा चिरम् । verses 9-10 of chap. 205 of वराहपुराण ; अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातमीयं स्वकर्मभिः । मुक्तोऽप पापदुःखं सुखं धर्माय सङ्गतः ॥ यमाङ्गतेः किङ्करीस्तु पारयते नरकेषु च । अग्निपु. 203. 4-5 ; दृष्ट्वाति तत्क्षणायामे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम् । आकाशवायुतेजासि विग्रहातूर्ध्वगामिनः । ...यम इदृशं यमोक्तेन चित्रदुतेन चेरितान् । प्रागेति नरकान्तीक्ष्णान् धर्मी शुभपथेद्विषम् ॥ अग्निपु. 371. 9 and 12.

We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and digests. The Nir. (I. 11) quotes³⁸⁷ a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell.' The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (*ni + araka*), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (*na + ra + ka*) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II. 11) declares that the son is called *putra* because he saves (the father) from the hell called *put*. The same derivation of the word *putra* is offered by Manu IX. 138 (= Ādiparva 229.14 = Viṣṇudharmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises³⁸⁸ heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (*naraka*) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining *putana* as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c.) and stating that by being guilty of sins a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that *naraka* is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that *naraka* is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

387. अथापि न हृष्येष्ट इत् इत्यनेन संययुज्यते परिभये नेजिह्वायन्तो नरकं पतन्म इति। नरकं श्वरकं जीर्णमनं नास्मिन्मरणं स्थानमल्पमव्यस्तीति वा। निरुक्त I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse हविर्भिरके स्वरितः सख्यन्ते सुख्यन्त एके सवनेषु सोमान्। शचीमेवन्त उत वशिष्ठाभिर्मे०. This is a खिल verse after Rg X. 106.1. विश्वरूप on या. III. 217 quotes नेजि०. and explains 'जिह्वायन्त्यः कोटिल्येन प्रवृत्ताः कामकार-प्रवृत्ता इति यावत्'। अतश्चाकामकृते नैव नरकप्राप्तिः; पुत्रः पुत्र प्रापते निपरणाह्वा पुत्रं नरकं तत्प्रापत इति वा। निरुक्त II. 11.

388. स्वर्गः सत्यवचने विपर्यये नरकः। गौ. 13.7. द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिः पतनम् तथा परत्र आसिद्धिः। तमेकं नरकम्। गौ. 21. 4-6, on the last of which हरदत्त remarks 'स्वमते तु विजिह्वे वेले दुःसैकतानस्य यासो नरक इति'; vide also अपराकं p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.

pass into all sorts of births and are ruined³⁸⁹. Āp. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.³⁹⁰ In another place Āp. Dh. S. affirms that *Naraka* is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's *dharma*. It also states that rewards without end are denominated *svargya*. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1.13 makes it³⁹¹ clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (*Saṁyamana*) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedāntasūtra III. 1.15 the *narakas*³⁹² are said to be seven. Pāṇini VI. 2.38 teaches the accent of *mahāraurava*. In the Kāśikā com. on Pāṇini III. 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th *naraka*. The Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 6.41 names seven hells, Tāmīra, Andhatāmīra, Mahāraurava, Raurava, Asipatravana, Kālasūtra and Avīci and (in II. 6. 2-5) names 26 *narakas*. Śaṅkha-Likhita as quoted by the Madanapārijāta pp. 694-695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called Kumbhipāka, Raurava, Mahāraurava &c. Manu IV. 88-90, Yāj. III. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 43. 2-22, Agnipurāṇa 371. 20-22, Nārada (*prakīrṇaka* 44) enumerate 21 *narakas*. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from Manu as follows: Tāmīra (darkness), Andhatāmīra (blinding darkness), Mahāraurava, Raurava (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Kālasūtra (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), Mahānaraka, Sañjivana (where one is made to revive and is again killed), Mahāvīci (where one is submerged in surging waves), Tapana (as burning hot as fire), Sampratāpāna (same as Kumbhipāka, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Saṅghāta (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

389. वर्णाश्रमाः स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठाः प्रेत्य कर्मफलमनुभूय ततः क्षेपेण निमिष्टदेहाजालि-
कुलकपाशुः सुतद्वत्तन्निस्तुल्यमेवसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विष्ण्वचो विपरीता नश्यन्ति।
को. XI. 29-30, q. by शाङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1.8

390. तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राधयति। आप. ध. सू. I.4.12.12; इहो वर्पति हसो
धर्मनतिक्रामति धर्मातिक्रमे कलु पुनर्नरकः। आप. ध. सू. I.4.13.4; ततः परमनन्त्यं फल
स्वर्गफलं भूयते। आप. ध. सू. II.9.23.12.

391. संयमने त्वदुभूयतेतरेषामारोहावरोही लङ्गातिवर्जनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.13. शाङ्कर
in his भाष्य relies on Kaṭhopaniṣad II. 6 and Rg. X.14.1 (both quoted above)
in support.

392. अपि च ततः वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.15; अपि च ततः नरका दीरेवमनुका पुष्कलकलो.
पञ्चमधूमित्वेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिकैः। शाङ्करभाष्य.

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kuḍmala (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pūtimṛtika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśaṅku (piercing one with iron nails), Rjīṣa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Panthāh (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nadi (i. e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaraṇī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII 75-76) again mentions the Tāmira, Asipatravana and Kumbhipāka narakas and Manu III 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu, IV. 88-90), Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dipakalikā (on Yāj. III. 222-224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and other works. Vide Agnipurāṇa 203 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap. 214 (verses 14-17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51-103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).³⁹³

Brahma-vaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 *narakakuṇḍas*³⁹⁴ and chap. 33), Nārada-purāṇa, pūrvārdha 15.1-20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāṇa (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pātālakhāṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11-27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5-6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa V.26.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇupurāṇa

393. Yāj. and Viṣṇu read 'avīci' for mahāvīci. Yāj. reads Sampratāna (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratāpana and adds Kumbhipāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Manusmṛti reads 'Pratimūrtikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16). All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15-16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamadagni quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaraṇī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Saṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanapārijāta p. 695) describes Vaitaraṇī as 'taptodakā' (having hot water).

394. नरकाणां च कुण्डानि सन्ति नानाविधानि च। नानापुराणभेदेन नामभेदानि तानि च। ...वदन्तीति च कुण्डानि संप्रमर्श्या वसन्ति च। ब्रह्मवैवर्त, प्रकृतिलखण्ड 29. 4-6.

V. 6.2-5, Skandapurāṇa I, chap. 39 and VI 226-227. In the Markandeyapurāṇa (chap. 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatravana &c. and chap. 14 (verses 39-94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins. In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to. For example, Śāntiparva 321. 32 speaks of Vaitaraṇī and Asipatravana, Anuśāsana (23.60-82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell (each verse having the refrain *te vai niraya-gāminah*) Anuśāsana 145.10-13. Svargārohanika-parva (2.16-26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatravana' (named in verse 23) and Kūṭasālmali (named in Svargārohanika 3.4). The Vṛddha-Hārta-smṛti (IX. 167-171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmṛti does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahmapurāṇa, the Viṣṇudharmottara³⁹⁵, the Garuḍa-purāṇa and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 23-29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, sankarikaṇa, who have not undergone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,^{395a} for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a *yuga* and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahmanical writers. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's monograph on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective' (1925), pages 111-113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Sañjiva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu's list

395. सहस्रलक्षनिपातेषु नियन्ते पापकारिणः । नरकाणां सहस्रेषु लक्षकंदिरुतेषु च स्वकर्मोपाजितेर्दोषैः पीडयन्ते वनकिङ्करैः । महापुराण 215. 82-83 ; अष्टाविंशतिकांतेषु द्युर्धराणि नरकाणि ते । महापातकिनश्चात्र सर्वे द्युर्धराणां विभुः । आचक्षते तारकं पावस्वी ज्वलन्ते विविधैर्दोषैः । अतिपातकिनश्चाप्ये निरवाणवकोदितु । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे q. in द्युतिह. (पा.) p. 859 ; महापुराण (वेतलखण्ड) chap 3. 3 नरकाणां सहस्राणि वन्ते इत्युक्ताः ।

395a. For Kalpa, Manvantara and Yuga, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 890-891.

of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (S.B.E. vol. 45 pp. 93-97) and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* I. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 45 pp. 279-286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N. Kanga's 'Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas' (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (*Pātimokkha*), for which see S. B. E. vol. XIII. pp. 1-69 and for the 92 *pācittiya* (*Prāyaścittiya*) rules, vide pp. 32-55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (*svarga*) in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the *R̥gveda* and even in the *Upaniṣads* like *Kaṭha* (I. 12-13 and 18 'śokātigo modate svargaloke'). *R̥g. X. 107.2* affirms that those who give (large) *dakṣiṇā* stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An³⁹⁶ echo of this is found in *Vanaparva* 186.9. The *Kaus. Up.* 1.3 speaks of several worlds (*lokas*) of the gods such as those of *Agni*, *Vāyu*, *Varuṇa*, *Āditya*, *Indra*, *Prajāpati*, *Brahmā* and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in *Br. Up.* III.6 (such as *Devaloka*, *Indraloka*, *Prajāpatiloka*, *Brahmaloka*). The *Br. Up.* I.5. 16 speaks of *manuṣyaloka*, *pitṛloka* and *devaloka* and holds that *devaloka* is the best of all worlds.³⁹⁷ *Kaus. Up.* 1. 4 implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śāṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtra* (IV. 3.4) says that the word 'loka' means 'a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions' (*bhogāyatana*) and that *Hiranyagarbha* is the *adhyakṣa* of *Brahmaloka* (on *Vedānta-sūtra* IV. 3.10). In the *Vanaparva* (54. 17-19) it is stated that *svarga* is the place for those who die in battle. How *svarga* is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in *Vanaparva*, chap. 186.6-7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by *Apsarasas* who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

396. परं लोकं गोमदास्त्वाप्नुयन्ति दृष्ट्वा न दुर्हं सूर्यलोकं व्रजन्ति । वारो दत्त्वा चाप्यमसं तु लोकं दृष्ट्वा हिरण्यममरत्वमेति । वनपर्व 186.9.

397. त्रयो वाच लोकाः मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जटये मान्देन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठः । बृह. उप. I.5.16.

bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurāṇa, 225. 5-6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28-29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys³⁹⁸ happiness. Anuśāsana (23. 84-102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain 'te narāḥ svarga-gāminah'). Similarly, in Brahmapurāṇa 224. 9-14, 18-25 and 30-37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anuśāsana chapters 144 (verses 5-15, 19-26, 31-39) and 145. Śānti (99. 4-5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191. 13, 193. 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurāṇa (276. 17) it is³⁹⁹ stated that he who performs Brahmāṇḍadāna (one of the 16 mahādānas) reaches the world of Viṣṇu and delights in the company of Apsarases. The Brahmapurāṇa (225. 6-7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garudapurāṇa II. 3.86-89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purāṇas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

398. कृतस्य कर्मणस्तत्र भुज्यते यत्कलं द्विषि। न चाप्यत् क्रियते कर्म मूलभेदेन भुज्यते ॥ सोऽत्र दोषो मम मतस्तस्यास्ते पतनं च यत्। सुखस्याप्तमनस्कानां पतनं यच्च लुप्तल ॥ अयं स्वर्गो मुणः श्रेष्ठः पुरुषानां स्वर्गलो मुने। ह्युभाभ्यामप्यर्थेन मनुष्यैरुपजायते। तद्यदापि स महाभागः सुखभागमिजायते। वनपर्व 261.28-29 and 33.

399. इत्थं य एतद्विहितं प्रवचोऽत्र कुर्याद् ब्रह्माण्डदानमथिनमथ महिमानम्। निर्धूतकल्मषविह्वलहर्षरोरानन्दकृत्यद्वयमिति सहाप्सरोभिः ॥ मत्स्यपु. 276.17 व. by अपरार्क p. 323.

pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i. e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone.

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several smṛtis and purāṇas. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a Dharmasāstra work (viz. Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 43.32-45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i. e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense

pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born)."

That *naraka* is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purāṇas. For example, in the Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6. 1 also. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troupes of pitrs called *Agniśvātta* and others.⁴⁰⁰ The Agnipurāṇa (371. 13-14) avers that the 28 groups of *narakas* are below the earth and even below the 7th *Pātāla*.

We come across Vedic passages such as these 'This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajñ* directly reaches Heaven' (Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 8.)⁴⁰¹, 'one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice', 'one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice'. What is meant by *svarga* or *naraka* has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times. The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smṛtis and purāṇas was that *svarga* was a place above the earth and *naraka* was a place of actual torments below the earth. Even ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above the earth. Parāśara,⁴⁰² an astronomer and a predecessor of Varāha-mihira quoted by Utpala on Br. Sam. I. 11, stated 'Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of *yojanas* and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

400. धूमेरधस्तात्ते सर्वे रौरवाद्याः प्रकीर्तिताः । गरुड (वेतस्यण्ड) 3. 55. ब्रह्माण्ड, उप-संहारपाद chap. 2.52; ततश्च नरकान् विप्र मुखाऽधः सलिलरूपम् । पापिनो येन पापयो-
त्तान् शृणुष्व महाह्वने ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 6. 1. राजोवाच । नरका नाम अणवन् किं देशविशेषो
अथवा वह्निर्लोकश्च आहोस्विदन्तराल इति । सावित्राच । अन्तराल एव विजगत्पास्तु विंशि
वृक्षिणस्यामधस्तात्त्रैवपरिच्छाच्च जलाद्यन्तर्धामशिखासादयः पितृगणाः...निवसन्ति । भागवत
पुराण V. 26. 3-4.

401. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten *yajñayudhas* from Tai. S. I 6. 8. 2-3 and Śat. Br. I. 1. 1. 22.

स एव यज्ञायुधी यजमानोऽजसा स्वर्गं लोकं याति । इतपथना. XII. 5. 2.8
quoted by झवर on जै. I. 1. 5 in the पूर्वपक्ष ; 'दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत' q. by
झवर on जै. II. 1. 1.

402. सप्तषट्सहस्राण्यशीतियोजनकोट्यो भूर्यतृयिषीमण्डलं परमाद्गम्यं तमः ।
तमस्ये हिरेण्ययो मेढश्चतुरशीतियोजनसहस्रोच्छ्रितो पादश्च चाधस्तात् । त्रियुगनित्तरायामो
यं स्वर्गमाचक्षते तमस्येर्नाकचन्द्रौ ज्योतिष्यकं च पर्वेति । पराशर q. by उत्पल on बृ. सं.
I. 11.

mountain Meru, 84000 *yojanas* high and sixteen below and thrice as much in length and width, which is called *svarga*. But it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent writers were agreed on the actual existence of *svarga* and *naraka* as *places*. It has already been shown how several centuries before Christ Gautama refers to the view of some predecessors of his that *naraka* is *not a place*, but simply means the loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one's *varna*. There were others who argued in the same strain. Śābara (on Jai. IV. 3. 27-28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by śruti in the next life and where Kumārila ⁴⁰³ in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (*vidhi*) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that *svarga* which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Śābara first puts forward the *prima facie* view that *svarga* ⁴⁰⁴ imports in popular language such things (*dravya*) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word *svarga* is also popularly applied to a particular *place* where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those that have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śābara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word *svarga* is joy ⁴⁰⁵ or delight and not a thing (*dravya*) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines *svarga* as follows: ⁴⁰⁶ that happiness which is not mixed up with

403. फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिज्ञान्दोऽस्ति । न त्वनन्तरत्वे । तस्मादनियमः । स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव । स हि निरतिशया मीतिः कर्माश्रुत्या चेति न शक्येह जन्मव्ययमुभयितुम् । यतो-
स्मिन्लोकं क्षणेक्षणे हस्तदुःखे अनुभवन्ति । ... देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयमीत्यनुभवनायान्ध्याशु-
पपरया कल्प्यते । तच्चाशुतरस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः । दुष्टीका on जै. IV.3.27-28.

404. सर्वेषामेव ज्ञानानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिकः प्रयोगोऽनुपायः । तस्मिन् लौकिके प्रयोगे
द्रव्यवचनः स्वर्गशब्दो लक्ष्यते । कौशेयानि वृक्षमाणि वासन्ति स्वर्गः, चन्द्रनानि स्वर्गः, बृहन्नवर्षाः
क्षिप्रः स्वर्ग इति । यद्यत् मीतिमत् द्रव्यं तत्तत्स्वर्गशब्देनोच्यते । ... ननु स्वर्गशब्दो लोके प्राप्तिद्वो
विशिष्टो देशो यस्मिन्लोके न हीनं न शुद्धं न तुष्ट्या नारातिर्गत्यानिः पुण्यकृत एव प्रेत्य तत्र
गच्छन्ति नान्ये । शबर on जै. VI.1.1.

405. तत एतत्सावद्वर्णयन्ति । मीतिः स्वर्ग इति । कुतः । एवमुक्तं भवता मीतिविशिष्टे द्रव्ये
स्वर्गशब्दो वर्तत इति । यद्येवं पूर्वं तर्हि मीतिं वर्तितुमर्हति । तां हि स न व्यभिचरति । व्यभिचरति
मुनर्द्रव्यम् । शबर on जै. VI.1.2. On जै. VI.1.1 the दुष्टीका remarks 'एकस्य (सिद्धान्त-
वादिनः) मीतिः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्यः, अपरस्य (पूर्वपक्षवादिनः) मीतिमद्द्रव्यम् । विशिष्टो देशो उभ-
योरप्यवाच्यः । किं कारणं, तद्व्याप्यत्वेन व्यवहाराभावः । तेन व्यवहाराभावात्प्रयोगाभावः ।'

406. यत्र दुःखेन संमिश्रं न च यत्समन्तरम् । अभिलाषोपमीतं च तत्सुखं
स्वप्नवासवम् ॥

pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svaḥ* (or *svarga*). The *Prakarana-pañcika* of Śālikanātha,⁴⁰⁶ one of the early works of the Prabhākara Mīmāṃsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the *Jyotistoma*' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than *arthavādas*, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The *Śāntiparva* expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.'⁴⁰⁷ The *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* speak in the same strain as Śābara that *svarga* is what causes happiness to the mind, that *naraka* is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as *svarga* and *naraka* respectively and that *svarga* and *naraka* are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.⁴⁰⁸

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of *naraka* and *svarga* entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorial representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21-22 and 30. 23). The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

406 & उपोतिटोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमादिसमाप्तायं सकलदुःखसम्भेदरहिताभिला-
षोपनीतिदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वेनार्थवादेः स्तुयमानं कर्म दृश्यते । प्रकरणपञ्चिका (p. 102).

407. न दृष्टपूर्वं प्रत्यक्षं परलोकं विदुर्मुखाः । अगमास्तत्त्वनातिक्रम्य अज्ञातार्थं दृष्टवता न
ज्ञानिन् । 28.42.

408. मनःपोतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पापदुग्धे द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
ब्रह्मसू. 22.44, विष्णुसू. II.6.46: मनसः परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखादिलक्षणः । ब्रह्मसू. 22.47.

and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a place above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I. 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6.8, 20. 13-14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 252 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the *campo santo* at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians⁴⁰⁹ down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character⁴¹⁰.

409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of Immortality' pp. 15-19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE, vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE, vol. VI p. 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 163 (for the misbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 206 the Report states "The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-christian sources.....A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been wide-spread even in educated circles almost down to the present day." On p. 219 the above Report remarks "As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(Continued on the next page)

The Smṛtis had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo *prāyaścitta*, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.⁴¹¹ These last two consequences are described under the title *karmavipāka* (the fruition of evil deeds). Śātaṭapa (I 1-5) asserts that men guilty of grave

(Continued from the last page)

self suppression at an earlier time; it is fellowship with God who is love..... This is *infinite bliss* to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits." It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era. In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness. The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No. 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indiscipline, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upaniṣadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and medieval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell.

411. शयश्चित्तविहीनानां महापातकानां वृणाश्च । नरकाग्रे भवेज्जन्म चिह्नचिह्न-
स्मरिणिश्च ॥ प्रतिजन्म भवेत्तेषां चिह्नं तत्पापसूचकम् । शयश्चित्ते कृते यति पश्चात्तापवत्तां
युनः ॥ महापातकजं चिह्नं सप्त जन्मनि जायते । उपपापोद्भव एव त्रीणि पापसमुद्भवम् ॥ दुष्कर्मजा
वृणा रोमा यान्ति चोपक्रमेः शमम् । जायतेः सृष्ट्यान्वेष्टो मैदानेस्तेषां शमो भवेत् ॥ शातातप
I. 1-4. The verses 5-10 (about the diseases) and the following verses about the gift of cows, bulls, land and gold are quoted in the महापर्वकर्मविपाक of
मान्धातु (folio 4a and 4b) as from शातातपीयकर्मविपाक. The शय. वि. p. 106 remarks
'पूर्वजन्मकृतयोः सृष्ट्यान्वेष्टोपपापयोर्नरकोपभोगक्षीणयोरपि सुवर्णचौरः कोनरुध
सृष्ट्याः इयावद्वन्तताम् (मनु ११.४९) इत्यनुमितयोः किञ्चित्तापसिद्धत्वात्तत्पापविनाश
वसिष्ठः (20.6) ।'

sins that have not undergone *prāyaścitta* are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of *upapātaka* for five births and one guilty of *pāpa* for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform *prāyaścitta*. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts.' Verses 6-10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhœa, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz. by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII. 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII. 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)—these three are mental sins (Manu XII. 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant prattling—these four are vocal sins (*ibid* XII. 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of *sāstra*, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (*ibid* XII. 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāṇḍāla and the like). Hārta (q. by Par. M.)⁴¹² speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54-59 and 62-68, Yāj. III. 131, 135-136, 207-208 and 213-215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri. Chap. 4.5-14, 17-44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj. being concise are set out here. 'This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this *samsāra*, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c.) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III. 131); a man who

412. सर्वभिह्वभक्षणमभोजनमपेयपानमस्यपानमनमवाज्यवाजनमसत्यातिग्रहणं पर-
द्वेषाभिमर्शनं द्रव्यापहरणं प्राणिहिंसा चेति कार्याणि । पादव्यमद्वृतं विवादः क्षुति-
निकरश्चेति वाचिकानि । वरोपहासनं पराभिद्रोहः क्रोधो लोभो मोहोऽहङ्कारश्चेति मानसानि ।
तदेतान्यष्टादश वैरेयानि कर्माणि... । हारीत q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 212-213.

tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (*ibid* III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another's wealth and to sexual intercourse with another's wife, who injures another against *śāstric* rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c.), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of *surā* is born as an ass, a *pukkasa* (one born from śūdra woman of a *niṣāda*), or a *veṇa* (one born of an Ambastha woman from a *vaidehaka*); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c.) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III. 207-208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a *chuchundari* (musk-rat); the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a *plava* (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, *godhū* (*iguāna*), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, *ciri* (cricket bird). The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 217 verses 37-110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo. Vide also Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa) 2.60-88, Agni 371.30-32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or *pukkasa* or *mleccha*, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins⁴¹³. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin⁴¹⁴. Manu XI. 49-52, Vas. 20.44, Yāj. III. 209-211, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 45, Śatātapa I. 3-11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, Gautama-smṛti in verse chap. 20 and Gautama (in prose q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) or Vṛddha-Gautama (according to Smṛtimuktāphala

413. This belief is not confined to India. In the Gospel of St. John (9.1-3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool.

414. अपो अत्र विष्ठा ओषधयः । तास्ते पश्यन्तेनश्यन्तुद्वन्द्वानीनस्य ॥ अथर्व. VIII.7.3.

p. 861), Yama (q. by Pr. M. p.9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 216), Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 99-100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209-211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of *surā* has black teeth, the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as *tilapāyi* and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasamhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I 116),

The smṛtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas. 20.44 and Śaṅkha (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj. III. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śaṅkha, Hārta, Gautama, Yama and the Purāṇas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216, the Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 230-240, 242-272, Madanapārijāta pp. 701-702, the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. 8. (II. 1. 2. 6-7) states that a brāhmaṇa, ksatriya or vaiśya sinner guilty of brāhmaṇa murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāṇḍāla, Pulkasa and Vaiṇa and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs). Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.

Although the word *Karman* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word 'Karman' prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmavipāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins. This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the *Yogasūtra*⁴¹⁵ II. 13, viz. *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c.), *āyuh* (life i. e. living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c.). The word *Karmavipāka* appears to have been known to Yāj. III. 131 (*vipākaḥ karmanām pretya keśām cid-īha jāyate*) and it occurs frequently in the *Purāṇas* (e. g. in *Brahma-purāṇa* 224. 41, 225. 43 and 59, *Matsya* 115. 14 &c.). The *Pr. Sāra* pp. 219-231 contains probably the longest treatment of *Karmavipāka*. The doctrine of *Karmavipāka* was well known to the Buddhist philosopher *Nāgārjuna*, who in his *Ratnāvali* refers to it⁴¹⁶. The Buddhist *Avadānaśatakas* also refer to the doctrine of *Karmavipāka*. Vide also *Suttanipāta* (S. B. E. vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S. B. E. vol. 21 p. 130 (*Saddharma-puṇḍarika*). In some medical works also such as the *Hārītasamhitā* it is said that the murderer of a *brāhmana* suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.⁴¹⁷. In the *Vivāgasūyam* (*Vipākaśrutam*), which is the 11th *aṅga* of the *Jaina-āgama* and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of *Manu* XII⁴¹⁸, 3, 9 and 54 and Yāj. III. 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

415. सति मूले तद्विषयो जात्यायुर्भोगैः । योगसूत्र ॥१३॥ The *ब्रह्मपुराण* 217.40 illustrates both *jāti* and *āyuh* viz. 'पातितं राजविंशतु कुमियोनो मजायते । तत्र जीवति वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च भो द्विजाः ॥'

416. Vide *JRAS* for 1934 p. 307 at p. 311 for the views of *नागार्जुन* on *कर्मविपाक*. Verse 14 is: हिंसया जायतेऽस्यायुर्ब्रह्मण्यो विहिंसया । शौर्येण भोगयस्यसी सशत्रुः परदारकः ॥

417. Vide *Journal Asiatique* (Paris) for 1934, pp. 125-139 for the text of the *हारीतसंहिता*. 'ब्रह्मणो जायते पाण्डुः कुडी गोवधकारकः । राज्ञो राजपत्नी स्वाक्षरसम्भोजिसारथान् ॥ स्वाम्यङ्गनामिममे मेहरोगा भवन्ति हि । शुक्रजायास्तस्मै मूत्ररोगोऽस्मरीगदः ॥ स्वकुलजामस्तस्मै जायते च अगन्धरः । मूली परोपतापी च वैद्यस्याङ्गुस्त-काक्षिणः ॥ verses 12-14 at p. 134.

418. कर्मजा गतयो मृणाक्षमाधममध्यमाः ॥ मनु XII. 3; इरीरजैः कर्मदोषैर्वर्जिते स्वाचरतां नरः ॥ मनु XII. 9.

ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viṣṇudharmottara explicitly states so⁴¹⁹.

The Mīt. (on Yāj. III 216), the Smṛtyarthasāra, Par. M., Pr. Sāra and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipākā⁴²⁰ is merely an *arthavāda*, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such *prāyaścittas* as *Prājāpatya* which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mīt. points out that the description of the diseases (like pthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that *śiṣṭas* do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established.

The teaching of the works on Karmavipākā, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII 69 (almost the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garudapurāṇa II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VĀMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called *Karmavipākā* and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa chap. 15 treats of the same subject. The

419. मनुष्याः प्रतिपद्यन्ते स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा । नैराशे प्राणिनः कोऽपि सर्वे ते फलभोजिनः ॥
सुभाषितसुभाषां च कर्मणां भुङ्क्ते नृणां । सञ्जयः क्रियते लोके मनुष्येरेव केवलम् ॥ तस्मान्न
मनुष्यस्तु सुतो यमलोकं प्रपद्यते । नाश्वः प्राणी महाभाग फलयोगी व्यवस्थितः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-
पुराण II, 102. 4-6 q. by परा. मा. II, part 2 pp. 208-209, मा. सार p. 215 (after
affirming मनुष्याणामेव सुभाषितकर्मकलोपभोगः ।).

420. इदानीन्तनप्राणिनां यावद्विद्योन्मुक्तत्वायै पूर्वजन्मकर्मविपाका दासिताः । स्वार्थः
स्तर p. 100 ; ननु नायं विपाको विधातुं प्रतिषेधुं वा शक्यतेऽननुष्ठेयत्वाद्दर्जनीयत्वाच्च । अत
स्वेतास्मिन्निविमलिवेधपरे स्मरणे लज्जितमनमुक्तम् । नायं दोषः । यावद्विद्यार्थावस्थेन तदुपयो-
क्तः ॥ अथ च यावत्तत्त्वाद्यन्तर्गतमनस्यैव यावद्विद्यैव त्रेधाऽत्यक्त्वाद्वातनः प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवतीति
तत्र प्रवृत्तिसिद्धये प्ररोचनां कर्तव्या । परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 206-207.

Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 203, 21 ff.) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka of Mandhātṛ it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz. kṛcchra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases⁴²¹. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a *mandapa* on a raised *vedikā* (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākha for *ghoṣa-śānti* (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of *āhutis*, the Rudraikāśānti, Mahārudra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Atirudra, repeating the thousand names of Viṣṇu, Vināyaka-śānti (as laid down by Yaj. I. 271-294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra⁴²². It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular *dānas* may be given (such as *Kadalidāna* i. e. manufacturing a kadali plant from one *pala* of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śātātapa II. 47-48 in connection with the removal of *rājayaksmā* (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

421. अथ कर्मक्षयोपायो कृच्छ्रव्याधिनिर्वर्त्यौ । तत्रापि व्याधिविधौ च द्वयमेव व्याधि
यत्किञ्चिद्वान् वक्ष्यते इति । ... प्रतिमा द्विपक्षा अभिवेक्ता वेक्तात्मिका च । आशुतो वेक्ता
तत्र तत्र दूरवाधिवेक्ता प्रायेण दूर्यः सर्वेषां रोगानामभिवेक्ता-आदीर्घं आशुतादिवेक्ता इति
शब्दा कृतिः स्मृतिः । तत्र व्याधियतिमात्रमात्रकृत्वाभ्यो वेक्ता भवति । महावीर folios 33b and
34a: रोगयतिमात्राने सर्वत्र दूर्य दूरवाधिवेक्ता व्याधिवेक्ता च भिन्ना व्याधीनी भिन्नकात् । अतएव
अशुतोमात्रिदुर्व्याधयो वेक्ता भवन्तीति । *ibid.* folio 44a.

422. 'ओं दूर्ध्वः स्वः कलिदुर्ध्वोऽथ काश्यपस्तमोश्च दूर्ध्वं दृष्ट्वाभ्येष्ट्वापस्तमं दूर्ध्वं
विष्ट्वा रक्तकृष्णकालैः स्थापयेत् । ओं दूर्ध्वः स्वः, अश्वनीतदूर्ध्वं मन्वन्तस्तमोश्च मीनं दृष्ट्वाभ्येष्ट्वा
स्तमं दूर्ध्वं दृष्ट्वाभ्येष्ट्वा । ओं...स्वः अश्वनीतदूर्ध्वं आश्वनीतमोश्च दूर्ध्वं दृष्ट्वाभ्येष्ट्वा... । महावीर,
folio 157 b.

SECTION II

ANTYESTI (rites after death), *ŚUDDHI* (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

CHAPTER VII

ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning 'last things' and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain

caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C. E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kathopaniṣad we read (I.1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Naciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs^{422a} even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death. Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II.123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 214 verses 34-39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here. - 'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an *āstika* (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brāhmanas, he who does not bear malice to anyone—these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104. 11-12, chap. 144. 49-60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what *dharma* is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104. 11-12 and 14).

^{422a} Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11),

Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318, 9-17), Devala quoted in the Mokṣakāṇḍa of the Kalpataru (pp. 248-250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 19 verses 1-32), the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 43. 1-33 (chap. 40 verses 1-33, Venkatesvara Press ed.), Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārḍha chap. 91) and other Purāṇas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Śāntiparva (chap. 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhatī which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man's eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden—these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot bear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāṇa (19.28) and Liṅgapurāṇa 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death⁴²³. The Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another's eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr. R.G. Harshe in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246-268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e. g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of danger, disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

⁴²³. हे चात्र वरदेऽरिष्टे एतत्पूर्वं परं भवेत् । शीघ्रं न ह्यनुयायकैर्गो ज्योतिर्मेने न पश्यति ॥ वायुपुराण 19.27; नर्गं वा जलम् उद्भूतं विद्याद्वायुपुराणितम् । लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वभाग 91.19)...

When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth⁴²⁴. For example, the Kausika-sūtra (80.3) prescribes⁴²⁵: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads *kutas* on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bedstead) with the *mantra* 'syonāsmāi bhava' (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud. P. S. III. 1.18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and *darbha* grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the *anuvāka* beginning with 'syusaḥ prānam santanu'. The Gobhilas-mṛti III. 22 and later works like the Pitrdayitā provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp. 151-152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bedstead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz. of cows, ⁴²⁶ land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt. These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gayā or to even hundreds of Aśvamedhas. The

424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw. Vide Prof. Edgerton's very exhaustive article on 'the Hour of Death' in *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute*, vol. VIII pp. 219-249.

425. दुर्बलीभूतश्च कालातुनेषु दुर्बलास्तीर्थं स्थानारम्भे मयेत्यवरोहयति । मन्त्रोक्तावह-
मन्त्रवत् । एते कुम्भोत्पद्यन्ति । कौशिक 80.3-5. अथर्व 18.2-19. is 'स्थानारम्भे यत्र
दुर्बलमनुसूया भिक्षुः । कच्छास्ते कर्म सप्तधाः ॥' का. I.22.15 and वा. 36.13 are
almost the same, reading स्थानं पुण्ड्रिं यदासूयाः and स्थानं पुण्ड्रिं नो यदा-
respectively; vide निवृत्त 9.32 for explanation of this verse. The विपुलविला
(p. 74) states यदा कच्छस्थानमनज्जीये विहलो वेदी भवति तदा यद्विर्माणयेनोपलिक्षां दूनी
कुम्भोत्पद्यन्ति कालातुनेषु तदुपरि दुर्बलमस्ति तं स्थापयित्वा दुर्बलमस्तनोदुर्मिदीयति तदा कर्म
दायकम् । ; गोविल्लवृत्ति III. 22 'दुर्बलं स्थापयित्वा तु हस्तयेत्तानि सप्तदश । दुर्बलमस्ति तं
दूनी कर्मदायकं भिक्षुः ॥'

426. दानानि च वाच्यकार्ष आह । उत्पत्तिरित्येवम् । च दस दानानि चैव हि । येनैते
कृता तं तेनैव कर्मैकं दायेत् ।... दस दानानि च तेनैव कर्तव्यं । मोक्षविकिरणाय च वाच्य-
कृतानि च । कर्म सप्तदशानि वाच्यं दानान्यहमस्मात् । छुद्रिकायां p. 152; for a similar
verse about ten dānas vide यद्वत्तु. (वेतकाय) 4.4. An Inscription of
Vikramāditya, a chieftain under the Kalachuri king Śaṅkama (published in
E. I. vol. XIX pp. 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on
the occasion of the prāyaścitta in honour of his deceased father.

sankalpa (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (*abhyudaya*), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten *dānas*, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible ⁴²⁷ (this cow being called *utkrānti-dhenu* 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called *Valtarani* with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The *Antyestipaddhati* and the *Suddhi-prakāśa* (pp. 152-153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The *Antyestipaddhati*, the *Antyakarmadipaka* and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform *Vratodyāpana*, *sarvaprāyaścitta* and the gift of ten *dānas* or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain *vratas*, but fails to carry out all the details of these *vratas* to the end. The *Vratodyāpana* for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished *vratas*. The A. K. D. (pp. 3-4) has a long note about the performance of *vratodyāpana*. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (*mārjana*) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of *sandhyā*), having lighted a lamp, having bowed to Ganeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual *sankalpa* (see note ⁴²⁸), he should honour a *brāhmaṇa*

427. अन्त्येष्टिदिवसं देवा योः तद्वत्ता तु पूर्ववत् । तदभावे तु योरेव न्यक्तोपरवाच्ये वै । तदा यदि न सक्तोऽपि दातुं वैतरणीं तु नाय । सक्तोऽप्योऽवच्छेदं तदा वत्सं वृक्षान्धोरो वृक्षस्य च ॥ पञ्चा. q. by छुद्रितस्य p. 300, छुद्रिमकास p. 153, अ. क. वी. p. 7. पूर्ववत् means देवसङ्कल्पिना. The मन्वन्तरण (अन्त्येष्टि) 4.6 says 'नदीं वैतरणीं तद्धीं वृक्षाद्वैतरणीं च वाय । वृक्षमस्तमीं सङ्कल्प्याङ्गी ता वै वैतरणीं स्मृता ॥'. The idea was that at the door of वन there was a river called वैतरणी, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death cross that terrible river by holding the cow's tail; vide स्कन्धपु. VI. 226.32-33 for वैतरणी and verse 34 is 'वृक्षुकास्ते प्रवृक्षमग्निं ये वेदुः पाङ्कजाय वै ॥ तस्याः पुच्छं समाग्निर्य वै तरति च तां हव ॥'. The मन्वन्तरण of लक्ष्मीपति prescribes two mantras at the time of donating the वैतरणी ॐ, one of which is: उभये वर्चसि ज्ञीते वा नास्ते वासि वा हवतः । दातारं नास्ते वक्तव्यमस्मिन्वैतरणीं स्मृता ॥

428. अथ इतिहासं अयुर्हि नरतल्लब्धे आर्वावर्तकवेदे विष्णोराज्ञया वर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो विलीनपरारब्धे...अयुर्कालिनी अहङ्करीशः...अहङ्करीशः (मन विचारः)

(Continued on the next page)

down for what is called *āturasannyāsa* he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words 'ante matiḥ sa gatiḥ'), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such *mantras* as 'om namo Vāsudevāya'. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitr-medhasūtra (I. 1-8) prescribes that one should at the time when one's father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmaṇa friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain *sāmans* and should mutter in the dying man's right ear (one *sāman*). The Rgvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* beginning with 'trātāram' ⁴³¹ (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the *āhitāgni* is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man's ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two *anuvākas* of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with 'brahmavidāpnoti param') and III. 1 (beginning with 'Bhṛgurvai vāruṇīḥ'). The A. K. D. (p. 18) says ⁴³² that if the dying man is unable to engage in *japa* he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Viṣṇu or Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Viṣṇu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, the Upaniṣads like Iśāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

431. वातामिति सूक्तं तु अन्तकाले सदा पठेत् । जप्या चैव परं स्थानमवसृतत्वाच्च कल्पते । *Śaṅkharāṇa* q. in *Śaṅkharāṇa* p. 154. The *अन्त्येष्टियज्ञसूक्तं* of नारायणभट्ट (Nir. edition, *pothi* size p. 163 b) reads नानामिति ... स्थानमवसृतत्वं स यच्छसीति ऋग्विभानवचनान् ॥. The Rgvidhāna edited by Jagadish Shastri reads (III.19-20) नानामिति सूक्तानि अन्तकाले अपेक्षकृतं । नानानं is the first verse of Rg. IX.112. It is likely that the editor of *Śaṅkharāṇa* misreads नानामिति as वातामिति, since वातामिति is not a *sūkta* (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432. अपेक्षितमर्थं हृदये चतुर्दशं शङ्खचक्रमवापद्यधरं पीताम्बरकिरीटकेयूरकोट्यभरणमालाधरं रत्नयुक्तं विष्णुं त्रिशूलधरं चन्द्रचूडं त्रिनेत्रं गङ्गाधरं शिवं वा भावयन् ब्रह्मन्नामपीताभानवभारतपद्मार्थशेषावास्याद्युपनिषद्ः पाठमानादीनि सूक्तानि च यथास्तम्भं ब्रह्मणः । अ. क. टी. p. 18. For विष्णुसहस्रनामं *vide* अनुशासनपर्व 149.14-120 and अनुशासन 17.31-153 for 1008 names of शिवः *vide* also ज्ञानियर्व 285.74 ff.

The germs of this idea are found even in the Upanisads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śāṇḍilya-vidyā, III. 14. 1) remarks 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will. According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'⁴³³ The Praśna Up. III. 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. 'The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me; there is no doubt about this' (8.5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man's spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life. That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it.'

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purāṇas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (*tirtha*) such as the Ganges. For example, the Śuddhitattva⁴³⁴ (p. 299) quotes a passage from the Kūrmapurāṇa to this effect: 'a man attains *mokṣa* (final release from *samsāra*) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

433. सर्वं कस्मिन् च जगत् तज्जलानिति शान्तं उपासीताथ खलु कतुमयः पुरुषो यथाकतुपरिर्मिलोके पुरुषो भवति तथैतः प्रेत्य भवति स कतुं कुर्वति । छा. उप. III. 14.1. अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् । यः प्रयाति स मज्जातं याति नास्वप्न संज्ञयः ॥ यं यं वापि स्मरन्भावं त्यज्यते कलेवरम् । तं तमेवेति कोत्सेय सदा तज्जायभावितः ॥ भगवद्गीता 8.5-6; vide शाङ्ख्यभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 2.1 for the explanation of तज्जलान् and on वे. सू. IV. 1.12 for quoting the छा. उप. and भगवद्गीता 8.5-6.

434. कूर्मपुराणम् । गङ्गायां च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्यां जले स्थले । जले स्थले चान्तरिक्षे गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ तथा (स्कन्धे) । तीरादुत्पृतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते । अत्र दानं जपो होमो गङ्गायां नात्र संज्ञयः । अत्रस्थास्मिन्निर्वाणान्ति वे. सूता न पुनर्भवाः । छद्मिन्तत्त्व pp. 299, 300, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 155, गङ्गाति is equal to two कोशम्.

Vārāṇasī (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the Skanda-purāṇa and it is further said in the same Purāṇa that for one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is a *kṣetra* (holy place): 'gifts, *japa* (muttering of sacred texts), *homa* performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself; those who die within this *kṣetra* go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Pūjāratnākara⁴³⁵ it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu'. It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krośa of a Śālagrāma reaches Vaikuṇṭha (world of Viṣṇu). Similarly, one dying in a garden of *tulasi* (Basil) plants or with Tulasi leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains *mokṣa* even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states: 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i. e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious *nakṣatra* and *muhūrta* is really one who has a store of merit (with him)'.⁴³⁶ This is based on the ideas of death in *Uttarāyana* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* found in the Upaniṣads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5-6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (*arcis*), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to

435. पूजारत्नाकरे । शालग्रामशिला यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः । तत्संनिधौ त्यजेत् प्रयाणं प्राप्तिं विष्णोः परं पदम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराणे । शालग्रामसमीपे तु क्रोशमात्रं समस्ततः । कीकटेऽपि ब्रूतो प्राप्तिं वैकुण्ठमवर्त्तनं नरः ॥ वेणुवायुते व्यासः । तुलसीकानने जन्तोर्वपि हृत्युभवेत् कथितम् । स निर्भर्त्स्य नरं प्रापि लीलयेव हरिं विभोत् ॥ प्रयाणकाले पर्यास्ये क्षीयते तुलसीवलम् । निर्माणं प्राप्तिं पक्षीञ्च पापकोविदुतोपि सः ॥ छुद्धितन्त्र p. 299. छुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155. कीकट is the country of Magadha, which was regarded as a land beyond the pale of Aryanism in the R̥gveda (III. 53.14). Vide Nir VI 32 where the country of कीकट is said to be अनार्यनिवास. The छुद्धिप्रकाश reads कीटकोऽपि (even a worm) for कीकटेऽपि, which is better, but might be an emendation.

436. आपणे सूर्या काष्ठां सूर्यो यो निधनं ब्रजेत् । नक्षत्रे च सङ्घर्त्ते च पुण्ये राजन् स हृष्येत् ॥ श्रुतिवर्षे 298.23 q. by the जोषकाण्ड of कल्पतरु p. 254.

lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, *yes, they do not return*'. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 1-2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (*Pañcāgni-vidyā*) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i. e. *vānaprasthas* and *parivrajakas* who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called *Devayāna*, while (V. 10. 3-7) those, who, living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (*ākāśa*) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān. Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Br. Up. (VI. 2. 15-16) contains similar passages about *Devaloka*, *Pitṛloka* and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upanisad passages, puts the matter succinctly (in 8. 23-25) as follows:—'I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back'. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3. 4-6) explains that the words 'light' 'day' and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i. e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitṛs (i. e. they are *ātivāhikas* and *abhimānidevatās*). Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (*ataścāyanepi dakṣiṇe*) explains that the waiting for the day of *Uttarāyana* on the part of *Bhīṣma* (narrated in the *Mahābhārata*) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called 'arcitrādi', that one who has realized Brahman, even if he dies in *dakṣiṇāyana*, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (*viz.*

nothing Brahma), that Bhṛiṣma waited for the beginning of *Uttarāyana* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show that he possessed the power to depart from the world at his will owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The *Īṣṇavalkya-smṛti* refers to the path (*devayāna*)⁴³⁷ that leads

Devaloka (in III. 193-194, where it reads 'mānasaḥ' for 'manavaḥ' of the Ch. Up.) and the *Pitryāna* (in III. 195-196). In spite of the interpretations of the *Vedāntasūtra* (and of *śukara*) the popular belief that death in *Uttarāyana* is best persisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S. (II.7. 21) marks '(the sages) provide that death during the northern path of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the day and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best⁴³⁸.' The G. P. (II. 7.1-2) remarks: 'It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark half of a month or at night and the following *sūtras* provide for the offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark half or at night.

FUNERAL RITES (*antyeṣṭi*) are a *saṁskāra*. *Antyeṣṭi* is one of the 16 (or more) *saṁskāras* of a twice-born person

437. The words 'devayāna' and 'pitryāna' are a legacy from the hoary past. Even in the Rg. there are frequent references to them. In Rg. III. 1.5 the Aśvins are addressed a prayer 'may you come here (to this sacrifice) by the paths leading to the abode of the gods' (*eha yātam pathibhirdevayānaih*). Rg. VII. 38.8 also has a similar idea 'may you, being gratified, by the devayāna paths' (*trptā yātam pathibhirdevayānaih*). In Rg. VII. 1.2 (addressed to Uśas) the sage *Vasiṣṭha* exclaims that he has seen the devayāna paths when the dawn shone in the East (*prame panthā devayānā īkṣan*). Agni is asked to make the devayāna paths easily accessible and to carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Rg. X.51.5, *sugān pathaḥ kṛnuhi devayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānaḥ*). Rg. X.98.11 describes Agni knowing the devayāna paths according to the seasons and a prayer is offered to him to place *Aulāna* (son of *Santāna*) in heaven among the gods (*vidvān patha rtaṁ devayānān-apyaulānam divi devesu dhehi*). In Rg. X.18.1 it is stated that the path of Death is different from devayāna (*paramaṁ tyo anu parehi panthām yaste sva itaro devayānāt*). In Rg. X. 2.7 Agni is said to know the pitryāna path (*panthāmanu pra vidvān pitryānam*). In the Tai. Br. II.6.3.5 it is said 'I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals' (*dve aruṇi aśnavam kṛtām aham devānām-uta martyānām*). The Sat. Br. I.9.3.2 remarks 'this is the path called Devayāna or Pitryāna.' In the Bṛ. Up. I.5.16 it is said here are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* and the world of gods'.

438. उद्धवचने आर्ष्वर्षमजयको द्विषा कवचले ओषो मरणमित्युपदिशति। श्री सि. सू. I. 7.21 (ed. by Dr. Shamsastri, Mysore).

performed with Vedic mantras according to Manu II. 16, Yāj. I. 10, Jātukarṇya⁴³⁹. These saṁskāras were formerly performed for women also (Āśv. gr. I. 15.12, I. 16.6, I. 17-11, Manu II. 66) but without Vedic mantras (except in marriage) and for śūdras also (Manu X. 127, Yāj. I. 10) but without Vedic mantras. The Baud. P. 8. III. 1.4 states that there are two saṁskāras of every human being and they are like a debt i. e. they must be performed, just as a debt must be discharged viz. the saṁskāra on birth and the one on death (mṛtasamskāra). Funeral rites and rites after death varied according as the deceased was an śhitāgni (one who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or one who had only kindled the smārta fire, or one who had neither the śrauta fires nor the smārta fire, or a woman, a child, an ascetic (*parivrājaka*), or one dying in a distant land or one dying by accident or committing suicide &c. The śrauta and grhya-sūtras differ among themselves in many details even on the same topic and the procedure becomes more elaborate in medieval and later times. It would be impossible to state all the differences on each topic in this section. A separate volume would have to be written for the purpose of setting out all the variations and additions from ancient times to modern times, to discuss why and how they arose or were made, to compare the various sūtras and to compare these again with the purāṇas and medieval digests, and to appraise their worth or usefulness. All that can be attempted here is to give the bare outlines of the procedure in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests by way of sample in a chronological order. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 569) expressly says that the last rites differ in each Śākha, though certain things are common to all.^{439a} Chronological conclusions have been drawn about the relative ages of the sūtras (as Dr. Caland does), of the smṛtis, purāṇas and nibandhas from the presence or absence of this or that detail or the elaboration of this or that ritual. But with all respect to the industrious scholars of the West such conclusions are often tentative or misleading and are purely subjective in many cases and are often due to ignorance or loss of ancient works.

439. निषेकादिदशानामन्तो मन्त्रैर्यद्विदितो विधिः । तस्य शास्त्रेणिकारोऽस्मिन्नेवो नाम्बन्ध करयन्ति ॥ मनु II. 16; मनुस्मृत्यविदिसुद्धा वर्णास्त्वाद्याद्यवो विज्ञाः । निषेकाद्याः दशानामन्तास्तेषां वै मन्त्रतः क्रियाः ॥ या. I. 10; आध्यायसूतसीमन्तजातनामाज्यौलकाः । मोक्षी ब्रह्मानि मोक्षार्थं समावर्तयिष्यन्ताः ॥ अमरं वेदानि कर्मणि योग्यन्ते योक्ष्यन्ते तु ॥ आश्वकर्म p. 12 संस्कारमन्त्राः p. 135 and अमरकर्मवीपक p. 1.

439 a. अतिशयं निषेक्यमयकर्मणि साधारणं किञ्चिदुच्यते । निर्णय० p. 569.

Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Gṛhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the R̥g. (X. 14-18)⁴⁴⁰. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Samhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics. Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras. All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the R̥gveda hymns without accents.⁴⁴¹

X. 14. 1 (O! sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pitrs), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do maritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights⁴⁴². 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

440. The work of Bertram S. Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one. It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such, as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p. 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p. 67), condemning burial at night (p. 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp. 99-100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

441. Vide Appendix.

442. X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir. X 20. 'Pareyivāmsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravatah' is rather uncertain. The Tai. Ā. VI.1.1, Sat. Śr. 28.1.20, Baud. P. S. (I.2), Vāk. Sr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuyāmsam'.

ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto⁴⁴³. 3. Mātali (Indra's charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitṛs) called *kāṇva*, Yama with the Angirases and Brhaspati with the Rkṛvas become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitṛs) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by *svāhā* (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitṛs) are delighted by *svadhā*⁴⁴⁴. 4. O! Yama! Being of one mind with the pitṛs called Angirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kuśas). May the *mantras* recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Angirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself, I invoke Vivasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuśa grass (spread) in this sacrifice.⁴⁴⁵ 6. The Angirases, the Navagvas,⁴⁴⁶ the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus are our pitṛs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we be in their gracious favour also! 7. Hasten, hasten⁴⁴⁷ by the ancient paths (to that place) where

443. It is quite possible to understand 'eva jajñānāḥ' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jajñānāḥ' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A. V. 18.3.13 *यो यमस्य प्रथमो मर्त्यमा वः वेवाय प्रथमो लोकनेतृः*. The Parsi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat. Vide Vendidad, Far and II. 1. p. 11. (SBE. vol. IV).

444. Kāṇvas, Angirases and Rkṛvas are different classes of Pitṛs. In Rg. VII.10.4 the Rkṛvas (singers) are associated with Brhaspati. In other places they are associated with Viṣṇu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation *svāhā* is uttered when making an offering to Gods and *svadhā* when making an offering to pitṛs.

445. 'Nisadya' is really a gerund and not a finite verb. We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Angiras group.

446. Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Angirases, just as 'daśagvas' are, as in Rg. III.29.5; IV.51.4; V.29.12; X.62.6. The late Mr. Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp. 162-169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atithigva' (Rg. I.33.8, I.30.7, II.14.7, IV.26.3, VIII.68.17), 'abhiyugvan' (Rg. VI.45.15), 'etagva' (Rg. VIII.70.7). This verse is explained in Nir. XI.19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man. For the meaning and history of the word *Itāpūrta*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 843-845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuṇa rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pitṛs, with Yama and with your *iṣṭūpūrta*; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new)⁴⁴⁸ body! 9. (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery); the pitṛs made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode. Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Saramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pitṛs who will recognize⁴⁴⁹ you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama. 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pitṛ-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun!⁴⁵⁰ 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama.⁴⁵¹ Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the worship of gods,⁴⁵² so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us.

448. This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pitṛloka.

449. 'Suvidatrān'—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains 'suvidatrāḥ kalyāṇavidyāḥ'.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. 'Asutrīpa' according to Sāyaṇa and Oldenberg means 'who steal away the lives of men'. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last *pāda* of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as 'a+su+trīpa', while Sāyaṇa takes it as 'asu+trīpa'.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. 'Sa no deveṣvāyamad'—For the translation of these words given above, compare Rg. IX. 44.5.

16. The one great (Bṛhat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-āyuh) to the six wide expanses ⁴⁵³. Triṣṭubh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma-loving ⁴⁵⁴ pitrs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitrs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing *ṛta* (the rule of right)! May those pitrs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitrs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed ⁴⁵⁵), also (those pitrs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitrs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the stāide of Viṣṇu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitrs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here. ⁴⁵⁶ 4. O pitrs, that occupy kuśa grass! (come) down towards us with your protection; we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)! ⁴⁵⁷ 5. May the Soma-loving pitrs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

453. This is rather a very obscure stanza. The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikadruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Rg. II.22.1; VIII.92.21). Sāyana explains that for the performance of Trikadruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done. The six are mentioned in Śat. Br. I.5.1.22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night. The six wide ones are referred to in Rg. VI.47.3. The conception is rather vague. The meaning probably is that in the Trikadruka sacrifices the Bṛhatsāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X. 15. 1. This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitrs in the rite performed on the day previous to the day (8th tithi) of Aṣṭakā-kṛddha; vide Āśv. gr. II. 4.6.

455. X. 15. 2. 'Purvāsah' and 'uparāsah' may simply mean 'ancient and modern'. 'Pārthive rajasi'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth.'

456. X. 15. 3. 'Nāpātām' is difficult to construe: probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrjo nāpāt' (Rg. I. 58.8, II. 6.2, VI.48.2).

457. X. 15.4. 'Sam yoh' is explained by the Nir. IV. 21 as समं च देवताणां यामनं च भगनाम् and यः in अयः as meaning यय .

in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) commend our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitrs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitrs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking⁴⁵⁸. 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitrs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of *stomas* by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the *kavya* offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitrs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitrs called Agniṣvāta⁴⁵⁹, that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic sons. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitrs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word *svadhā*)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitrs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

458. X. 15. 8.—अवृद्धिरे is perfect of either वृद्ध with अयु or of ऊद्ध with अयु. वसिष्ठाः may be taken as meaning 'Vasiṣṭha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitrs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X. 15. 11. अग्निष्वात = अग्नि + स्वात (from स्वाह) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.

sacrifice which is well prepared, 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitrs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with *svadhā* (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)!

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) of his skin or his body; O Jātavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitrs! 2. O Jātavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitrs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods⁴⁶⁰! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4. O Jātavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat; ⁴⁶¹ carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitrs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jātavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body.⁴⁶² 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brāhmaṇas do the same⁴⁶³.

460. X. 16. 2. The words अद्भुतीतिमेतां have in view the words अद्भुतीतिमेतां यथावत् तर्क कल्पयन् in X. 15.14 above.

461. X. 16. 4. अजो यानः—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body. Vide note 486 below and Rg. X. 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X. 16. 5. For the meaning of जेष्व, compare Rg. VII. 4.9 (न जेषो अग्ने अय्यजातमस्ति).

463. X. 16. 6—For सोम...आविषेत्, compare 'सोमोऽस्माकं बाह्वजानां राजा' हलपयवा. V. 4.2.3 and 'स यदि सोमं बाह्वजानां भक्षः' ऐ. वा. 35.3. In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a slain, hunted animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.

7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i. e. against fire flames) of Agni (i. e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitṛs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight⁴⁶⁴. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods. 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitṛs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the *gharma* (heated milk or sacrifice⁴⁶⁵). 11. May that fire which carries the *kravyā*⁴⁶⁶ offerings offer them to the pitṛs that prosper according to *ṛta*! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitṛs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitṛs) bring here the pitṛs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śītikā (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hlādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

464. X. 16. 8. This mantra is repeated as invocation when the *pranīta* water is carried forward in the cup. As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased ābitāgni and burnt. But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved. If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the *kravyād* fire was employed for pitṛyajña. It is possible to hold that *kravyād* fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466. X. 16.11 Sāyaṇa explains on the assumption that the word is *kavyavāhana* in this, while the *Sambhitā* and the *padapāṭha* have *kravyavāhana*. The Vāj. S. 19.65 and Tai. S. II. 6.12.5 read '*kavyavāhanah*'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the pitṛs but also in the rites for gods.

X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3-6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvaṣṭr and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yamī from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10-11. Verses⁴⁶⁷ 7-9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1. 41-43 and are employed by the Kausika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68. 1-2 and 18.3.25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūṣan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next)! May he (Pūṣan) hand you over to these pitṛs and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well! 4. May Pūṣan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven)! May god Savitr place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell. 5. Pūṣan knows all these quarters in order; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him; may he (Pūṣan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake! 6. Pūṣan exists (stands) in the forefront of the paths (leading to the world of pitṛs), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives)⁴⁶⁸ that are sacrificers! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity. Rg. VI. 61 and VII. 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X. 18.2. This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.

laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life. 4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by means of the mountain⁴⁶⁹ (the stone). 5. O Dhātṛ! Arrange the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon an elder (relative)⁴⁷⁰. 6. May you (the survivors) accepting old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever your numbers may be; may Tvastr of noble birth and gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live!⁴⁷¹ 7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without any affliction,⁴⁷² and well adorned. 8. O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

469. X. 18.4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such as palāśa, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. gr. IV. 6.9 in the śantikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gr. IV. 6. 10 अन्तर्दृष्टुं कथंतां पर्वतेनेत्यमानहृत्तरतोऽग्नेः कुत्वा... यथाहास्यदुर्गं भवन्तीत्यमरपानीयेत । अमराय here means all members of the family, men and women, except the performer of the rite.

470. X. 18.5 यथा न पूर्वमपरो &c. Probably this refers to the funeral procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gr. IV. 2.9 states expressly 'अन्वञ्जोऽमराया अधोनिर्वाताः यवतामिवा उग्रपथमाः कनिष्ठजवत्याः'. The बी. वि. सू. I. 21.4 remark 'अयेनामनुपूर्वं कल्पयति यथाहास्यदुर्गं भवन्तीति' or the idea may be that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

471. X. 18.6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of the family of the deceased are made to stand on the hide of an ox spread to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gr. IV. 6.8 'अथाग्निमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्थानहुहं चर्मास्तीर्य... तस्मिन्मत्स्यानारोहयेद्धारोहतापुर्जरसं वृणाना इति.'

472. X. 18.7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow burning (*satī* or *sahamarāṇa* or *anugamana*) by medieval and later writers. Some of them read 'agneh' or 'agne' for 'agre'. But even without this change Aparārka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *satī* on this verse. For a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-burning, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 617-619 and pp. 625-635.

who is now lifeless; come! You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately⁴⁷³. 9. (1) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (ksatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength⁴⁷⁴. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant. May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death.⁴⁷⁵ 11. O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment).⁴⁷⁶ 12. Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

473. X. 18.8. This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X. 14. The last quarter is rather difficult to construe. In the Tai. Ā. VI. 1 there is a similar verse 'इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृण्वन्म निपद्यत उव स्वा मर्यं येतद्'. विश्वं पुराणमनुपालवन्ती तस्यै प्रजा इविजं ब्रह्म वेदि'. The Tai. Ā. VI. 1 also has the verse उदीर्घं नार्यभिः and as printed reads 'सम्बन्ध', but सायण explains अभिमुख्येन सम्बन्धं याच्यते (i. e. he explains सम्बन्ध). The बौ. पि. सू. 1.8.1-2 reads संबन्ध and says about Rg. X. 18.8 and Tai. Ā verse अथास्य भार्याह्वयसंवे क्षपति। इयं नारी...वेदीति। तां प्रतिहितः सस्ये पाजावभिपाद्योत्थापयति उदीर्घं...बन्धयेति।

474. X. 18.9 अस्मे is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI.7. Here it may be equal to अस्मभ्यं or अस्माह. This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 8 above. In Sāh. Sr. 16.13.13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpinī (verses) 'उदीर्घं नार्युदीर्घातः पतिवत्तुदीर्घातो विन्वावतोऽस्मन्वतीत्युत्थापिन्वः'. The com. remarks 'अभिर्होवाहवो मविषीहृत्थापयन्ति'. उदीर्घातः पतिवती is Rg. X. 85.21, उदीर्घातो विन्वावतो is Rg. X.85.22 and अस्मन्वतीः is Rg. X. 53.8. These are recited in अश्वमेध at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse. Compare H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1235. The तै. अ. VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय or वैश्य departed person as 'हवर्णे हस्ताद्वानां, धनुर्वस्तादां, मणिं हस्तादावदानां' and बौ. पि. सू. I. 8.3-5 cites them and remarks 'अथास्य हवर्णेन हस्तो मिद्वज्जे स्वर्णे हस्ता इति ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्वस्ता इति क्षत्रियस्य' &c.

475. X. 18.10. Vide the passage from Āśv. Sr. S. where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a *dīkṣita*. The Āśv. gr. 4.5.5 employs this as a *mantra* to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead. The बृहदेवता (VII. 17-18) says that X. 18. 10-13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones.

476. X. 18. 11. This verse is employed by the Āśv. gr. 4.5.6 for bectal at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred ones.

lars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May
se homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May
y become here for all days the shelter ⁴⁷⁷ for him (the departed
resented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for
ir sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm!
y the pitrs support (make steady) this post! ⁴⁷⁸ May Yama
vide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods)
re placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like
feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop)
speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle. ⁴⁷⁹

It should be noted that the word 'pitṛ-yajña' actually occurs
Rg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered
t the hymns Rg. X. 15-18 refer to rites immediately on
death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites
formed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths.
anxiety (in X. 15-18) seems to be to make the ancient pitṛs
led Barhiṣadaḥ and Agniṣvātāḥ in Rg. X. 15. 3-4, 11)
ourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. *Havis*
critical food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient
s (Rg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the
d offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Rgvedic hymns is
irely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I.
i (which refer to the pitṛyajña performed in Śākamedha).
a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do
ur in Rg. X. 57. 3-5 and are employed in the pinda-pitṛyajña.
re is hardly any reason to suppose that the pitṛyajña in
X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the pindapitṛyajña. It
quite possible that both referring as they do to different
ters were coeval.

477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with
icles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described
osts.

478. X. 18. 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed
support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obacure and various interpreta-
s have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig,
lner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins. The trans-
n is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context
h better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the
lker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may
me loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he
s to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead.

Bṛhaddevatā (VII. 18-19) remarks on this verse 'प्रतीचीने यथाहानि
रयेतराणि ह । अहः ह पितरो ह्युत्पिपासास्तेऽन्यथासिक् ।'

It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitiṅni* are described in the *śrauta* and *gṛhya* sūtras. The Āsv. Śr. S. VI. 10 describes what is to be done in case one that has undergone a *dikṣā* (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a *sattra* dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states "When the *dikṣita* is dead, they take out the body by the *tīrtha*,⁴⁸⁰ place it on the spot where it was intended that *avabhṛtha* (bath at the end of a soma or *sattra* sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of *Nalada* (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of *naladas*. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with *prśadājya* (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man's *śrauta* fires are placed on the churning sticks (the two *aranis*), the dead body is taken outside the *vedi* (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the *sāstras*, the singing of the *stotras* and the *samstavas* (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the *him* sound. On the same day before taking up the *grahas* (cups), the priests come out by the *tīrtha*, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the *hotṛ* priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the *adhvaryu* to the north, and the *sāma* priests to the west of the *adhvaryu* (and the *brahmā* priest to the south). Then the *sāma* priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with 'āyam gauḥ prānirakramīt.' When the singing is finished the *hotṛ* walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

480. तीर्थ means the path to the sacrificial ground between the *पात्वाल* and *उत्तर* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 934). For *स्तोत्रि* that occurs a little lower down, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.

turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering the syllable 'om' recites immediately after the song of the sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or authors) viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, 10-11, X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5. They should finish with Rg. X. 14.12, then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the way of the tirtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the deceased sacrificer.⁴⁸¹

The Śāṅkhāyana Śr. S. (IV. 14-15) deals at great length with the death of an *ūhitāgni* and the rites that follow. Kāt. Śr.

481. संस्थिते तीर्थेन निहृत्यापश्ये वेतालङ्कारान् कुर्वन्ति । केदाश्मश्रुलोमनखानि वापयन्ति । नलद्वेमाश्रुलिप्सन्ति । नलद्वमालां मतिस्तुच्छन्ति । निष्पुर्वमेकं कृत्वा पृथक्पृथक् पुरयन्ति । अहृतस्य वातसः पाशतः पादमात्रमवच्छिद्य प्रोर्ध्वन्ति मय्यदंशानां विपादम् । अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमा कुर्वन्त अग्नीमस्य समारोप्य दक्षिणतो बहिर्दिदं दहेयुः ।...प्रत्येत्पाहः समापयेयुः । प्रतरेमप्यासमनमिदं कुतानि शक्तावुपचानामिद्वनसंस्तवन्ति । पुरा ब्रह्महृणात् तीर्थेन निष्कस्य त्रिः प्रसव्यमायतनं परीत्य पर्युपविशन्ति । पश्चाद्धोता । उत्तरोध्वर्युः । तस्य पश्चाच्छ्रुः । आचं गौः पूश्चिरकमीदित्युपांश्च स्तुवते । स्तुते होता प्रसव्यमायतनं परिव्रज्यस्तोनियमनुब्रवेदपश्यन् । पालीश्च । मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्येभिरिति पञ्चानां वृत्तीयाष्टाद्वरेत् । मेनमग्रे चिदहं । माभिज्ञोच इति वद । पूवा त्वितम्व्यावक्तु म विद्वानिति चतस्र उपसर्गमातरं भूमिनेतामिति चतस्रः सोम एकैश्वरः । उदगता उदुम्बलाविति च समाप्य सञ्चित्य तीर्थेन प्रपद्य यथासनमासादयेयुः । आश्व. औ. 10.

The Sat. Br. (XII, 3. 2.5) refers to the practice of cleansing the deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it. It recommends 'having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the body sacrificially pure.' आचं गौः पूश्चिरकमीत्—is the first verse of the hymn Rg. X. 189. 1-3 which are also S. V. No. 630-632 (Āranyakāṇḍa) and 1376-78 (Uttarāreika). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are called सार्वरात्र्य कवचः . It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV.4.6) prescribes the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv. Śr. above and employs some more verses (from Rg. X. 14-18) in the ritual set out below from the Āśv. gr. In the Āśv. Śr. II, 19 there is a description of a rite called 'pitryā karma,' in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the Dakṣiṇāgni and in which the *devatās* are five viz. Pitarah-somavantah, Soma pitṛmān, Pitarah barhiṣadāh, Pitarah Agniṣvāttāh, Yama, for each of whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz. Rg. X. 13. 1, IX.96.11, X.15.5; Rg. I.91.1, I.91.12. VIII. 48.13; X. 15.4, X. 15.3, X. 15.2; X. 15.11, X. 15.13, X. 15.14; X. 14.4-5, X. 14.1. Rg. X. 16.12 (repeated thrice) becomes the sāmīdhenis in that rite; X. 14.5 is Yājñā and X. 14.4 and X. 14.1 are mauvākyās; Rg. X. 15.9, IV. 11.3, I. 96.1 are recited when the rite is finished (instead of Agni Sviṣṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked); Rg. X. 16.11, X. 15.12 are two Samyājñās in Vasaṭhāra. The editor of the Prayogaratna explains that Nalada means 'Uśira' (i. e. Wālā in Marathi) and that some substitute japā flowers (china rose) for *naladas*.

S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāt. (25. 7. 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13-16), Śaṅ. Śr. 4. 14. 4-5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S. (1. 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the *vedi* and *utkara*, place it on a couch (*āsandi*) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āśv. Śr. above). Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10-14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (*baddhvā daśenāṅguṣṭhau-pādayoḥ paṇyośca*, G. P. S. I. 12) and that the *āsandi* (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of *udumbara* wood. The Kausikasūtra (80. 3. 3-45) refers to numerous stanzas from A. V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36; 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49-50, 58; 18. 1. 41-43; 7. 68. 1-2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2. 4-18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18.4.1-15 &c. Compare SBE. vol. XI p. XLI for Buddhist practices.

The Āśv. gr.⁴⁸² (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an *āhilāgni*, while the Āśv. Śr. S. quoted

482. It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āśv. gr. IV. 1-2 differs in different editions considerably. The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāt. Sr. XXI. 3, 15-26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here: 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the *vaṭa*, *pippala*, *tīlvaka*, *haridru*, *sphūrjaka*, *bibhīdaka* and other trees that have an evil name (such as *ślepātaka* and *kovidāra*). The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1.16. names all these trees that are to be avoided. The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāt. Śr. 23. 7. 16-17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north. The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon. The Kāt. Sr. 3.

(Continued on the next page)

above deals with what should be done in case the *āhitāgni* dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āśv. gr. remarks 'when an *āhitāgni* dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one *vyāma*⁴⁸³ and one *vitasti* (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (*śmaśāna*) should⁴⁸⁴ be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āśv. gr. II. 7.5 about *vāstu-parikṣā*). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āśv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the *prṣadājya* used

(Continued from the last page)

21. 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of *palāṣa*, *śami*, *varaṇa* and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (*sanku*). Sāh. Sr. (IV. 14. 6-9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a *palāṣa* branch with the verse 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the *sphya* and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. *व्याम* is defined as 'व्यामो बाह्वोः सकरयोस्ततयोस्तिर्यग् स्तरम्' अमरकोश. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i. e. a fathom).

484. *श्मशान* has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. *नारदचरण* remarks on आश्व. गृ. IV. 1.11 (अभित अमकारं श्मशानं) 'श्मशानञ्चक्षुर्मेनाच्च श्मशानद्वयं दृष्टते ।... दहनवेदोश्च श्मशानं सञ्चिह्य चत्वार्यङ्गि निधीयते तच्च श्मशानम् । तद्द्वयं सर्वतः आकाशं भवेत्'. The शतपथब्रह्म. XIII. 8.1.1 derives *श्मशान* in two ways as being a form of *प्रवाण* or *श्मशान* in the words अथस्मै कर्वाणं कुर्वन्ति । अथास्मै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति ।... श्मशा उ हेव नाम श्मिष्टानाञ्चकारस्ते हासुर्ध्विस्तोकेऽङ्कतश्मशानस्य साधुः कृत्यास्तुपद्वम्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतद्वचं करोति तस्माच्छ्मशानं श्मशानं ह वै तच्छ्मशाननिरवाच्यकृते परोक्षम् । अथर्व. 18.4.44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.

(in the rites) for *pitr̥s*. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz. where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn⁴⁸⁵ by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow⁴⁸⁶ or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The (relatives of the dead) tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their *yajñopavītas* brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a *śami* twig with the verse 'apeta vita vi ca sarpatātāḥ' (Rg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the *Āhavanīya* fire, to the north-west the *Gārhapatyā* fire and to the south-west the *Dakṣiṇā* fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dug-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads *barhis* (kuśas) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north side of the *Gārhapatyā* fire and turning its head towards the *Āhavanīya* fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5-6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. अश्वत्थरणी is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by नारायण as 'मेतन्मुस्तर्षति वा जी पशुः साश्वत्थरणी'. The कृत्यायनस्मृतौ (25.7.34-37) 'अश्वत्थरणी चेत्यन्धकार्णमाहृत्य हस्तयोर्दृक्कौ। अश्वत्थरणीति जातृकर्ण्यः। न वास्ति सन्वेहात्। यथा मुख-मन्त्राद्याग्निमिरादीपयति। आहूतिं ब्रूति पुत्रो भ्रातृभ्योवा ब्राह्मणोऽस्मात्तन्मन्त्रिजातोऽसि त्वदर्थं जायतां पुनः असौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेति। The mantra अस्मात्तन्...लोकाय स्वाहां is वाज. सं. 35.22. Vide कृतपथ ब्रा. XII. 5.2.15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāt. Sr. The com. of Yājñikadeva on Kāt. Sr. 25.7.34 explains दृक्कौ as दृक्षिणोर्लोकौ. Vide also Baud. P. S. I.4.1 and I.9-10, Sat. Sr. 28.2.3-13, Kauś. 81.20-27. The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A. V. 18.3.3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two *vṛkṣas* are taken from the cow's back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra 'ati drava' (A. V. XVIII. 2.11) which is Rg. X.14.10.

of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher *varṇas*) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) *kṣatriya*. The wife's brother-in-law⁴⁸⁷ (husband's brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra 'udīrṣva nāryabhi jīvalokam' (Rg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a *śūdra* (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse 'dhanur-hastādādadāno' (Rg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a *śūdra* (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile.⁴⁸⁸ He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body) viz. into the right hand the spoon called *Juhū*, in the left hand the spoon *Upabhr̥t*, on his right side the *Sphya* (wooden sword), on his left side the *Agnihotrahavanī* (the ladle with which the *Agnihotra* offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the *dhruva* (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the *kapālas*), the pressing stones (used for pressing out *Soma* juice in a *soma* sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (*aruṇa*), on the ears the two *Prāśitra-haraṇas*,⁴⁸⁹ if there be only one then breaking

487. Many of the *sūtras* refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide *Kausikasūtra* 80. 44-45 'इयं नारीति पत्नीक्षुपसंवेष्टयति । उदीर्ष्वेतुत्यापयति.' These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1-2. Sat. Sr. (28. 2. 14-16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse 'iyam nārī' and then her husband's brother or another *brāhmaṇa* makes her get up with the verse 'udīrṣva nārī'. The same *sūtra* (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 6 and some of the *sūtras* (such as *Kāt. Sr.* 25. 7. 19, *Sān. Śr.* IV. 14. 16-35, Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 23-50, *Kauśika* 81. 1-19, *Baud. P. S. I.* 8-9) and *smṛtis* like *Gobhila* (III. 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two eyes and the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse. The G. P. S. II. 7. 12 says that it is the *adhvaryu* who deposits the *kapālas* on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the *Prāśitrabarāṇa*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of *puroḍāśa* is kept for the *brāhma* priest). For the *Samyā* (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n. 2487,

it into two; on the belly the *pātri* (in which the oblations are collected before offering) and the *camasa* (cup) in which (the *iḍā* portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the *śamyā*; on the thighs the two *arāṇis* (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (*śūrpa*) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with *Prṣadājya*. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware⁴⁹⁰.

The Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmaṇa but people regard the latter as a corpse-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water.⁴⁹¹ Taking out the omentum (*vapā*) of the Anustarani she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse 'Agnr varma' (Rg. X. 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (*vrkkau*) of the animal he should deposit them into the

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2, Śat. Sr. 28. 2. 23-30, Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 21-33, Kauṣ. 81. 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8. 11-1. 9. 7, Sāh. Sr. IV. 14. 18-36. For example, the Sāh. Sr. (IV. 16. 21-31) prescribes that the Agnihotrābhavaṇi is placed on the throat and the two arāṇis on the private parts, while Ādv. gr. places the agnihotrābhavaṇi on the left side and the śamyā on private parts. Sabara quotes several times a passage which says 'They burn the āhitāgni with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements' (āhitāgnim-agnibhir dahanāni yajñāpātrāśca) on Jai. IV. 1. 9, VI. 6. 34, XI. 3. 34. Those words occur also in Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9. Jai. XI. 3. 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called *pratipattikharman* (the final disposal) of the yajñāpātras.

491. अथाद्य सप्तसु प्राणायतनेषु सप्त हिरण्यमकलाग्रमस्यस्यति ज्योतिर्गन्धर्व इरिष्य ज्योतिर्वारिमिस्तद्वृत्तं वृषाति। अथैनमन्तरेणाग्निंश्चित्त्वा कृष्णाग्निमध्वरलोम प्राचीनमीयं प्रसीर्य तस्मिन्नेनमुत्तानं निपाद्य जुह्वं कृतेन पूर्णं वक्षिणे पाणापाद्वधाति सग्न उपश्रुतमुपति धृवां ह्येऽग्निहोत्रहर्षी नासिकयोः क्षुरी कर्णयोः प्राशित्रहरेर्ने शीर्षेभ्यस्तं प्रणीताग्रचनं पार्श्वयोः क्षुर्यं उद्धरे पार्श्वी समवत्पार्श्वी पृषदाज्यवतीं सिक्षस्यान्ते स्रप्यामाध्वोरन्ते धृवारपाग्न्यमुद्धरालं च ह्युत्तलं चान्तरेणोक्तं अग्न्यानि यज्ञपात्राणि वक्षिणे पाणौ हृष्यद्। स एव यज्ञादुष्ठी यजमानः। यथा निव्यदामोचमसीयाद्धेवमेव योऽस्य स्वर्गो लोको जितो भवति तमग्न्यस्येति। इत्यवचना. XII. 5. 2. 6-8. The Jai. vi. 1. 2. 31, Śat. Sr. 28. 2. 23-4 and others provide that either gold bits or drops of clarified butter were to be cast over the seven orifices (mouth and others). A comparatively later smṛti like that of Parāśara mentions this depositing of sacrificial implements on the sacrificer's body (V. 19-22)

hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys.⁴⁹² Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Prāṇitā water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'imam agne' (Rg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Dakṣiṇa fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Agni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumatī svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N.! To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vaj. S. 35, 22). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4. 2-5) states what one has to understand if the Āhavanīya or Gārhapatya or Dakṣiṇa fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Rg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āśv. Sr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jīvāḥ' (Rg. X. 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

492. According to Kāt. Sr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇi animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātūkarnya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāt. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāt.). Compare Sat. Br. XII. 5. 9-12 for similar remarks. Āśv. gr. IV. 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or let off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Baud. P. S. I. 10. 2). The Sāh. Sr. (IV. 14. 14-15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Dakṣiṇa fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14. 10-11) - - -

come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun's disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last. When they have come to the houses they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting 'udvayam' (Vāj. S. 35. 14 = Rg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies⁴⁹³.

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other gṛhya sūtras. A few interesting points may be noted here. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 11, Pār. gr. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the śrauta (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an *āhitāgni* is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the smārta⁴⁹⁴ or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrauta fires nor smārta fire are burnt with the ordinary⁴⁹⁵ fire. Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a cāṇḍāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a *patita* or fire from a funeral pyre,⁴⁹⁶ The Pitṛdayitā states that the mantra 'asmāt tvam &c.' was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

493. अपामर्गैरपशुजते ।... यत्रोदकं भवति तत्त्वान्ति सुमित्रिया आप ओषधयः सन्निवश्यज्जलाप उपाचति... । स्नात्वाहतानि वासांसि परिधापानहुहः पुच्छमन्वार-
म्यायस्वयाग्रेयौ बान्धानग्निमुखा एवं तत्पितृलोकान्जीवलोकमभ्यायन्ति ।... उद्धयं तमसस्परीति ।
एतामुच्चं जपन्तो यन्ति... । तेभ्य आगतेभ्य आज्ञनाभ्यञ्जने प्रयच्छन्त्येष हं मातृषोलङ्कारस्तेनैव तं
मृत्युमन्तर्दधते । शत. ब्रा. XIII. 8. 4. 4-7. सुमित्रिया is वाज. सं. 35.12 and उद्धयं is वाज. सं. 35.14 (= ऋ. I. 50.10)

494. अधानग्निचितः । एतदेव धूमिजोषणमेतत्समर्पणं कर्म यद्व्यदशिकर्मणः । शतपथब्रा. XIII. 8. 4. 11.

495. आहिताग्निर्यथान्यायं दग्धव्याजिभिर्गमिभिः । अनाहिताग्निरेकेन लौकिकेनेतरो
ज्जः ॥ बृहस्प. q. by मित्त. on या. III. 2, अपरांके p. 873. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.67

496. लौकिकाग्निश्च षण्डालादिष्पतिरिक्ता ग्राह्यः । षण्डालाग्निरमेष्वाग्निः द्युतिकाग्निश्च
कार्ष्णिचित् । पतिताग्निश्चिताग्निश्च न शिष्टग्रहणोचिताः ॥ इति देवलस्मरणात् । मित्त. on या. III, 2, अपरांके p. 873, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 286,

who had not kept sacred fires.⁴⁹⁷ The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vāj. S. 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2-7) lays down a bath when a person's relatives on the mother's side and father's relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old. In the case of a child's death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child's body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Yāj. III. 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra 'apa naḥ sośucad agham' ('May evil be burnt away from us,' Rg. I. 97. 1, A.V. IV. 33.1, Tai. Ā. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sapindas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a *darbhendva* (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (*aśman*) or an axe and recites a mantra 'imā āpo &c.' when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about 'asmin loke' to 'antarikṣe' and 'svarge' at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra 'tasmāt tvam adhijātosī...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,' he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body.⁴⁹⁸ The Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 38 provides that the family members

497. अनग्नेर्ब्राह्मणस्य यज्ञपात्राभावात्पात्रन्यासस्यतिरिक्तसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यतया दग्धस्य । अश्माव...मन्त्रस्वरिमन्त्रपि न प्रयोक्तव्यः । पितृदयिता p. 78.

498. अथ कर्तोदकुम्भमादाय पत्नी वा । दर्भेण शिरसि निधाय मृतं पर्येति । तमश्मना परशुना बाधस्तात्किञ्चित्पृथ्वरति । तां धारामनुमन्त्रयेत् हमा आयो मधुमत्योस्मिन्ते लोक उपबुध्यन्तामक्षीयमाणाः स्वधा नम इति ।...सिद्धिर्लोकोदकुम्भं पृथतो विदुजेत् ।...तस्मात्स्वमधिजातोसि त्वद्यं जायतां पुनरसौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वर्गोत्पत्तौ शब्देन प्रेतस्य नाम संज्ञद्वयत्वेन गृहीत्वा क्षीरेणाग्निं संयोजयेत् । गो. वि. सू. I. 3.1-13.

beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the *mantra* 'apa naḥ śośucad-
agham' (Rg. I 97. 1. Tai. Ā. VI 10. 1). It further provides (28. 1. 37-46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like 'pūṣā tvetaḥ' (Rg. X. 17. 3., Tai. Ā. VI 10. 1), 'āyur viśvāyur' (Rg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā. VI 10. 2). The Varāha-
purāṇa prescribes that a Paurāṇic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.⁴⁹⁹

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gr. cited above and the procedure described in the Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyeṣṭi-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa which is generally followed by Rgvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a *tīlaka* on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of Jātāmāṃsi and a garland of *naladas* is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs *prāṇāyāma* without Vedic mantra, then makes a *Saṅkalpa* (as in note 500),⁵⁰⁰ he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10); he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a *śami* branch at the end of the mantra 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying 'I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,' 'I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c' 'I draw a line for Mṛtyu, lord of &c.' Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

499. कृत्वा सुदुष्करं कर्म जानता वाप्यजानता । सुखकालवशं प्राप्य नरं पञ्चत्वमागतम् ॥ धर्मार्थसमायुक्तं लोभमोहसमावृतम् । वृथैवं सर्वगात्राणि दिव्यान् लोकान्स गच्छतु ॥ एवमुक्त्वा ततः शीघ्रं कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणम् । ज्वलमानं तथा वह्निं शिरःस्थाने प्रदीपयेत् । चतुर्वर्णेषु संस्कार एव भवति पुत्रक ॥ बराहपुराण q. by छुद्विप्रकाश p. 170 and by छुद्विकौमुदी p. 115. These verses occur with variations in बराहपुराण chap. 187, 106-108.

500. अथेष्टयादि देशकालौ स्थूत्यायुक्तगोत्रस्यायुक्तशर्मणोस्मग्निप्रादेः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्व-
विमोक्षणमौर्ध्वदिक्षं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य प्राचीनावीती धूमि मर्धयेत् । अम्येष्टिपद्धति
folio 153 a.

Mṛtyu (each being associated with pitṛa, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapatāye pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside. Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udirṣya' (Rg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs *parisamuhana* (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then *paristarana* (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and *paryukṣaṇa* (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz. prokṣaṇī, sruva, camasa and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the *camasa* (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the *camasa* with Rg. X. 16. 8 (*imam-agne &c.*). He makes a *saṅkalpa* that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. *agnaye svāhā, agnaya idam na mama*). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or *prṣadājya*) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmādvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares *apūpas* (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with *prṣadājya* and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz. Rg. X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Rg. X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Rg. X. 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Rg. X. 16. 9 (*kravyadam-agnim*) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, Rg. X. 14. 10-11, Rg. X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5, X. 14. 12. While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the

burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras. The jar is struck thrice. All the *sagotra* relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests. The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first. The performer recites Rg. X. 18. 3 (ime jivā &c.). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (*aśman*) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesame on that stone with folded hands with the words 'O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesame reach you'. The performer offers water with the *uttariya* for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (*dāśas*). Some sūtras, smṛtis, commentaries and other works lay down many other rules here. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 76. 13 ff) states that on the death of Daśaratha his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (*śibikā*), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varṇas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varṇas and a śūdra should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varṇas carry the dead body of a śūdra, and that the impurity in the case of a śūdra carrying a dead *dvijāti* or a *dvijāti* carrying a śūdra's body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 1-4, Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 29, Manu 5. 104, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 43-45. A brahmacārin was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, *guru*, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide Vas. 23. 7, Manu 5. 91, Yāj. III. 15, Laghu-Hārīta 92-93, Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 278). *Guru*, *ācārya* and *Upādhyāya* are defined

by Yāj. I. 34-35. If a *brahmacārin* carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13-14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform *ācamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house. It being the duty of *sapiṇḍas*⁵⁰¹ to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 26, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III. 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1. 2, p. 277, Hārita q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa* who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III. 39-41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa*, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing *prāṇāyāma*, while Manu (5. 101-102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapiṇḍa* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hāratalā p. 121 quotes the Ādipurāṇa that if a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* cremates the dead body of a poor *brāhmaṇa* or of a *ksatriya* who has lost everything or of a poor *vaiśya*, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā* stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing 'if a man⁵⁰² carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

501. निहितं तु सपिण्डानां भेतनिर्हरणादिकम् । तेषां करोति यः कश्चिन्नस्याधिक्यं न विद्यते ॥ वेवल q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 277 ; निहितं हि सपिण्डस्य भेतनिर्हरणादिकम् । दोषः रपावसपिण्डस्य तत्रानाधिक्यां विना ॥ हारिता q. by अपरार्क p. 871.

502. अत्रेयं व्यवस्था । यः स्नेहादिना शवनिर्हरणं कृत्वा तदीयमक्षमाति तदूहे च वसति तस्य दशाहेनैव छद्भिः । यस्तु केवलं तदूहे वसति न पुनस्तदक्षमश्नाति तस्य त्रिंशत्त्रयम् । यः पुनानिर्हरणमात्रं करोति न तदूहे वसति न च तदक्षमश्नाति तस्यैकाह इति । एतत्सजातीय-विषयम् । विजातीयविषये पुनर्यज्जातीयं भेतं निर्हरति तज्जातिप्रयुक्तमाशौचं कार्यम् । यथाह गौतमः (१४.२९) ... विषय्य शुद्धनिर्हरणे मासमाशौचं शुद्धस्य तु विप्रनिर्हरणे दशरात्र-मित्येवं शवदशाशौचं कार्यमित्यर्थः । निता. on या. III. 14.

the same caste as the dead person. But if a brāhmaṇa carries a śūdra's corpse, the brāhmaṇa is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmaṇa's body the śūdra is impure for ten days.' The Kūrmapurāṇa prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Viṣṇupurāṇa says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed. Hārta⁵⁰³ prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5.92 and Vṛddha-Hārta IX. 100-101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya and a brāhmaṇa was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village. It was provided by Yama and the Garudapurāṇa II. 4.56-57⁵⁰⁴ that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher *varṇas*) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of *preta*. The Hāratalā (p. 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmaṇas only (for a brāhmaṇa's body). The smṛtis and purāṇas provide that the corpse⁵⁰⁵ should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

503. तथा हारीतोऽपि न ग्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं हरेदुरिति । मित्ता on वा. III. मन्. 2, पृ. p. 395, हारलता p. 119 which explains 'निर्हर्ता यदि वर्त्मनि ग्रामः स्यात्तदा तस्मिन्नेव न गन्तव्यमित्यर्थः' ।

504. यस्यानयति शूद्रोऽग्निं तुणं काष्ठं हवीणि च । प्रेतत्वं च सदा तस्य स चाधर्मजं लिप्स्यते ॥ यम. q. by मित्ता. on वा. III. 2, अपराकं p. 871, हारलता p. 120 (reads मन्थते शेष धर्मोऽस्ति) which last takes स...लिप्स्यते as referring to the brāhmaṇa who is cremated; तुणकाष्ठविलाज्यादि स्वयं निग्न्युः सुतादयः ॥ शूद्राग्नीतेः कृतं कर्म सर्वं भवति निष्फलम् । गरुडः ।

505. चन्द्रनोक्षितसर्वाङ्गं सुमनोभिर्विभूषितम् ।...निर्हरेदुः सुतादयः ॥ आमप्राप्तेऽक्षमादाय प्रेतमग्निपुरःसरम् । एकोऽङ्गुष्ठश्चक्षुःस्यार्धमर्धपर्युत्थजेज्जुषि ॥ योभिलस्युति III 23-25 q. by अपराकं p. 873; प्रवेताः । स्नानं प्रेतस्य पुत्राद्यैर्वेद्याद्यैः पूजनं ततः । नष्टदेहं वृहेनैव किञ्चिद्देयं परित्यजेत् ॥ किञ्चिद्देहं वृहोके देयत्वेन प्रसिद्धं तत्परित्यजेत् तत्स्थेय्यश्चण्डालादिभ्यः । अपराकं p. 871 ; मित्ता. on वा. III. 2 also quotes प्रचेतस्व.

paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbaked earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāṇḍālas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments.⁵⁰⁶

There were differing rules laid down about *vapana* (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (aṅga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smṛti text provides⁵⁰⁷ 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of the mother or father or *guru*, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D. (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform *vapana* and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other *Ārthas* in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with *yaśnopavita*, *gopīcandana*, garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no *vapana* at night, but on the next day.⁵⁰⁸ Other smṛtis allowed *vapana* on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.⁵⁰⁹ Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6

506. The four kinds of वाद्य were enumerated by भरत as 'तत्तं वीणाध्वजं च वनं सुखिरमेव च' and the अमरकोश illustrates them as follows: 'तत्तं वीणादिकं वाद्य-मानम् हुरजादिकम् । वंशादिकं तु सुखिरं कारयतालादिकं वनम् ॥'

507. गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोरुत्तरेण । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सततं स्मृतम् ॥ q. by मित्त. on या. III. 17, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 296, सुखिरमाला p. 161 । भाष. तत्त्व p. 493 (from स्मृतिसमुच्चय). भास्करक्षेत्रे च वपनम्.

508. रात्रौ दुग्ध्वा तु पिण्डान्तं कृत्वा वपनवर्जितम् । वपनं मेवयते रात्रौ श्वस्तनी वपनक्रिया ॥ संग्रह q. in सुद्धि p. 161.

509. अलुप्तकोशे यः पूर्वं सोऽत्र कोशान् मन्त्रयेत् । द्वितीयेऽङ्गि तृतीयेऽङ्गि पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा । वाद्यध्वजं महीमेत तावदित्यपरं मतम् । बौधायन q. by परा मा. I. 2. p. 2; वापनं वृक्षमेऽहनि कार्यम् । तदाह देवलः । वृक्षमेऽहनि संव्राते स्नानं ग्रामाद् वृक्षिर्भवेत् । तत्र त्याज्यानि वासांसि कोशद्वयकृतानि च ।; this verse is q. by the मित्त. on या. III. 17; the मत्. परा. p. 416 after quoting देवल and other authors remarks 'प्रवमादिहिनेषु कृतकौर-रयापि सुद्धिर्वा वृक्षमदिनेषु वपनं कर्तव्यम् ।.'

provides⁵¹⁰ *vapana* for all *sapinda*s that are younger than the deceased. The Madanapārijāta holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo *vapana* on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 162) following the Mit. on Yāj. III 17 states that the day on which *vapana* is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In *Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhushan Deva A.I.R.* 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 4. 67-69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (*udakakriyā* or *udakadāna*) to the deceased by his *sapinda*s and *samānodakas*. Āśv. gr. quoted above (p. 209) speaks of offering water once, but the Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th.⁵¹¹ Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 38, Vas. 4. 12 prescribe that water should be offered by *sapinda*s to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and Haradatta says that in all 75 *aṅjalis* of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more *aṅjali* on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 7 and 13, Pracetas, Paithinasi (both quoted by Aparārka p. 874)

510. अनुभाविना च परिवापनम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 3.10.6. For explanation of this sūtra, vide *mita*, on yā. III. 17.

511. केशान् प्रकीर्य पादौघोप्यैकवाससो दक्षिणासुखाः सकुटुम्भज्ज्योतीर्व स्रग्ं जाम्बाप्य वासः पीडयित्वापविशाम्येवं त्रिस्तम्भस्रग्ं गोत्रनामधेयं तिलमिअनुदकं त्रिकस्त्रिच्यारहरजलिनैकोत्तरद्वित्रैकादशाहात्। सत्याबादश्वीत 28.2.72. The *मौ. पि. सू.* I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form 'काश्यपगोत्रं वैश्वदत्तशर्मन्, एतस्ते उदकम्' or 'काश्यपगोत्राय वैश्वदत्तशर्मणे वैतापैतसिलोदकं ददामि' (हरदत्त) or 'वैश्वदत्तनामा काश्यपगोत्रः त्रेतस्तुप्यतु' (*mita*, on yā. III. 5.). Vide गोभिलस्मृति III. 36-37 also, q. by अपरार्क p. 874 and परा. मा. I. 2 p. 287.

prescribe that water and pinda were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.⁵¹² The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Grhya-pariśiṣṭa, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one's vedic Śākhā. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda chap. 5 verses 22-23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92-94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pitṛs but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayājñika⁵¹³ it is stated that six pindaś were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (*citā*), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called *pāṭheya śrāddha* because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p. 463). According to some of the digest

512. दिनेदिनेऽञ्जलीन् पूर्णान् प्रव्याप्तेतकारणात् । तावद्विधं कर्तव्यं पावतेपिण्डः

समाप्नोते ॥ प्रथमतः q. by मिता. on या. III. 3; 'पावदाशौचं तावत्प्रेतस्योदकं पिण्डं च द्वयः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.13. If water is offered only once a day for ten days there would be only ten añjalis in all, but if 10 were offered on each day there would be 100; if one was offered on first day and one more added on each succeeding day to the 10th there would be 55 añjalis

513. अत्र च आशौचं पिण्डदानमुक्तं देवपाशिकोबाहतायां स्मृते । सुतस्योत्कान्तिसं-
न्यात्वात् पिण्डाने क्रमशो दिशेत् । सुतस्थाने तथा द्वारे चत्वरं वादयं कारणात् । विष्णवे
काष्ठचपने तथा च चपने च चत् । q. by सुद्धिप्रकाश p. 158. Vide गण्डवुत्तान II. 4.48
for a similar provision.

a śrāddha called Nagna-pracchādana was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapindaś undergō shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmaṇa of good family after remembering Viṣṇu for the benefit of the departed. Vide Smṛti-muktāphala (on śr.) pp. 595-596, Sm. C. (on Āśauca p. 176).

The smṛtis and purāṇas (like Kūrma, uttarārḍha 23. 70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass. There are two views on this point. According to Yaj. III. 16 a *piṇḍa* was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Piṇḍa-pitr-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder); while according to Viṣṇu 19. 13 one *piṇḍa* was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted. The *piṇḍa* was to be offered on darbhas spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone.⁵¹⁴ While water could be offered by any and every sapinda, *piṇḍa* was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapinda like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapindaś of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could⁵¹⁵ offer it. Even when *piṇḍa*ś were to be offered for three days or *āśauca* lasted only for 3 days the *piṇḍa*ś were prescribed to be ten by Śātātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows: three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Dakṣa⁵¹⁶ distributed them as follows: one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd. Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 *piṇḍa*ś were to be offered according to the varṇa of the deceased. In the case cited above from A. I. R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514. इमौ माल्यं पिण्डं पानीयद्रूपले वा दद्यात् । कङ्क q. by मिता. on या. III. 16.

515. दुष्काभावे सपिण्डा मातुसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च वा दद्यात् । तदभावे कल्पिमाचार्यो ।
मी. ध. सू. 13.13-14.

516. यथैश्वर्येण तत्पिण्डं द्वितीये चतुर्थेऽपि । तृतीये दद्यात् तद्वादीयं पिण्डविधिः स्मृतः ॥
इक्ष q. by अपरार्क p. 888.

piṇḍas are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one *piṇḍa* is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the *Gṛhya-parīśiṣṭa*⁵¹⁷ and *Garuḍapurāṇa*. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near *sapiṇḍa*. The *Matsyapurāṇa* states⁵¹⁸ that *piṇḍas* should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days. *Rṣyaśrīṅga* quoted by *Aparārka* (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a *piṇḍa* is offered. The *Garuḍapurāṇa* (*pretakhanda* chap. 5. 33-36) says the same.

Just as *sapiṇḍas* of the same gotra and *saṃānūdakas* were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his *ācārya* on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i. e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister's son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on their death (*Pār. gr. III. 10, Śāṅkha-Likhita, Yāj. 519 III. 4*). *Pāraskara* (*III. 10*) refers to a peculiar practice. When the *sapiṇḍas* are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words 'we shall perform *udakakriyā*', where-upon

517. असमीक्षः समीक्षो वा यदि जी यदि वा पुमान् । मय्येक्षानि यो दद्यात्त दद्यात् समापयेत् ॥ यद्वापरिशिष्ट q. by मिता. on वा. I. 255 and III. 16, अपरार्क p. 887, मङ्ग. पा. p. 400, हारलता p. 172. This is लज्जाञ्जलायन 20.6 and गण्डपुराण (मेतखण्ड) 5.19-20.

518. मेताय पिण्डदानं तु द्वादशदिनं समाचरेत् । दायैर्न तस्य तत्प्रेतः पतिः प्रीतिकरं महत् ॥ कस्मात् मेतुरं मेतो द्वादशाहेन जीवते । द्वादशदिनं यदुपैति । मत्स्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 889. These two verses are the same as पञ्चपुराण, कुट्टिकाखण्ड 10.5-6.

519. 'उदकक्रियां कर्तुं चक्षुरमातुल्योः शिष्ये सहाभ्यायिनि राजनि च । कङ्कालिनिरे' q. by दीर्घकालिका on वा. III. 4.

the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request),' if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more.⁵²⁰ The G. P. S. (I, 4. 4-6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a *sagotra* or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapindas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent⁵²¹ persons and the like, thieves of gold, *vrātyas*, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own foetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj. (III. 6) provides that water should not be offered to and no *āśauca* observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four *āśramas*, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink *surā*, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89-90) is to the same effect. Gaut. Dh. S.⁵²² 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

520. संयुक्तं मैथुनं नोदकं वाच्यं नोदकं करिष्यामह इति । कुर्वन् न चैवं पुनरित्यशक्त-
वर्षं प्रेतः । कुर्वन्मित्येवैतरस्मिन् । पातस्कराणां III. 10, which are included in the
procedure of *udakādāna* even by such a late writer as Govindānanda
(S. K. p. 122) and explained by छुद्धिमकाश pp. 199-200; अपः पतिपद्यन्ते । अत्र
राजपुरुषः सगोत्रमिधुनो (सगोत्रो मैथुनी?) वा कण्टकिनीं शास्त्रानामादाय मावतरतेति वारयेत्
न पुनरवतरिष्याम इति मतिः । गौ. पि. सू. I. 4.3-6.

521. क्लीबाद्या नोदकं कुरुः स्तेना ब्राह्मण विधर्मिणः । गर्भभर्तृमुहश्चैव शूराप्यश्चैव
योचितः ॥ इत्यमरः q. by कल्पतरु (छुद्धि) p. 89, छुद्धिमकाश p. 203. The word क्लीबाद्याः
probably includes all those mentioned by Yāj. II. 140. For *vrātyas* vide H.
of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 386.

522. प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निविषादकोहृन्धनप्रपतनैश्चेच्छताम् । गौ. 14.11; क्रोधोद्यमाद्ये
विषं वक्तिः शस्त्रहृन्धनं जलम् । गिरिवृक्षमपातं च ये कुर्वन्ति नराधमाः । ब्रह्महृन्धता ये च ये
चैव ब्राह्मणैर्हताः । महापातकिनो ये च पतितस्ते प्रकीर्तिताः । पतितानां न दाहः स्थानं च
रपादरिपतज्जपः । न चाष्टपुतः पिण्डो वा कार्या आहुकिया न च ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by
हस्त्य on गौ. 14. 11 and by अपरार्क pp. 902-903, quoting many more verses;
similar rules are laid down by Anāśanasamṛti VII. 1. p. 539 (Jiv.), पूर्वर्त
verses 178-179, Atri 216-217, कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध chap. 23. verses 60-63) q.
by हस्त्य on p. 204, छुद्धि. p. 89.

Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no *śśauca*, no offering of water or *pinda*. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāṇa that those who die of a brāhmaṇa's curse or black magic and those who are *patitas* are dealt with in the same way. But Āngiras (q. by Mit. on Yaj. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was *śśauca* for him and *udakakriyā* was performed. Vide Vaik. Sm. S. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e. g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap. 127 (the body was carried in a *śśibikā* covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it); of Droṇa in Striparva, chap. 23.38-42 (three *Sāmans* were sung, his pupils with Droṇa's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīṣma in Anuśāśana 169.10-19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, *sāmans* were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalaparva 7. 19-25; of killed warriors in general in Striparva, chap. 26. 28-43 and of Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāśikaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā, chap. 76 verses 16-20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, *aguru* and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in *śśibikās* and conveyances according to their status.

If an *āhitāgni* died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13-14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his *śśrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kāt. Śr. 25.8-9, Baud. P. S. III.8, Gobhīlasmṛti III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37,

If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ait. Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works⁵²³ provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with *palāśa* stalks (leaves) 360 in⁵²⁴ number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with *yava* flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days' impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q. by Aparārka p. 545), the *palāśa* leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P.S. and Gaut. P.S. as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (*udara*), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat. Śr. 29.4.39. Vide also Śān. Śr. IV. 15.19-31,⁵²⁵ Kāt. Śr. XXV. 8.15, Baud. P. S. III 8, G. P. S. II .1.6-14 Gobhila-smṛti III 48, Hārīta q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 134-154 and II.40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of *palāśa* leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śān. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P. S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārka (p. 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The वे. ब्रा. reads: यदि शरीराणि न विद्येरन् पर्जन्यः वाष्टिर्जाणि च ज्ञाताग्राह्यत्वे तेषां पुत्रवरूपकमिव कृत्वा तस्मिन्स्तामाहुतं कुर्तुम्येनाञ्जरीरिद्राहुतेः संस्पृश्योद्वासापेक्षुरक्षयमेवातं काये सज्जिगन्ति द्विपञ्चाशो च त्रिंशो चोक्त द्विपञ्चाशिको शेषं तु शिरस्युपवृत्तयात् सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः ।

524. शरीरमात्रे त्रीणि वाष्टिस्तानि पलाशवृक्षानां कुण्याजिने पूर्ववत् । कात्या. श्रौ. 23. 8. 15, on which the com. remarks 'पुत्रवद्विष्टयादि पूर्ववत् दाहान्तम् । तेषामेव सञ्चयनं पितृमेधश्च तैरेवेति ।'

525. चत्वारिंशच्छिरसि । त्रीणां दश । अंसान्वसयोर्बाह्वोः शतम् । उरसि त्रिंशत् । जठरे विंशतिः । बद्धवृषणयोः । शिरो चत्वारि । ऊर्ध्वोः शतम् । त्रिंशज्जाहुजङ्घनीवतोः । पादाङ्गुलीषु विंशतिः । एवं त्रीणि वाष्टिस्तानि भवन्ति । पुत्रवद्विष्टयादि कृत्वोर्णाहुतेः परिवेष्ट्य वरपूर्णेः मलित्य सविधाम्यज्याग्निभिः संस्क्रुतेति । श्रौ. श्रौ. सू. IV. 15. 20-31. Each stalk of *Palāśa* has three leaves; ऊर्णाद्वृक्षः will represent the muscles and वरपूर्णलेपः will represent flesh. It will be seen that as enumerated in Śān. S. the *palāśa* stalks are exactly 360. The कूर्मपुराण (उत्तर) 23.68 refers to it as 'देवाभावात्पलाशैस्तु कृत्वा मतिकृतिं पुनः ।'

lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. Jātūkarnya (q. by Aparārka p. 545) and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called 'ākṛtidahana'). Bṛhaspati advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to *ākṛtidahana* (Śuddhipr. p. 187). The Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187 quotes several verses from the Brahmapurāṇa that the procedure of burning an effigy of palāśa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated Śrauta fires and āsauca for three days has to be observed, while the āsauca for burning the effigy of an āhitāgni was ten days.

It is further provided in Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 41, Baud. P. S. (III. 7. 4) and Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 169-70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the *saṁskāras* from *jātakarma* are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again śrauta fires. Some sūtras provide that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his śrauta fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three *sthālis* (cooking pots ⁵²⁶). Manu (V. 167-168) provides that if the *savarna* and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred *śrauta* fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (śrauta and smārta) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate śrauta or smārta fires again. To the same effect are Yāj. I. 89, Baud. P. S. II. 4. 6, Gobhila-smṛti III. 5, Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra VII 2, Yrddha-Hārta XI. 213, Laghu-Āsv. 20. 59. ⁵²⁷ Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 87 quotes a Kāthaka-śruti to

526. इच्छन् पत्नीं पूर्वमारिणीमग्निभिः संस्कृत्य सान्तपनेन वायामानीय ततः पुनरावर्धत । शत. श्रौ. IV. 15.32. How the सान्तपन fires are produced is stated in Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2.3 'इत्थमेव कुर्यात् । तिस्र एव स्थालीरेष्टवै त्रयास्तासु गोमयानि च शुम्बलानि वाषधाय नाना त्रिष्वग्निषु प्रवृज्यमाने ये ततः सन्तापाद्गृह्यो जायेरंस्तेरेन द्वेयुः ।।' शुम्बल means some material which is easily inflamed such as straw.

527. तस्मादावस्यः पत्न्या सर्वा एवाग्निहोत्राद्यर्पेनाग्निना दग्धव्या इति स्थितम् ।... तथा च काठके श्रुतौ 'शवाग्नयो वा एते भवन्ति ये पत्न्या प्रमीतायां धार्यन्ते' इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मात् पत्नीमग्निभिर्वहेत्' इति निरूप्यते विशेषादिभिः । निम्बस्व on यज. I. 87.

the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmaṇa ahitāgni had a wife of the ksatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires. This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V. 167 (where 'savarṇām' occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarṇa wife alone, there would be the fault of *vākyaabheda*. Some of the smṛtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did. Vide Gobhilasmr̥ti III. 528 9-10, Vṛddha-Hārita XI 214. If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire. If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (*araṇis*) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on *agnihotra* with the image or effigy of the wife. If the ahitāgni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (*nirmanthya*) kindled by attrition of the *araṇis*. Vide Baud. P. S. II. 4. 6-8, Kāt. Śr. 29.4. 34-35, and Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana II. 121. 528a. When the wife was cremated the mantra 'Asmāttvam-abhijātosi' quoted above was not to be recited (vide Gobhilasmr̥ti III. 52). It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire (Gobhilasmr̥ti III. 53). Kratu (q. by

528. सुतायामपि भार्याया वैदिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समा-
पयेत् ॥ रामोऽपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यज्ञस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरचितैः ॥
गोभिलस्मृतौ III. 9-10, the first being quoted by अपरार्क p. 114 as विष्णु's. It is also quoted by सुहृत्स्थलत्कार p. 110. अपरार्क does not accept the interpretation that the verse सुतायां etc. allows the householder to have an image of his deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice. The words 'उपाधिनापि' according to Aparārka mean that he may marry a woman not of the same varṇa. Both verses are q. by सुज्ञेयकाश (pp. 164-165) which summarises various views on this point.

528a. तयोर्थः पूर्वो ज्ञेयेत तस्याग्निजेतया यज्ञपात्रैश्च पितृमेधः । यः पश्चात्सर्वोपासनेन ।
...औपासनेऽविद्यमाने निर्मन्थयेन पितृमेधः । नौ. पि. ब्र. II. 4. 6-8; compare सरया. औ.
29.4. 34; 'पत्नी चेद्विधवा भूत्वा प्रसीयेत कदाचन । तदा औताग्निं कुर्यात्वा निर्मन्थयेनैव दद्यात् ॥
त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 121.

Śuddhiprakāśa p. 166) ^{528b} and Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9-13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a *kapāla* (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmacārin and yati were to be cremated with *uttapana* (or *kapāla*) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upanayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff. If an *āhitāgni* became *patila* or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his *śrauta* fires were to be cast into water and *smārta* fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a *smṛti* q. by Par. M. I. 2. p. 226, Parāśara V. 10-11, Vaik. Smārta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire.

Manu V. 68, Yaj. III. 1, Parāśara III. 14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 27-28, Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Par. M. I. 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried. Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Pāraskara-gr. ^{528c} III. 10, Yaj. III. 1, Manu V. 68-69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case. The relatives may all follow the body or not

528b विधुरं विधवां चैव कपालस्याग्निना दहेत् । बह्वचारियती चैव दहेदुत्तपनाग्निना ॥
दुषाग्निना च दग्धव्यः कण्यका बाल एव च । अग्निवर्णं कपालं तु कृत्वा तत्र विनिक्षिपेत् ।
कापीयादि ततो यस्तु जातः स तु कपालजः ॥ कतु q. by सुद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. The उत्तप-
नाग्नि is explained as दुर्भायेऽग्निं तु प्रज्वाल्य पुनर्वर्धेत् संयुतः । पुनर्वर्धेत् पुतीयेग्निरेव
उत्तपनः स्मृतः ॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by सुद्धिप्रकाश 166 ; अथाहिताग्निः... यज्ञपार्श्वश्च । दृष्टस्थ-
मौपासनेन । बह्वचारिणं कपालसन्तपनाग्निना ॥ उत्तपनीयेनेतरान् । एवं क्षिप्यः नौ. वि. सू.
III. 1. 9-13.

528c. अधोदककर्मादिवर्धे मेत मात्रापित्रोराशीर्चं शौचमेतेतरेषामेकारात्रं त्रिरात्रं च ।
शरीरमङ्गुष्ठा निखनन्ति ।... नात्रोदककर्म । पारस्कारयुक्त III. 10 ; ऊनद्विपार्थिकं मेतं घृताकं
निखनेद्भुवि । यमगाथा गायमानो यमसूक्तमनुस्मरन् । यम q. by मित्रा on या. III. 1. यमगाथाः
are verses addressed to यम such as 'nāke suparnam' (Rg. X. 123.6 acc. to
दीपकालिका), or तै. अ. VI. 5. 3 अहरहर्नयमानो नामस्यं द्रुक्ष्वं जगत् । देवस्वतो न दृप्पति
यजामिर्मानवेर्यमः ॥ , or नौरुष कौण्डिण्य जगत् and the two following verses from तै. अ.,
VI. 5.2 (acc. to अपरार्क p. 871) and द्युतिच. (आशीचक्राण्ड p. 201).

and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūkta (Rg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V. 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after *nāmakaraṇa*. Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz. it may be buried or cremated after *nāmakaraṇa* or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the *sapinda* relatives should follow the dead body. If a child is two years old or more at death and *upanayana* has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose *cūḍā* (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi.^{528d} The Vaik. Sm. S. V.11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl. After *Upanayana* the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an *āhitāgni* so far as they could be applied (i. e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra 'asmāt tvam-abhijātosī' was not to be recited). The Baud.⁵²⁹ P. S. (II. 3.10-11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of *cūḍā* (tonsure) and there is no *pitṛmedha* for those whose *upanayana* had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable 'om' and those that have had teeth with the *Vyākṛtis*. The Mit. on Yāj. III.2 summarises the rules as follows: Before *Nāmakaraṇa* there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after *Nāmakaraṇa* up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial; from the third year up to *upanayana* there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras); if *Cūḍā* ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After *Upanayana* the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an *āhitāgni*.

528d. दुष्णीमिवोक्कं कुर्यान्नुष्णीं संस्कारमेव च । सर्वेषां कृतचूḍानामप्यन्नापीच्छया
इत्यहं ॥ लौगाक्षि १. by मित्त. on या. III. 1.

529. न प्राहुः चोलात्मनीतानां वदने विद्यते । नाहुपनीतानां कस्यानां वा पितृमेघः ।
बी. वि. द् II. 3. 10-11. सायण on ते आ. III. 21 explains 'आहिताग्निमेवे सति
यो ब्रह्मतत्त्वं जानाति तस्य वदनादिसंस्कारा ब्रह्ममेघः । आहिताग्नेर्यो वदनादिसंस्कारः सोऽथ
पितृमेघः ।.'

A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmachārin and yati are to be cremated with *uttapana* fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kuticaka kind and quotes a⁵³⁰ verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The⁵³¹ Baud. P. S. III.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a *parivrājaka*.⁵³² One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the *vyāhrtis*; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven *vyāhrtis* each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the *mantra* (Tai. S. I.1.3.1) 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering (the dead body).' He should place in the right hand the staff of the *parivrājaka* (breaking it into three parts) with the *mantra* 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I.22.17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.2.13.1). He places the *śikya* (loop of strings) in the left

530. कुटीचकं तु प्रवहेत्पूरयेच्च बह्वक्कम्। हंसो जले तु निक्षेप्यः परहंसं प्रपूरयेत्॥
q. by स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98, वृद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. For the four kinds of sannyāsins, vide of H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 338-342.

531. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः। वृथिभ्यां 'अक्षिण्यामोषधीभ्याम्' इति शरीरं निधाय 'भूमिर्भूमिमगात्माता मातरमप्यगात्। भूयास्म पुत्रं। पञ्चभिर्यो नो द्वेष्टि स भिद्यताम्' इत्युदरे पात्रं निधायथ होतारमधीत्य तस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कमण्डलुं निदधाति प्याद्वतिभिर्वैवयजनं पूरयेत् 'अग्निनाग्निः समिधये' इत्यशेषसंस्कारोऽश्वमेधफलम्। तत्रोदाहरति। शृगालश्च बायसाः खादन्ति चेद्दोषमाहारयेत्कर्तुः तस्मादभिज्ञाङ्गं वेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायनः। बौ. पि. सू. III. 11. अग्निना अग्निः is Rg. I. 12.6 (= Tai. S. I. 4.46.3). The *mantra* भूमिर्भूमिः occurs in बौ. . सू. I. 4.9 also,

532. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः। ग्रामात्मात्रीयुदीची वा गत्वा बह्वक्कस्याधस्तात्तद्दीपिरे वा कुञ्चौ देशे वा दण्डप्रमाणं देवयजनं प्याद्वतिभिः खात्वा त्रिःसप्तप्याद्वतिभिः प्रोक्ष्य दर्भान्संस्तीर्यालङ्क्य शवं निदधाति श्वश्रे विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्वेति। इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे इति दक्षिणहस्ते दण्डं निदधाति। यदस्य पारे रजस इति सव्यहस्ते शिक्कयम्। येन देवाः पवित्रेणेति कुल्ले जलपवित्रम्। सावित्र्या उदरे बह्वभाजनम्। भूमिर्भूमिनेति शुद्धो कमण्डलुः। क्षितिः क्षुण्णिति दशहन्तित्रिभिरक्षुमन्त्रयते। नात्र शेषसंस्काराः पूर्वमनुष्ठित्यात्। सर्वसङ्गनिवृत्तस्य ध्यानयोगरतस्य च। न तस्य दहनं कार्यं नक्षौचं नोदकक्रिया॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98. The Baud. Gr. Śeṣasūtra IV. 17.9 reads 'शुद्धो कमण्डलुः चैव भूमिर्भूमिमगाद्विति'. The verse सर्वसङ्गः occurs in Baud gr. Śeṣasūtra IV. 17. 17-18. According to the Baud. Dh. S. II. 10.11 the paraphernalia of a yati is: यक्षयः शिक्कयं जलपवित्रं वामण्डलुं पात्रमिति.

hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV.2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I.4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gāyatri stanza (Rg. III.62.10, Vāj. S. III. 35, Tai. S. I.5.6.4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittiḥ sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. Ā., Maitrāyaṇī S. I 9. 1 which are called 'caturhotāraḥ').⁵³³ The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before. No cremation should be done, no *āśauca* should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smṛtyarthasāra adds that no *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* nor *sapīṇḍikarapa* is performed for an ascetic, but only *pūrvapa* on the 11th day, that a *kuṭicaka* should be cremated, the *bahūdaka* should be buried, *haṁsa* should be thrown into water and *paramahaṁsa* should be thoroughly buried. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 634-635) quotes the Smṛtyarthasāra and then adds a few details from Brhat-Śaunaka, viz. that the dead body of a *yati* should be bathed with the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering' (Tai. S. I. 1. 3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I. 22. 17), then pierce the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhūr-bhuvah-svah', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws). The Dharmasindhu (p. 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated. It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no *yati* except *kuṭicaka* should be cremated. In modern times a *sannyāsin* is always buried and not cremated, since *kuṭicaka* and *bahūdaka* kinds of *yati* are no longer in vogue and it is only the *paramahaṁsa* that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

533. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 993 notes 2247 and 2248 for the *Daśahotāraḥ* and their relation to *caturhotāra*.

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle śrauta or smārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 933-934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or smārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhanasasmārtasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an āhitāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was āhitāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smṛti quoted by the Mit. and the Smṛti-candrikā (I. p. 121) provides that in the case of a *sūtikā*, one should take water and *pañcagavya* in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'āpo hi sthā' Rg. X. 9. 1-9, verses addressed to Varuṇa) over them, should then bathe the *sūtikā* with water and *pañcagavya* and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 171 ff and Nirṇayasindhu p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud. P. S. III. 9, Nirṇayasindhu p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries. The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed⁵³⁴ by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively. Vide Vendidad, Fargard III (S. B. E. Vol. 4 pp. 31-32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S. B. E. Vol. IV part I Intro. p. XLV),

caves,⁵³⁵ or being mummified (as in Egypt). The general rule in India from times of which we have literary evidence was cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c. How the ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-rending method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to say⁵³⁶. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30. 14 (mā nu bhumigrho bhuvat) and 18. 2. 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows: O Agni! bring all those *pitr*s here in order that they may partake of the offering, those (*pitr*s whose bodies) were buried or cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in caves?)^{536a}. In the word 'anagnidagdhāḥ' occurring in Rg. X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage in the Chāndogya⁵³⁷ Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows: Therefore they designate even now a man, an *asura* who does not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices; for this is the esoteric doctrine of Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with *bhikṣā* (perfumes and flowers?), with a raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear, the reference to Asuras, their usage of decorating the dead body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it probable that the usage of the burial of the body among Asuras is referred to. In Rg. VII. 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuṇa!

535. In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza Barberini. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Puckle's 'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham).

536. Vuilliamy in 'Immortal man' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible.

536 a. ये निखाता ये परोता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिताः। सर्वोस्तान्म आ वह पिबून्हविषे अस्तवे॥ अथर्व० 18.2.34.

537. तस्मादप्यद्योहादवानमश्रद्धानमपजमानमाहुरासुरो बतेत्यसुराणां ह्येषोपनिषत्पेतस्य सतीरं भिक्षया बतमेनालङ्कारेणेति संस्कृत्ययेतेन ब्राह्मं लोकं जेष्यन्तो मय्यन्ते। छा. उप. VIII. 8.5.

may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (śmaśāna) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the Śat. Br. and other sources. In A. V. XVIII. 2. 25 it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as Matthew 22. 23-33, Mark 12. 18-27 and Luke 20. 37-38, John 5. 19-31 and 6. 32-56) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of *Reg. v. Price* illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner.⁵³⁸ It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The Śat. Śr. 29. 4. 29 and Vaik. Śr. 31.23⁵³⁹ prescribe that if an ahiṭāgni died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is several times said that the body of Daśaratha was placed for several

538 (1884) 12 Q. B. D. p. 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. अहिताग्निमज्जने प्रसीतं तैलद्रोण्यामवधाय झकटेनाहरन्ति निर्मल्येन वा दग्ध्वा कुण्डलाजिनेऽग्नीनि निधायान्तेन वाससा संवेष्ट्य क्षीर्बर्से प्रवधयामधो निदधानाः प्रयता दृग्मयभाजना आहरन्ति। सत्या. श्रौ. 29.4. 29; almost the same words occur in वैकान्तश्रौत 31.23 p. 312 (Caland's ed.).

days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (vide Ayodhya 66. 14-16, 76.4). In the Visṇupurāṇa ⁵⁴⁰ it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

What the state of things was before the composition of the Rgveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the Rgveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I. p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya ⁵⁴¹ Nandan-garh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small *repousse* golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess. These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāralatā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Ādipurāṇa to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees. ^{541a}

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arāhats) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusināra, that the Mallas took perfumes,

540. निमिरपि तच्छरीरमतिमोहं तैलमन्थादिभिर्व्याप्तिक्रमार्णं चैव क्लेशादिकं द्योतयन्तं सद्यो सुतमिव तथौ । निष्कृष्टान IV. 5. 7.

541. Vide T. Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp. 227-232 for the excavations at Lauriya; also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India; Prof. V. G. Childe in 'Man' for 1945 p. 13 ff. for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof. E. O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap. VII on 'Last rites.'

541a. मजा हूतो निष्कम्बन्तो वरहास्यं वृत्तात् सहा । आसद्य (उय?) हूतो गच्छन्ति छुत्तकाश्च स्वयम्भवाश्च । अविहुराश्च q. by हारलता p. 126 which explains "वरहवृत्त-धर्मस्तु वनस्पत्यावृत्ते प्रवृत्तादितमवेको वर्धमेकमवलम्ब्य स्थापयन् । ततो वज्रजलकादितिरयं वृत्तः".

garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the sāla grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29-32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body. The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmaṇas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (*Thūpas*) over the relics and the Moriyas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmaṇa Dona (Drona) built a mound over the jar (kumbha) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E. vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual⁵⁴², though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gr.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655-671 and 881-913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahava relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B. C.) and in which 700 articles were

(Continued on the next page)

After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yāj. III. 7 and G. P. S. I. 4.2⁵⁴³). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22-53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that *Kāla* (Time, Death) has on every body including even Indra, gods, *daityas*, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i. e. Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how śrāddha confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer śrāddha and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is *dharma* that alone follows the soul through his wanderings⁵⁴⁴. Yāj. III. 8-11 (= Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 81-84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

(Continued from the last page)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78-80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a *tope* (Pāli 'thūpa'), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. लोकसूक्ष्म कल्याणनिर्वाणः सत्त्विकाभिः कपाभिः दुरागैः सुकृतिभिः सुखा सोऽसुखा ब्रजन्ति। नीतमपिदुमेवसूत्र I. 4. 2.

544. It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29, 48-49 and 51-53 are the same or almost the same as Bhagavadgītā II. 27, 28, 13, 23-25 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenusaśasreṣu &c.) is the same as Śāntiparva 181. 16, 187.27 and 323.16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 78. 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20.41 is the same as Śānti 175. 15 and 322. 73. The कल्प-तंत्र (सूत्रि pp. 91-97) quotes वाङ्. (III. 7.11), विष्णु 20.22-53 and गीता II. 13, 28.

are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when *pralaya* takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhilasmr̥ti III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you.' Gobhila then quotes Yāj. III. 8-10 and one verse from the Mahābhārata ^{544a} viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāsudeva's words from the Śalyaparva to Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the death of Duryodhana. The Par. M. I. 2 pp. 292-93, the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 205-206 and several other works quote the verses of Viṣṇu, Yāj. and Gobhila.

The Garudapurāṇa here (II. 4. 91-100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a *pativratā*, and states that a brāhmaṇa woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that kṣatriya and other women may do so, that the practice of *satī* is common to all women even including chāṇḍāla women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a *Satī*.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the *nimba* tree, perform *ūcamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According ⁵⁴⁵ to Śaṅkha the relatives should touch the tendrils of *Dūrvā*, fire and a bull, should offer a *piṇḍa* to the departed at

544a. सर्वे क्षयान्ता निश्चयाः पतनान्ताः सञ्जुष्टयाः । संयोगा विमयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥ This is Śāntiparv 331.20 (in 330. 20 in Citrasālā edition).

545. दूर्वापलमग्निं दूषयं चालभ्य दृष्ट्वारे मेताय पिण्डं दत्त्वा पञ्चात्मविशेषुः । कण्टकं, by मिता. on वा. III. 13, पृष्ठ. म. I. 2 p. 293.

the door of the house and then enter it. Baijavāpa ⁵¹⁶ q. by Śuddhitattva prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching *śamī*, the stone (*āsmā*), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals; food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yaj. III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting *nimba* leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śān. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17-27, Baud. P. S. I. 12.10, Kausikasūtra 82.33-35 and 42-47, Pār. gr. III. 10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 3.10.4-10, Gaut. Dh. 14.35-36 Manu V. 73, Vas. 4.14-15, Yaj. III. 16-17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.14-17, Samivarta 39-43, Śaṅkha 15.25, Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5.1-5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near *sapiṇḍa* by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days. ⁵¹⁷ The Śān. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17-24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

546. शमीमालभन्ते शमी पापं शमयन्ति अश्मानमग्नेवे स्थितो भूयासमिति अग्नि-
मग्निर्नः शर्म यच्छान्तिं उपोतिव अन्तरा नाममजस्रपशून्तः कृत्वा लम्बा वा प्राप्य गृहमे-
कात्मलवणमेकरात्रं दिवा भोक्तव्यं त्रिरात्रं च कर्मोपरमणम् । वैजवाप quoted in
कल्पतरु (शुद्धि p. 100), छुद्धितत्त्व p. 319, the छुद्धितत्त्व itself being q. by निर्णयसिन्धु
III. p. 580 (which reads लम्बा वाग्वनेहादिका-).

547. अथः श्रद्धया हविष्यभक्ष्यता मत्पुत्रं च कर्मणा वैतानवर्जमेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं नवरात्रं
वा, वासञ्जयनाद्व्रतानि । शं. श्रौ. IV. 15.10; मातरि पितर्योश्चार्थ इति त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवण-
भोजनमभःशयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं इवहं बहहं द्वादशाहं संवत्सरं यावत् ब्रह्मं द्वादशाहवारार्थं परम-
शुद्धिभेदमर्चोदकमितरेषु त्रिरात्रं यावज्जीवं वेतयन्ती । बो. पि. सू. I. 12.10; न स्वाध्यायम-
धीयीत् । नित्याग्निं निवर्तेरन्वैतानवर्जम् । शालाङ्गो चैके । अग्न्य एतानि कुर्युः । पार. श्रु.
III. 10 (ascribed to पैठीनसि in मिता. on वा. III. 17); उभयत्र द्वादशाहानि कुलस्याक्षं
न मुच्यते । द्वात्रिंशतिग्रहो होमो स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते॥ cited as मनु's in अपराक्ष p. 892,
पार. मा. I. 2. p. 211. Aparārka and others explain that the cessation of homa
refers to smārta and not to *śrauta* homa. The last verse is ascribed to दम
by मिता. on वा. III. 17, where it adds the half verse एतके तु कुलस्याक्षमदोषं मनु-
जयीत् । The विष्णुपुराण III. 13.18 reads द्वात्रिंशत्तर्पणमाहानि कुलस्याक्षं... निवर्तते ॥

let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary ⁵⁴⁸ salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pār. gr. III. 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14-15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III. 17 and Pār. III. 10 ⁵⁴⁹ provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a *śikya*) with the words 'O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk'. Yāj. III. 17, Pāṭhīnāsī, Manu V. 84, Pār. gr. III. 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the *śrauta* fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇamāsa) and in the *smārta* fire (such as morning and evening *homa*) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as 'one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives'). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mit. ⁵⁵⁰ on Yāj. III. 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily *Mahāyajñas* are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Samvarta a brāhmaṇa should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapinda), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III. 10 'anya etāni kuryuḥ') expressly lays down. Only *nitya* and *naimittika* acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so *kāmya* rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotrina

548. For the different explanations of 'kṣāra-lavaṇa' vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 304 n. 723.

549. वेताञ्च स्नाहीत्युक्तं स्वाप्यं पिब वेदमिति क्षीरम् । पार. वृ. III. 10.

550. श्रुते कर्मणां त्यागः सम्प्रदायानां विधीयते—इति यद्यपि सम्प्रदायाः विविक्तैः श्रुते तथाञ्जलिप्रक्षेपादिकं कुर्यात् । श्रुते साभिज्या ऋजलि प्रक्षेप्य प्रक्षेपिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं इषाय-
ज्जनसकुर्यादिति पेडीनालेस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 17. श्रुते कर्मणां त्यागः इति गोभिल-
श्रुति III. 60. Vide विश्वपुराण III. 13. 18 'दानं प्रतिग्रहो होतः स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते'.

perform their śrauta *nitya homa* during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another. (Vide Yaj. III. 17, Manu V. 84). Although there is a text of Gobhila-smṛti (III. 60) prohibiting the performance of *sandhyā*, yet relying on a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi the Mit. says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smṛtimuktāphala (p. 478) say that *sandhyā* mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the *prāṇāyāma* mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.6 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death *homa* (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Vaik. Sm. S. VI.4 states that the performance of *sandhyā* adoration, all rites for the gods and manes, gift and acceptance and Veda study should be given up during impurity on death. Gautama 14.44 appears to hold that a brāhmaṇa is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Saṁvarta ⁵⁵¹ (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five Mahāyajñas nor of Veda study. The Nityācāra-paddhati p. 544 states that even in āśauca the thousand names of Viṣṇu may be recited.

Asthisañcayana or *Sañcayana* means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smṛti works, such as Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 12-18, Sat. Śr. 28. 3, Āśv. gr. IV. 5. 1-18, Gaut. P. S. I. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10-12, Baud. P. S. I. 14, Kausika-sūtra 82. 29-32, Vaik. Smṛta Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87-88, Saṁvarta 38, Gobhila-smṛti III. 54-59 (q. by Hāratalā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat. Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: ⁵⁵² 'bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th.' Saṁvarta (verse 38) and Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5. 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons. The Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 97-98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चपञ्चविधानं तु न कुर्यात्सुत्यजम्ननोः । तृणाहारं परं सम्पत्तिवशोऽधीयते धर्मवित् ॥ सर्ग 43.

552. अपरेषुस्तृतीयस्यां पञ्चम्यां सप्तम्यां वात्यग्निं सञ्चिनोति । सत्या. ओ. 28. 3.1 ; अथ सञ्चयनं व्युत्ते द्विराथ त्रिराथ चतुराथ पञ्चराथ वा । गो. वि. सू. I. 5. 1 ; प्रथमेऽङ्गि चतुर्थे वा सप्तमे वादित्यजपम् । ऊर्ध्वं सञ्चयनाद्येवामङ्कुर्यमां विधीयते ॥ बालनक्षत्राण 114. 97-98.

that the four varpas should respectively perform *sañcayana* on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. S. IV. 5. 1 states that *sañcayana* should be performed after the 10th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven *tithis* (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a *nakṣatra* which bears a name not applicable to two or more *nakṣatras* (i. e. except on the two *Āśādhās*, two *Phalgunis* and two *Bhādrapadās*). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82. 29, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 14, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that *sañcayana* must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number⁵⁵³ not being together with women, (i. e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles on it with a *śami* branch milk mixed with water with a verse 'śitiko' (Rg. X. 16. 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i. e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18. 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Rg. X. 18. 11). After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Rg. X. 18. 12). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra 'ut te stabhnāmi' (Rg. X. 18. 13) (he fills up the pit). Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer *śrāddha* to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in 'Man in India', vol. 16

553. The *Hāratalā* (p. 184) explains अनुजो मिथुनाः स्वरसः (in आश्व. घृ.) as 'मिथुनं पुनश्च वृषभश्चानात् त्रयो मिथुनाः वृष पुनश्च ह्यर्थः पञ्च वा मिथुना वृष पुनश्च स्वरसः यत्पुनश्चरसः'. It is probable that women also accompanied the *cortège* to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the *Hāratalā* only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.

pp. 223-307 regards (p. 285) Rg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p. 287) that Rg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kausikasūtra (82. 29-32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18. 2. 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpani verses and carried with the verses called Harinis (i. e. A. V. 18. 2. 11-18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mā tvā' (A. V. 18. 2. 25 'May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee').⁵⁵⁴

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Bṛhati fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra 'uttisthata' (Tai. Ā. VI. 4. 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet. They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a *śami* or *palāśa* tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyeṣṭi-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āśv. gr. quoted above. It says: the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a *saṅkalpa* (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

554. मा ते ममो यत्ने अङ्गमिति सञ्चिनोति पञ्चः । प्रथमं शीर्षकपालानि । पश्चात्कलशे संनोप्य सर्वसुरभिर्गूर्णैर्वकीर्णैर्यापनीमिदस्याप्य हरिणीभिर्हरेयुः । मा त्वा हृत इति हृष्यन्तु निदधाति । कौशिकसूत्र 82. 29-32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield. They should be read as पञ्चः प्रथमम् । शीर्षकपालानि पश्चात् । कलशे etc. For the उत्थापनी verses see n. 474. The हरिणी verses from अथर्ववेद are 18.2. 11-18 and are the same as Rg. X. 14.10-12 and X. 154. 1-5.

tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his gotra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a śāmi branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra 'śitike' (Rg. X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āśv. gr. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances. They also winnow the ashes with a *śūrpa* and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra 'approach this mother, Earth' (Rg. X. 18. 10). With Rg. X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Rg. X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Rg. X. 18. 13. Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one's sūtra or from the work of Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Nārāyaṇa, Kamalākara's grandfather).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (19. 11-12) and Anu. 26.32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purāṇas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter's son or a relative on the father's or mother's side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyaṇa prāyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river ^{55a} or cast them into the sea. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Śaunaka. It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatrī and the other mantras usually repeated over

55a. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point.

तत्र शाश्वतः । द्वारवर्षा सेतुबन्धे गोदावर्या च पुष्करे । अस्थीनि विचजेद्यस्य स धृतो धृति-
साधुपात् । सङ्कलिसितौ । गङ्गायां च प्रयागे च केवारे पुष्करोत्तमे । अस्थीनि विधिवत् त्यक्त्वा
कथायां पिण्डो भवेत् । पित्रोर्ममात्मसम्बन्धेत तौ निर्व्यं मोक्षनामिनौ । इति । योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः ।
गङ्गायां यमुनायां वा कारेर्षी वा शतब्रह्म । सरस्वत्यां विक्षेपेण ह्यस्थीनि विचजेत्तुतः ॥

pañcagavya. With the four mantras 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras 'eto nvindram stavāma suddham &c.' (Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow's urine, cow's dung, cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuśas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuśas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Rg. I.22.16. Rg. VIII. 95.7-9,⁵⁵⁵ Rg. VII. 56.12-14, Rg. X. 126.1-8, Rg. X. 119.1-13, Rg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamāni verses), Rg. X. 128.1-9, Rg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a *hiranya brādhā* for the deceased, offer *pinḍu* to him and perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, *darbhas*, cow's hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with 'udiratām' (Rg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing *ūcamana* one should not hold the bones.

The Nirṇayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no *asthi-sañcayana* for one whose upanayana had not been performed.

The Āśv. gr. IV.6, the Sat. Śr. 28.4, Śān. Śr. 4.6 (called *paridhikarma*) and some others prescribe a *śānti* rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II. 3.3) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the *Śānti* rite after the ten days of impurity have expired ('*daśarātre saucam kṛtvā śāntiḥ*'). It is described by Āśv. gr. as follows: They who have lost a *guru* (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse 'I send away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Rg. X. 16. 9). Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

555. It should be noticed that in Rg. VIII. 95.7-9 the word 'suddha' (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones. Similarly, in Rg. VII. 56.12 the word 'śuci' (pure) occurs six times.

walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of *śami* flowers, with fuel of *śami* wood, with two pieces of *śami* wood for kindling fire⁵⁵⁶ and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of *kuśa* grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the arapls) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātavedas' (Rg. X. 16.9 latter half). Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Rg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world' and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life'⁵⁵⁷ (Rg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Rg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they place a mountain between themselves and death' (Rg. X. 18.4 last *pāda*) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Rg. X. 18.1-4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Rg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young *darbha* blades and cast

556. Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B. E. vol. 29). The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his *śrauta* fires (vide *Āśv. gr.* IV. 4) and *smārta* fire (if any) and on his death the *śāntikarma* is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com. on Sat. Sr. 28. 4, 1 states that it is the *adhvaryu* priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

557. Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10.

away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are salving their eyes, with the verse 'these women, being no widows and having good husbands' (Rg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with 'the stream containing stones flows' (Rg. X. 53.8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (āpo hi s̥thā, Rg. X. 9.1-3), murmur the verse 'these have led round the cows' (Rg. X. 155.5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmured the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning 'May he burn away evil from us' (Rg. I. 97.1-8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmanas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmanas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Sat. Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse 'these women, not being widows' (Rg. X. 18.7 = Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse 'yatha tvam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2)⁵⁵⁸, that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil *yava* grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i. e. give up the observances of mourning).

Interesting information is furnished by the Sat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1-4) and Kāt. Śr.⁵⁵⁹ It is said in Sat. Br. that

558. The mantra is very significant, यथा तस्मिन्निनास्ति ओषधे पृथिव्या अधि । एषस्मि जन्मिन्नु किर्या यमसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन ॥ तै. आ. VI. 10. 2.

559. अथैकेषां कुम्भान्तं निधानमनाहिताग्नेः स्त्रियाश्च निवपयान्तं हविर्पाजिनः पुनर्हवनान्तं सोमपाजिन्श्चयनान्तमग्निञ्चित इति । सत्या. औ. 28. 4, 28; almost the same words occur in चौ. वि. सू. II. 3. 2. This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated Śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajūas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut. 8. 20.), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

the grave ⁵⁶⁰ or monument should not be built too soon after death, lest he (the performer) freshen up the sin of the deceased ; that he should make it a long time after and when people do not even remember the years (that have elapsed since the decease). He should make it in uneven years and under a single nakṣatra (i. e. containing a single star such as Citrā and Pusa, and not dual such as Punarvasu and Viśākhā or plural such as Kṛttikā) and on the New Moon day. Let him make it in autumn or in Māgha or in summer. The sepulchral mound should be four cornered, because the people who are worshippers of gods (or godly) make their burial mounds four-cornered, while those who are followers of Asuras, the Easterns and such like people, make them round. As to the choosing of the ground, the Sat. Br. states several views viz. he makes it on ground sloping towards the north or, according to some, to the south ; but the Sat. Br. disapproves of both the views and prescribes that he should make the burial mound on any level ground where the waters flowing from a southerly direction come to the east and stand still without dashing forward and on such a ground one may make it (burial mound). Let him make it on a pleasant and peaceful spot, but not on a road nor in an open space lest he should make the deceased's sin manifest. It should have the sun shining on it (at mid-day). It should not be made at a place

(Continued from the last page)

had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana. Modes of urn burial, earth burial and re-cremation resemble the funeral customs of the copper age folk of the lower Indus at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Vide Memoir No 31 of the Archaeological Survey of India by Ramprasad Chanda at pp. 13-14.

560. अधारमे इमंज्ञानं कुर्यान्ति ।...तद्वै न क्षिप्रं कुर्यात् । नेत्रवमचं करवाणीति चिर एव कुर्याद्वयमेव तस्मिन् करोति यत्र समा नातु च न स्मरेयुः...यद्यनुस्मरेयुः । अयुग्मेषु संदत्सरेषु कुर्यात् ।...एकनक्षत्रे...अमात्रस्यायाम् ।...शरादि कुर्यात् ।...माघे वा या नेऽयं भूदिति निदाघे वा नि नेऽयं धीयाता इति । अतः क्षान्ति ।...तरमाद्या वैष्यः प्रजाश्रुतः क्षत्रिणी ताः इमंज्ञानानि कुर्यात् ।...यथा आह्वयैः माघ्यास्त्यद्यत्वे परिमण्डलानि ।...अथातो भूमिजोषणस्य । उदीचीनमयणे करोति ।...दक्षिणाप्रवणे कुर्यादित्याहुः ।...वस्यैव समस्य सतः दक्षिणतः पुरस्तादाप एव संस्थाप्यो मग्नस्य सता दक्षिणमग्निमण्डलाक्षय्या अयोऽपिपथेरस्तंकुर्यात् ।...कम्यति कुर्यात् कं मेऽसदित्ययोऽं वति कं मेऽसदिति माघपथं कुर्यात् ।...अथातो भूमिजोषणस्य । उदीचीनमयणे करोति ।...तस्मिन् कुर्यात् । वस्यैवाह्वयैः कुर्यात् ।...चित्रं पश्चात्प्राप्य ।...यदि चित्रं न पश्चादापः पश्चाद्वापः करोति ।...यद्येव करोति ।...समूहः ।...न भूमिपाशागमिषिदध्यात् । न शरं नास्मनग्नां नाध्याप्यं न दक्षिणपथं नाश्वर्यापान्तिकं कुर्यात् ।...विभीतकस्य न तिलकस्य न रज्जुकस्य न हस्तिज्ज्वर्ण-स्वरोधस्य ये आग्नेये पापनामानः ।...अग्निविधयाग्निक्षितः इमंज्ञानं करोति ।...तद्वै न मग्नंकुर्यात् । नेत्रवमचं करवाणीति ।...पुरुषनात्रं त्वेव कुर्यात्...पश्चाद्वापः...अस्तरतो वर्षीयः । तद्विधायोपसलविदध्याग्निः स्यन्ध्याग्निः पर्यातनेति ।...ज्ञतपथम्. XIII. 8. 1; compare कौशिक 83. 5-7 for similar derivations of माघ, निदाघ &c.

where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśa plant or where reeds grow, or Aśvagandhā or Adhyandā, or Prāniparṇī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhītaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like śleṣmātaka or kovidāra). For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large. He should make it just a man's size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side. He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man's size.

The Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat. ⁵⁶¹ Br. The Śat. Śr. 29. 1.2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha or of the summer months (Jyestha and Āśāḍha).

The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8. 2-4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing. He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vaj. S. 35.1 'May the niggardly god-haters go away') and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode. He throws out the branch to the south side. He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses. Having given the order 'Yoke' he (the performer) utters the

⁵⁶¹ The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 23-29) states 'dikarakti puruṣamūtram mīmīte n(tarataḥ) pṛthu paśācca'.

mantra (Vāj. S. 35. 2).⁵⁶² Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 'May Vayu purify' along the north side towards the west; with 'May Savitr purify' along the west side towards the south; with 'Agni's lustre' along the south side towards the east; with 'Sūrya's brilliance' along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Yajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows. He then unfastens the team of oxen. To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S. 35.4); for long life he thereby prays for these (the performer's family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age. He then pours out that (jar of bones). He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it. He does so with Vāj. S. 35. 5-6. He then says to some one 'Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.' He then mutters Vāj. S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8-9. Now thirteen unmarked⁵⁶³ bricks each measuring a (human) foot (*pada*) have been made and are laid down

562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj. S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat. Br. Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat. Br. Verse 1 first half is 'अपेतो यस्तु पणयोऽ-
हुम्ना देवपीयः ॥'; सविता ते शरीरेभ्यः पुण्यिष्याल्लोकमिच्छतु । तस्मै युज्यस्तामुन्निषाः ॥
वाज. सं. 35. 2; वायुः पुनातु सविता पुनात्वग्नेर्ब्रोजसा सूर्यस्य वर्चसा । विदुष्यस्तामुन्निषाः ॥
वाज. सं. 35. 3.

563. The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 1248). The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped. Here it is the fathers to be honoured. Throughout Sat. Br. XII, 8.2-3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for pitrs in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers. In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1249). It is hence that the Sat. Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varṇas and for women are symbolic. Kṣatriyas, brāhmaṇas and vaiśyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Puruṣa (as stated in Rg. X. 90.12). The Kāt. Sr. (21.4 13-14) gives an option in the case of a kṣatriya viz. the mound may be as high as the chest or as high as a man with upstretched arms.

silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk); three are placed in front (representing the head); three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option). Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large. For a kṣatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee; or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offering). Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking 'May they ward off (*yavaya*) sin from me!' He covers it over with *Avakā* plants in order that there may be moisture (*ka* or joy) for him and with *darbha* grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a *palāsa* one in front, a *śāmi* one on the north corner, a *varāṇa* one behind and a *vṛtra*⁵⁶⁴ peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond. They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with Vāj. S. 35. 10 (= Rg. X. 53. 8). They cleanse themselves with *Apāmārga*⁵⁶⁵ plants with Vāj. S. 35.11; they thereby wipe away sin. They bathe at any place where there is water. With Vāj. S. . 35. 12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him.⁵⁶⁶ Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

564. The meaning of *Vṛtra-Saṅku* cannot be stated. Kāt. Sr. 213.31 reads देहशङ्कु for वृत्रशङ्कु and the Com. explains वृत्रशङ्कु as पाषाणशङ्कु.

565. अपामर्गमप किल्बिषमप कुर्यामपो रिपः । अपामर्गं त्वमस्मदप दुःखवर्णं तुव ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 11.

566. तुमिषिया न आप ओषधयः सन्तु तुमिषियास्तस्मै सन्तु योऽस्मान्नेष्टि च च वरं द्विष्यः ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 12.

home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vāj. S. 35.14 (ud vayam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves. Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of *tarana* wood round it he offers by means of a *sruva* (spoon) an oblation to Agni Āyusmat. Vāj. S. 35. 16 serves ⁵⁶⁷ as a *puronuvākya* (invitatory formula). He then offers with Vāj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed *Agnicayana*.⁵⁶⁸ In the case of him who has not performed *Agnicayana*, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar. Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vāj. S. 35. 15 (imam ⁵⁶⁹ jivebhyah). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29.13 ff. and Baud. P. S. I 17-20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of *agnicayana* which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with *vājina* from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29.1. 3-12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no *dhavana*, while 29.1. 13-32 deal with the procedure where *dhavana* is employed and sūtras from 33 deal with procedure common to both *pakṣas* (viz. one without *dhavana* and the other with *dhavana*) The building of a mound with clods (*loṣṭaciti*) in which there is *dhavana* is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows :— The members of the deceased's house

567. अग्न आहुतिं पवस आ सुवोर्जमिषं च नः । आरे वाचस्व कुचशुनाम् ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 16.

568. आपुष्मानग्ने हविषा वृषानो वृत्तप्रसीको वृत्तबोनिरेधि । वृत्तं पीत्वा मधु खाद गव्यं पितेव पुत्रमभिरक्षतादिमान् स्वाहा ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 17.

569. इमं जीवेद्यः परिधिं दद्यामि मेधां तु नाक्षपरो अर्धमेतत् । शतं जीवन्तु हारदः सुसन्धीरन्तर्दुस्तुं वृषतां पर्वतेन ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 15.

build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palāśa peg. In front of it one born of a śūdra woman or a *brahmacāndhu* (a brāhmaṇa only in name) sits down for a dialogue. He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) 'will you dwell with me.' That woman replies to him 'I shall not give (what you ask).' The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies 'I shall give for one night.' Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavana, which literally means 'sexual intercourse') was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom. The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and *kuśa* grass. On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with *vājina* with the mantra 'Vaiśvānare haviridam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6.1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses 'drapsaś-caskanda' and 'imam samudram' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6). Then the Sat Śr. (29.1. 26-29) provides that four *brahmacārins* or other brāhmaṇas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,⁵⁷⁰ that lutes (viṇā) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like *nālika*, *tūṇa*, *paṇava* are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of *dhavana* (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, half a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c.) according to one's ability or on the last day according to some.⁵⁷¹ If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570. Compare कौशिकसूत्र 85.10-11 'कस्ये वृजाना इति त्रिः प्रसप्तं मकीर्णकस्यः परिपन्ति वक्षिणाधूकनाभ्यानाः । एवं मध्यरात्रे अपररात्रे च ।' ; कस्ये वृजाना is अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 17.

571. On एकरात्राय वृजानीति दुतीये (सत्त्वा. श्रौ. 29. 1. 19.) the वेजयस्ती remarks 'एतच्च वृजानमात्रम् । न तु तेन सह वातः कार्यं वृजनेतेनाह'.

unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1.5-6) says ⁵⁷² that the site of the mound (*śmaśānāyatana*) is five *prakramas* on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. ⁵⁷³ Sat. Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a *prāṇika* (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a *vitasti* (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks. The Baud. P. S. I. 18 gives different ⁵⁷⁴ measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east; if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kausikasūtra ⁵⁷⁵ (85.4-10) gives certain options viz. the *maṇḍapa* on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 *prakramas* on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Śaunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of *prakramas*) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

572. अपराद्धे श्मशानायतनं विमिमीते पञ्च पञ्च प्रक्रमान् सर्वतः। यद् पुरस्तादित्येके। सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 5-6; the Com. वैजयन्ती explains 'तथा च पञ्च प्रक्रमसंमितं सम-चतुरस्रं लोच्यतेरायतनं भवति। प्रक्रमो द्विपदाक्षिपदो वेत्युक्ते सुत्वेन'.

573. श्मशानस्य मात्रा द्व्यङ्गुलं त्र्यङ्गुलं चतुरङ्गुलं यादेशो विनास्तिर्जातुदधनमूर्धदधनं स्विगद्वयं वैषोत्तमा मात्रा श्मशानस्य। सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 70. The com. says 'इदानी-मूर्धन्यप्रमाणमुच्यते। तत्र द्व्यङ्गुलादीनामष्टानामन्यतममूर्धन्यप्रमाणं स्थलस्य तस्यापरीष्टका-भ्येतयाः ११'.

574. तस्य मात्रा यदि शीवदधनं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जाभिदधनं यदि नाभिदधनं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जा-मुदधनं यदि जामुदधनं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जुदधनं &c.। को. पि. सू. I. 18.6; Dr. Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I. 15 p. 21) 'यदि शीवदधनं पुरस्ताज्जाभिदधनं पश्चाद्यदि नाभिदधनं पुरस्ताज्जामुदधनं पश्चाद्यदि जामुदधनं पुरस्ताज्जुदधनं पश्चात्'.

575. एकादशमिर्वैषद्विंशनाम्। अयुरममानानि परिमण्डलानि चतुरस्राणि वा शौनकि-नाम्। तथाहि दृश्यन्ते। चावाग्युक्च ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्तावानगिचितः। कौशिकसूत्र 85. 7-10.

quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called *loṣṭaciti*) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53),⁵⁷⁶ Baud. P. S. (I 19.4-7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Rg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII 3.52, 49 50, 51 and Tai. Ā. VI.7.1). One of these (Rg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Rg. X. 18.13) of a post (*sthūnā*). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a vedic custom which is mentioned by the śrautasūtras. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūtras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th *prāśna* what is called *pitṛmedha* while in *prāśna* 29 it describes the *brahmamedha*. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4-18 and it is stated⁵⁷⁷ (in Sat. Śr. 29.3. 20, 22) that the mantras called 'catur-hotārāḥ' are spoken of as *brahma* (in Tai. Br. III. 12.5) and that the procedure of *Brahmamedha* is to be employed only for an *ācārya* or a *śrotriya* and for no one else. The Vaijayanti by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that *prāśnas* 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from Bharadvāja. It may be stated here that the procedure of *dhavana* described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

576. विधितिलोद्यान् प्रतिविशमन्वीक्षणाय उपवधात्युत्ते स्तन्मोमीत्येतैः प्रतिमन्त्रं तिल-
मिश्राभिधानाभिधिः प्रदक्षिणं परिकिरत्येपीर्धाना इति । सत्या. औ. 29. 1. 53, on which
the Com. says अत्रापि पूर्वस्यो विन्यासः । ; अथ क्षेत्रवितुष्णीं चतुरो लोद्यादुपवधात्युत्ते
स्तन्मोमि...मिनीत्येति पुरस्तादुपवधाति ।...उच्छृङ्खलमाना पृथिवी हि तिष्ठसि सहस्रं मित उप हि
अवन्तात् ।...सम्पन्नेति दक्षिणतः । औ. पि. छ.

577. On 29. 3.2. (यं ब्रह्ममेध इत्याचक्षते) of सत्या. औ. the वैजयन्ती explains
'अत्र सहेतुकोऽधिकारः । यस्माद् ब्रह्मसंयुक्तो मेध इति विग्रहः । यज्ञशान्तिना मेधशब्देन व्यप-
देशसंस्तुतिः । चतुर्होतृसंयुक्तो दहनकल्प इत्यर्थः ।' On 'ताव परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते' सत्या. औ.
29. 3. 20, the वैजयन्ती says 'तान्चतुर्होतृन् । परब्रह्मज्ञानः तान्चतुर्होतृन्वाची । ब्रह्म वै चतु-
र्होतार इति । . .

modern times. In the Baud. ⁵⁷⁸ P. S. I. 17 there are passages that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Śr. on *dhavana*. Similarly, Kāt. Śr. ⁵⁷⁹ 21. 3. 6 provides (immediately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed) that as many jars should be taken as there are persons performing *dhavana* (or *dhuvana*) and the commentator explains that word as meaning 'fanning'.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn, expiatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the erection of a staff (*laṣṭi* i. e. *yaṣṭi*) as a funeral monument to the memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila (vide E. I. Vol. 16 pp. 23-25). In a long passage of the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885-886) it is stated that the charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges, that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and water, that a puṣkaraka tree should be planted there or an eḍūka (a structure) should be built over it. ⁵⁸⁰

The Sat. Śr. 28. 4. 28 and Baud. P. S. II. 3. 2 state as shown above that the rites immediately after death were performed only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones) underground in the case of those householders who had not set up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

578. एकाहं धुमुपकीर्ण्यहानि धुमुयुः पञ्चसतनरैकादशाहास्यर्धमासं धुमुयुयुरमा रात्रीर्यमासान् मासाद्वद्वत् संवत्सरं वा संपाद्य संधुमुयुरिति ।...अथान्तरेण ग्रामे च इमंज्ञानं आगारं वा विमितं वा कारितं भवति । बो. पि. सू. I. 17. 1 and 3; compare सत्या. ओ. noted above p. 252.

579. पावन्तो पुविष्यन्तः स्युस्तावतः कुम्भानावाय उत्राणि आपारिमितानि । कात्या. ओ. 21. 3. 6. On this the com. says: 'अग्रे अमात्यानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनामुपवाजनं वक्ष्यति । उपवाजनं धवन्म्'.

580. गृहीत्वास्थीनि तज्जलम् नीत्वा तोये विनिसिपेत् । ततः संमार्जनं घृतेः कर्तव्यं गोमया-
म्बुभिः ।...घृतेराच्छादनार्थं तु वृक्षः पुष्करकोऽथवा । एदुको वा प्रकर्तव्यस्तत्र सर्वैः स्वघ्न्युभिः ॥
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपराके p. 886; the same passage is quoted in रघुनाथ's Com-
mentary on विश्वकोकी (verse 28. p. 253) which explains पुष्करकः as पुष्करिणी
and reads एदुकाः for एदुकाः and explains it as चत्वरः.

It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Śat. Br. It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra recommended to women the practice of *Satī* as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband's death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (*antyakarmādhikārin*) are the same as those entitled to offer śrāddha. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled. For example, Gautama (Dh. S. 15, 13-14) states 'On failure of sons the sapindas (e. g. brother, brother's son), the sapindas of the mother (e. g. maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform śrāddha for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the ācārya (veda teacher).' Śaṅkha says⁵⁸¹ 'The offering of piṇḍa and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i. e. absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa⁵⁸² provides: 'the son, grand-son, great grandson (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapinda become entitled to offer (piṇḍa).' The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides (30, 19-21, chap. 27, 19-23 of the Venk. ed.) 'On failure of the sons, sapindas, on failure of them the samānodakas, then the sapindas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites; a daughter's son should perform them (if the man dies sonless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites performed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased)

581. पितुः पुत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोपकृत्या । पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्यात्पत्न्यभावे तु सोदरः ॥ गङ्गा q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 335, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 380.

582. पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा तद्वद्वा भ्रातृसन्ततिः । सपिण्डसन्ततिर्वापि क्रियार्हा ह्यप्यजायते ॥ तेषामभावे सर्वेषां समानोदकसन्ततिः । मातृपक्षस्य पिण्डेन संबद्धा ये जलेन च । कुलद्वयेपि कोस्तके क्षीभिः कार्या क्रिया ह्यपि । सङ्घातात्मनोर्वापि कार्या मेवस्य च क्रिया । उत्सन्न-बन्धुरिदधानां कारयेद्बन्धीयति । विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 31-33 q. by अथर्वसू. p. 433, स्मृतिच. II. p. 336, बरा. मा. I. 2. p. 461, स्मृतिच. p. 383. The विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अधिकारी in v. 34.

or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varṇas.⁵⁸³ There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Dayabhāga*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 734-743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer *pinda*s held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and *śrāddha*. Viṣṇu⁵⁸⁴ Dh. S. XV. 40 declares 'whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer *pinda* to him.' Yāj. II 127 says the same thing about the *Kṣetrajña* son (*ubhayorapyasau rikthi pinda-dātā ca dharmataḥ*).

The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 94) states the order of *adhikārins* as follows; a competent son is the first *adhikāri* for offering *pinda*; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother's son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter's son, any other *sagotra*, a *sapinda*, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer *pinda*. The father is not competent to perform *śrāddha* rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the *sapindikarapa*. Parents may offer *pinda* to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter's son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter's son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of *śrāddhādhikārins*, according to the *Dayabhāga*, vide H. of Dh.

583. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डास्तु तदभावे सहोदकाः । मातुः सपिण्डा ये च स्युर्ये वा मातुः सहोदकाः ॥ कुतुर्न विधिं सम्यगपुत्रस्य स्मृताहतः । कुतुर्मातामहायैवं पुत्रिकातनयास्तथा । सवाभावे क्षियः कुतुः स्वभर्तृणाममन्त्रकम् । तदभावे च दूषतिः कारयेत् स्वकुटुम्बिना । तज्जानी-येनैः सम्यग्दाहायाः सकलाः क्रियाः । सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां बान्धवो दूषतिर्यतः । मार्कण्डेयपुराण 30. 19-24 (B. I. ed.) q. by स्वपतिः II. p. 336, परा. मा. I 2. p. 463 (reads कारयेत्तस्य रिक्थतः). These verses (पुत्राभावे...दूषतिर्यतः) occur with the addition of a few half verses and variants in the ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 76-80 and the reading of the ब्रह्म (दूषतिः कारयेत्स्वकुटुम्बिना by someone who does not belong to the family of the deceased) is better and makes good sense.

584. दूतस्य रिक्थग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौषदेदहिकं दग्नाहन्तं कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः । यथायहः स पिण्डदायी स्वत इति । व्यवहारमूल p. 145.

vol. III p. 739. The *Nirṇayasindhu*⁵⁸⁵ says that in the Kālī age only two kinds of sons viz. *aurasa* and *dattaka* are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yaj. II 128-132) and the order of śrāddhādhikārin is given by it as follows: *aurasa* son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the *adhikārin*; if the eldest be not present or is *patita*, then the son next to the eldest is the *adhikārin* (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to *sapindikarāṇa* are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone. When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not *sapindikarāṇa* and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest. If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the *sapindikarāṇa*. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform *sapindikarāṇa*. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, *anumāsika*, *sapindikarāṇa* śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his *upanayana* performed and there be a son whose *upanayana* is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable *adhikārin*, provided he is either three years old or has the *cūḍā* ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu⁵⁸⁶. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of *Upanayana* except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic mantras the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585. औरस्ताभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रस्तदभावे दत्तकादप्येव ज्ञेयम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 381, which relies on Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 and Visṇu 15.46) and Yāj. I. 78. This is opposed to the धर्मसिन्धु p. 368 'दत्तकाभावे पौत्रः पौत्राभावे प्रपौत्रः। अन्ये तु औरस्ताभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रः प्रपौत्राभावे दत्तक इत्याहुः'.

586. अक्षपेतोऽपि कुर्वति मन्त्रवत् पेतुमेधिकम्। यद्यसौ कृतवृत्तः स्वाध्याये स्वाश्रितिवत्स्वरः। सुमन्तु प. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 465; निर्णयसिन्धु p. 382, मद्. परा. p. 403.

same way he should make only the declaration (*saṅkalpa*) of *darsaśrāddha* and *mahūlaya* and the rest may be performed by some one else. An adopted son becomes an *adhikārin* for funeral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed. If there be no lineal descendant up to a great-grandson and also no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras the funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas but if she is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply as in the case of an *anupanita* son. Even if the husband be not divided from his brother, or be re-united with his brother, it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as having *adhikāra* for śrāddha, though the brother gets all the property. Though some of the latest works on dharmasāstra like the *Nirṇayasindhu* ⁵⁸⁷ and *Dharmasindhu* (*bhāryayāpi samantrakam-eva-aurdhvadehikādikam kāryam*) allowed the wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several works such as the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Brahmapurāṇa* did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583 above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother would be the proper *adhikārin* after the wife. Among daughters the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter's son is an *adhikārin*; then a brother, then a brother's son. Among brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be *adhikārin*; in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter or daughter's son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a sagotra is to be preferred as an *adhikārin* to one of a different gotra. If there be no brother, then a full brother's son was to be preferred, then the half brother's son, then father, then mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

587. असंस्कृतेन पत्न्या च ह्यग्निदानं समञ्जकम् । कर्तव्यमितरत्सर्वं कारणेदम्यमेव हि ॥
 कात्यायन q. by मद्र. पा. pp. 402-403, which remarks 'यदा त्वज्जपनीतः पुत्रः संस्कृतो
 पत्नी वा तदाग्निदानमेव समञ्जकं कार्यम् ।'. This is opposed to the view of the
Viṣṇu-saṁhitā, *Varaṇasī* and other works.

full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister's son. If there be many sister's sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapindas;⁵⁸⁸ then samānodakas, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapindas of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son in that order; in default of the sapindas of the mother, the sons of the deceased's paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the *pitṛ-bandhus* such as the sons of the father's father's sister, of the father's mother's sister, of father's maternal uncle; then the *mātṛ-bandhus* such as mother's father's sisters's son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brāhmaṇa (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brāhmaṇa the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brāhmaṇa) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the *Dharma-sindhu* (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the *adhikārin*, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife's son, then co-wife's grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter's son; then husband's brother; then husband's brother's son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman's father; then her brother; then her brother's son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter left no son or other *adhikāri*. If a brahmacārin dies, his monthly, yearly and other śrāddhas should be performed by his father and mother. A brahmacārin may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, *upādhyāya* and *ācārya* and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another *adhikārin* is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A brahmacārin

588. The word *sapinda* here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relationship through males only; a *samānodaka* means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and *gotraja* means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.

should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brahmacārin performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe *āśauca* for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe *āśauca* only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo *prāyaścitta* and perform *upamayana* again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhāyana, the *Līngapurāṇa* (quoted in *Śrāddhaprakāśa* pp. 361-371), the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, the *Pitr̥dayitā* (p. 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (*antyesti*).⁵⁸⁹ This will be dealt with briefly later on under *śrāddha*. Further, if a man became *patita* and refused to undergo *prāyaścitta*, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of *ghaṭasphoṭa* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387-388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20. 2 and Manu XI. 182-183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and *śrāddha* and were also to observe *āśauca* for him.⁵⁹⁰

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 13. 34-39) wherein the rites (*kriyāḥ*) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *uttara*. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called *pūrva*, the *śrāddhas* performed monthly and *sapindikarāṇa* and *ekoddiṣṭa* are called *madhyama* rites and those that are performed after *sapindikarāṇa*, when the deceased has reached the position of *pitr̥* after being a *preta*, are designated *uttara*.⁵⁹¹ The *pūrva* and

589. अन्त्येष्टिमात्मनः कृत्वा क्षास्त्रतश्चोर्ध्वदोहेकम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 3.45 (B. I. ed.)

590. तस्य विद्यायुक्त्योनिसम्बन्धाश्च संनिपात्य सर्वाण्युद्धकादीनि प्रेतकार्याणि कुर्युः । गो. ध. सू. 20 2.

591. पूर्वाः क्रिया मध्यमाश्च तथा चैवोत्तराः क्रियाः । त्रिप्रकाराः क्रिया होतास्तासां भेदं स्पष्टं मे ॥ आद्याहाह् द्वादशाहाश्च मध्ये याः स्युः क्रिया मताः । पूर्वास्ता मध्यमा मासि मार्येकोद्विस्त्रिताः ॥ प्रेते पितृसम्पत्ते सपिण्डीकरणाद्वत् । क्रियन्ते याः क्रियाः पित्र्याः प्रोच्यन्ते ता ह्येत्तराः ॥ पितृमातृसपिण्डीश्च समानसलिलैस्तथा । तस्मिन्प्राप्तगंतेश्चैव राज्ञा वा धनहारिणा ॥ पूर्वाः क्रिया मध्यमाश्च पुत्रार्थेरेव चोत्तराः । दौहित्रैर्वा नरभेद कार्यास्तसन्प्रेस्तथा ॥ मृताहनि च कर्तव्याः क्षीणामप्युत्तराः क्रियाः । प्रतिसंवत्सरं राज्ञोकाद्विद्विभामतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 34-39, q. by अपरार्क pp. 433-434, स्मृतिच- II, p. 336; परा. मा. I. 2 p 464, मद्. पा. pp 478-79, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 387. The printed *विष्णुपुराण* reads आद्याहवार्जुधादिस्पर्शाद्यन्तास्तु याः क्रियाः । It has been provided in *विष्णुपुराण* III. 13. 21 that after the *brāhmanas* are fed on the 11th day after death the relatives should touch water, weapons, whip or a staff respectively according as they belong to the four *varṇas* and then they become pure.

madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapindas, samānodakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called *uttara* are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons. Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an *ekoddīṣṭa śrāddha* may be performed for them. There is also another classification of *śrāddhas* viz. *Navaśrāddha* (those rites up to ten days after death), *Navamīśra* (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), *Purāṇa* (those performed after a year).^{591 a}

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (*aśman*) placed on kuśa grass and one large pinḍa (called *pūraka-pinḍa*) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (*prācināvitī*) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a *preta*. On the pinḍa, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of *Bhr̥ngarāja* (called *mākā* in Marathi) and *Tulasī* also. The verse 'anādi-nidhano' was to be repeated⁵⁹². The performer throws the pinḍa in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D. pp. 43-50 and *Antyestī-paddhati* of Nārāyaṇa for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the Āśvalāyana-*gṛhyaparīṣiṣṭa*⁵⁹³ III, 6 speaks of five *śrāddhas* called 'nava-

591 a. नवश्राद्धं दशाहानि नवमिधं तु षड्भूतसूत्रम् । अतः परं पुराणं वै त्रिविधं श्राद्ध-
मुच्यते ॥ आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे Q. by अपरार्क p. 525, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 395.
अपरार्क (p. 521) says: एकोद्दिष्टमुक्तं तच्च त्रिविधम् । नवं मिधं पुराणं च । तत्रैकादशाहान्तं
नवम् । तदूर्ध्वमा संवत्सराभिमुखम् । तत् उत्तरं पुराणम् । The printed आश्व. गृ. परि. III. 9
(B. I. edition) reads अर्धैकोद्दिष्टं तत् त्रैधा भवति नवं मिधं पुराणं चेत्यन्तर्दशाहे नवं
मिश्राणि मासिकानि चतुर्वर्षादौ पुराणानि । The सूत्रोक्त on आशौच p. 175 quotes
मजापति 'नवश्राद्धं दशाहान्तं मिधं संवत्सराधि । एकादशाहमात्रम् कुर्यात्पेतवस्तुक्तये' ॥

592. अनादिनिधनो देवः शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । अक्षयः पुण्डरीकाक्षः पेतमोक्षप्रदो भव ॥
quoted by अर्यशेष्ठिपद्धति of नारायण.

593. अथ नवश्राद्धानि दशाहेषु विषमदिनेष्वमेव कुर्यात्पेतमभिस्तथाव ब्राह्मण-
मुद्व्युत्सहस्रपदेय तस्मिन्सूत्र्यां तिलानवकीर्ष काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तामुष्मिजहनि एतदामं त्वामुप-
तिष्ठतामिति तदहःसम्बन्धेनेत्युक्त्य पिण्डं चामग्न्योक्तव्यप्रदाय स्नायादेव चिथिरन्तर्दशाहकर्मणि ।
आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे III. 6. The नवश्राद्धs are एकोद्दिष्ट and several details
which occur in other श्राद्धs are omitted here and the word पितु is not to be
employed, but only the word पेत. The गृह्यपुराण (II. 29. 35-37) enumerates
eighteen details that were to be omitted in पेतश्राद्धs. Vide छान्दोग्यकाश pp. 215,
221; 'तथाचाक्षरैः । प्रथमेऽङ्गि दुर्त्येऽङ्गि पञ्चमे सप्तमे तथा । नवमेकादशे चैव तत्तद्वश्राद्ध-
मुच्यते ।' Q. by मद्र. पा. p. 618, the मित्र. on पा. I. 252 (without name) and
महोजि ०२ चतुर्विंश. p. 168.

śrāddhas' (or Viśamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Āpastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p. 464, Nirṇayasindhu p. 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214-216, Śrāddhatattva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Āngiras and Vasistha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud. Pīṭṛmedha S. II. 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Others do not approve of this. They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmaṇa or in front of a figure of a brāhmaṇa made with kuśas (called *cata* in Marathi). The Garuḍapurāṇa (II. 5. 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Yṛddha-Vasiṣṭha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a *preta*, unless the *navaśrāddhas* are performed. The Garuḍapurāṇa, Pretakhaṇḍa (chap. 34. 27-28, 44, 48) states that by the piṇḍas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two piṇḍas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at *navaśrāddha* and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyana expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a *sankalpa* and offers a piṇḍa with the words 'May this piṇḍa wait upon the *preta* named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c.) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the *preta* may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of *bhṛṅgarāja* and *tulasī*, repeats the verse 'anādinidhano' (note 592), removes the piṇḍa to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a *vedi* with

loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this pinḍa together with the jar of water wait upon the *preta* by name N. N., of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the *preta* had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a pinḍa with the jar of water only on the place meant for the *preta* and mere pinḍa to others. Then water is offered over the pinḍa and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the pinḍa placed to the west⁵⁹⁴. Then the *aśman* (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the *preta* on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

594. In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the pinḍa food. There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the pinḍa then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of *copra* and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfil the last desire of the deceased. Often it so happens that no crow touches the pinḍa food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 80 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the pinḍa offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires. In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires. The *Suddhikaumudī* refers to this offering to crows as a usage. तथाचारत् काकचलिदानम् । पिण्डभोजनार्थं यात्रे कृत्वा अहकगोत्रस्य प्रेतस्याहकहर्मणो विहोषमुत्तरे यमद्वारावस्थितवायसाय एव बलिर्नम इत्युत्सृज्य कृताञ्जलिः—काक त्वं यमदूतोऽसि दद्यान् बलिद्वयमम् । यमलोकगतं प्रेतं त्वमाप्तायितुमर्हसि । काकाय काकपुत्राय वायसाय महात्मने । दुःखं बलिं ययच्छामि यैस्त्वयं मुक्तिहेतवे ॥ इति पठेत् । छद्दिक्कौमुदी p. 135.

Some of the Purāṇas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an *ātivāhika* ^{594 a} body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and *ākāśa*) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the *piṇḍas* that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called *bhogadeha* (a body for enjoying the *piṇḍas* offered) and that at the end of a year when *sapīṇḍikarāṇa* is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word '*ātivāhika*' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.4 (*ātivāhikās-tal-lingāt*). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upaniṣads speak of the soul as going by the path of *arcis*, day &c. The sūtra says that these (viz. *arcis*, *ahāḥ* &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to *Brahma*. Govindānanda in his commentary on the Prāyascittaviveka (pp. 13-14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the *ātivāhika* or *pretadeha* and the *bhogadeha*. The belief was that the man on whose death no *piṇḍa* was offered or the sixteen *śrāddhas* (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

594 a. तत्क्षणादेव युष्माति शरीरमातिवाहिकम् । ऊर्ध्वं ब्रजन्ति धृतानि क्षीण्यस्मात्तस्य विग्रहात् ॥ आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ देहो भवति भार्गव । केवलं तन्मनुष्याणां नाग्येषां प्राणिनां काचित् ॥ मृतपिण्डैस्ततो दत्तेर्देहमाप्नोति भार्गव । भोगदेहमिति मोक्तं क्रमादेव न संशयः । मृत-पिण्डा न क्षीयन्ते यस्य तस्य विमोक्षणम् । इमंज्ञानिकेभ्यो देवेभ्य आकल्पं नैव विद्यते ॥ तत्रारय पातना घोराः शीतवातातपोद्भवाः । ततः सपिण्डकिरणे बाग्धवैः स कृते नरः । पूर्णे संवत्सरे देह-मनोर्यं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ततः स नरको याति स्वर्गं वा स्वेन कर्मणा । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण quoted by माय. वि. pp. 13-14, and छुद्रितत्त्व p. 324. गोविन्दानन्द explains क्षीणि धृतानि as 'शुषिण्यत्तेर्जाति' and thus differs from रघुनन्दन. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड chap. 10. 79. ff) says the same: 'उत्क्रामन्तं...ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥ आतिवाहिकमित्येवं वायवीयं वदन्ति हि । ...पुत्रादिभिः कृताश्चेत्तुः पिण्डा दश दशाहिकाः । पिण्डजेन तु देहेन वायुजश्चैकतां ब्रजेत् । पिण्डतो यदि नैव स्याद्वायुजोर्हति पातनाम् ॥.' The first verse (उत्क्रामन्तं) is गीता 15.10. The गरुडपुराण states: विग्रहः सुमहत्कृत्स्नं शरीरं पाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मजम् ॥...स्वशरीरं सद्यस्तु न वायुधृतस्तु गच्छति । chap. 214. 29-30 and 51; निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाद्य देहो प्राणीर्विमुच्यते ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः । अग्निपुराण 230. 2-3; युष्माति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं आतिवाहिकम् । आकाशावायुतेजांसि विग्रहादूर्ध्वगामिनः ॥ जलं मही च पञ्चत्वमापकाः पुरुषः स्मृतः । आतिवाहिकदेहं तु यमवृता नयान्ति तम् ॥ अग्नि. 371. 9-10. The मार्कण्डेय (10. 63-64) says 'वाय्वग्रसारी तद्वयं देहमन्यं प्रपद्यते । तत्कर्मजं यातनार्यं न मातापितृसम्भवम् ॥.'

tion of a *piśūca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him.⁵⁹⁵ The Brahmapurāṇa calls the body 'yātāniya' (i. e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāṇa calls it 'yātāniya' or 'ātivāhika' and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of *ākāśa*, *rājya* and *tejas*. The Padmapurāṇa (IL 67. 98) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtile body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation. The subtile body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mārka. 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purāṇas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Rg. X. 15. 14, X. 16. 4-5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1-2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br. to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmanas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*dakṣiṇā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmanas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

595. अथैतानि न दीयन्ते मेतश्चाद्धानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं भूयं तस्य इत्येः आह-
 शतैरपि ॥ यम प. by आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 362 and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on प्रा. नि. p. 14. Almost
 the same verse is लिखितस्थिति V. 16 and गणपतपुराण, मेतश्चाद्धानि 34. 131.

CHAPTER VIII

SUDDHI

Suddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āsauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āsauca, however, is the most important subject under suddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudī defines 'suddhi' as 'the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda.'⁵⁹⁶ The Smṛtis employ the word suddhi in relation to purification after āsauca. For example, Manu V. 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretasuddhi) and purification of things (dravyasuddhi). Manu V. 83 (= Dakṣa VI. 7) avers that a brahmana becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a ksatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smṛti starts chapter three by declaring 'I shall expound suddhi on birth and death.' Yaj. III. 14, 25 also employ the word suddhi. Therefore āsauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word *āsauca* is formed from *śuci* (pure) according to Pāp. V. 1. 131^{596a} and Pāp. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle *na* (a). In some smṛtis such as that of Devala the form 'āsucya' also is found (see Hāratalā pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala^{596b}). Another word which is often used as a synonym for āsauca is 'agha'. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word *agha* means 'sin' in the Vedic Literature (as in Rg. I. 97. 1-8, X. 117.6). But in the Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

596 वेदबोधितकर्माहता शुद्धिः । शु. कौ. p. 1.

596 a. इयन्ताञ्च लघुपूर्वात् । पा. V. 1. 131 (अन् अनुवर्तते)—शुद्धेर्भावः कर्म वा शौचम् । न शौचमशौचम् । This is one way of explaining the word. We may also explain न शुद्धिं अशुद्धिं, अशुद्धेर्भावः कर्म च आशौचं or अशौचं according to नञः शुद्धीभरक्षेत्रजकुशलनिपुणानाम् । (पा. VII. 3. 30).

596 b. जनने मरणे नित्यमाशुच्यमवस्थावति । देवल q. by हारलता p. 2 ; आशुच्यं वशारात्रं तु सर्वत्राप्यपरे विदुः । देवल q. by शुद्धिः p. 41.

Manu V. 84 (na vārdhayed-aghāhāni) the word 'agha' has come to mean the same thing as āsauca.⁵⁹⁷ The Padmapurāṇa II. 66. 73-74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 1 defines⁵⁹⁸ āsauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) pinda, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions. The Mit. adds that āsauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c.) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased). This definition of the Mit. appears to be an echo of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Saṅgraha. Haradatta⁵⁹⁹ on Gautama 14. 1 states that āsauca may be defined as 'the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.' A comparatively early writer Bhaṭṭācārya,⁶⁰⁰ appears to have defined 'suddhi' as the 'removal of sin' or as 'being fit for performing religious acts.' This was accepted by the Smṛti-candrikā, but rejected by Nandapāṇḍita, commentator of Śaḍasīti (pp. 2-3). Even the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 18) emphasizes that āsauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

597. नाघाहानि वर्धयेदुरिति ह स्माह कौपीताकिः । शां. औ. IV. 15. 11. The com. says 'अघाहनेनात्र मरणमुच्यते । येन हः सपिण्डमरणं संवृत्तं तावदाहानि मरणाद्वारम्येकरात्रादीनि यानि ज्ञतेर्योसांयुक्तानि तानि न वर्धयेदुः नाभ्यधिकानि कुर्युः । कर्मानधिकार-ज्ञतेरन्यमप्युः ।'.

598. आशौचज्ञेन च कालस्नानाद्यपनोद्यः पिण्डोदकदानादिविधेः अध्ययनादिपर्युदासस्य च निमित्तभूतः पुरुषगतः कश्चनातिशयः कथ्यते न पुनः कर्मानधिकारमात्रम् । मिता. on य. III. 1; अपनोद्यं त्विदं कालादिभिराशु निषेधकम् । पिण्डाध्ययनदानादेः पुंगवोतिशयो हि तत् ॥ गवह (प्रेतखण्ड 5.9) : निमित्तं पिण्डदानादेः पुरुषस्यमशुद्धिकम् । कालस्नानापनोद्यं यत्तदाशौचमितीयेत ॥ संग्रह q. by स्मृतिसु. (आशौच) p. 477.

599. किं पुनरिदमाशौचक्षणम् । कर्मण्यनधिकारोऽभोजयावताऽस्तृप्यता दानादिवनधिकारिता । हरवत् on गो. 14. 1.

600. छान्दिगद्धार्यस्तु पापक्षयः छान्दिधर्मयोग्यत्वमेव वा इति भट्टाचार्योक्तो ब्रह्मव्यः । पापक्षयः सपिण्डादौ जने मरणे वा तत्सम्बन्ध्यादावुत्पत्तयः पापविशेषस्य क्षयः । धर्मयोग्यत्वं दानादिवधर्ममुक्तानाहत्वम् । एवं छान्दिगद्धार्यो मतमेवेन द्विधा विहृतो भट्टाचार्यैः । स्मृतिसु. (आशौचकाण्ड p. 2). स्मृतिसु. p. 477 mentions this view.

religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The *Smṛtimuktāphala* follows this. Rudradhara in his *Suddhiviveka* (D. C. ms. No. 309 of 1887-91 folio 1) says that *suddhi* is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while *āsuddhi* is an attribute opposed to *suddhi* and arises on the occasion of the birth of a *sapinda* or the like.⁶⁰¹

Āśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth⁶⁰² (and so called *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka*) and that arising on death (and therefore called *śāvāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* or *maranāśauca*). *Śāva* is derived from *śava* (meaning a corpse). The word *sūtaka* occurs in the⁶⁰³ Ait. Br. (chap. 32. 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an *āhitāgni* partook of food from the house of him who was affected by *sūtaka*, then the *prāyaścitta* was to offer a *puroḍāśa* cooked on eight potsherds to Agni Tantumat. Tantu means also 'son or progeny' and so it may be argued that it is an indication that *sūtaka* is used in the Ait. Br. in the sense of impurity on birth. The word *sūtaka* is used in the *smṛtis* in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide Manu V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhilasmṛti III. 60 and 63;⁶⁰⁴ (3) impurity on death alone (as in Dakṣa VI. 1 and Gobhilasmṛti III. 48)⁶⁰⁵. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word 'sūtaka' is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (Śaḍaśīti, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a

601. शुद्धिस्तावदखिलधर्माधिकारापावको धर्मविशेषः। अशुद्धिस्तु तद्विरोधी धर्मविशेष एव। स च सपिण्डजन्मादिनिमित्तकः। शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

602. आशौचं द्विविधं कर्मानधिकारलक्षणं सृष्ट्यन्तलक्षणं च। स्मृतिश्रु. (p. 477).

603. तदाहुर्य आहिताग्निर्यदि घृतकाकं प्राश्नीयात्का तत्र प्राप्यभस्तरिति। सोऽग्नये तन्तुमतेऽष्टाकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपेत्तस्य याज्यानुवाक्ये तन्तुं तन्वस्त्रजसो भातुमिन्वह-
क्षानहो नक्षत्रनोत् सोम्या इति। आहुतिं बाह्वनीये जुहुयादग्नये तन्तुमते स्वाहेति। ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 8. तन्तुं तन्वन् is Rg. X. 53. 6 and अक्षानह is Rg. X. 53. 7.

604. घृतके कर्मणां त्यागः सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते। होमः शीतस्तु कर्तव्यः शुष्काक्षेनापि वा फलेः॥ गोभिलस्मृति called छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट q. by हारलता p. 6, छु. कौ., and आश्वम. p. 83.

605. घृतकं तु प्रवक्ष्यामि जन्ममृत्युनिमित्तकम्। यावज्जीवं तृतीयं तु यथावदनुपूर्वशः॥
वृक्ष. VI. 1; अष्टांगामलाये पार्णानि शकलान्युक्तयाहता। भर्जयेदस्थिसंलयानि ततः प्रभुति
घृतकम्॥ गोभिल III. 48. The 4th pāda of the latter is q. by हारलता p. 2.

few have to say anything on this question. Hārīta says: 'the family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)' ⁶⁰⁶.

The literature on Śuddhi (including āsauca) is very extensive. Apart from the sūtras, smṛtis and Purāṇas there are numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length. Some of them have been printed. The smṛtis contain a mass of contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the usages of medieval times that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 22 after quoting the views of Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasistha and Āṅgīras on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by persons belonging to the four varṇas refuses to evolve order out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were different from the dicta of those sages ⁶⁰⁷. The Madana-pārijāta (p. 392) agrees with the Mit. and also suggests other modes of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of the way in which different smṛtis approach the same problem. Atri 83, Parāśara III. 5 and Dakṣa VI. 6 provide that a brāhmaṇa who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered the Veda becomes free from impurity (on birth and death) in one day, one who has merely mastered the Veda (but has not consecrated the śrauta fires) in three days and one who is devoid of both in ten days. Manu V. 59 gives various options viz. 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. Brhaspati ^{607a} (q.

606. अथ च कुलस्यापित्वे कारणमाह हारीतः । प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावमाशौचं जीने वृद्धियोगेन कुलस्य भवति । इति । जायमानश्चिपमाणयोः सम्बन्धिनां सन्तपेदासन्तोषदाभ्यां वृद्धिस्तयोर्गद्वा कुलस्याप्याशौचं भवतीत्यर्थः । छुद्धिश्चिद्विका on षडशीति p. 4. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 11 reads somewhat differently "नन्वपस्याशौचं सपिण्डगतितिकानां न भवति कारणभावाविश्याज्ञाङ्गमाह हारीतः 'प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावमाशौचं जीने वृद्धियोगेन केनेति सीमासन्ते नाप्यच्छिन्नकालानामुच्छेदभूयस्ताच्च कुलस्याशौचं भवति' इति ।"

607. इत्येवमनेकोच्चावचाशौचकल्पा वर्जिताः । तेषां लोके समाचाराभावाकामीव व्यवस्थाप्रदर्शनमुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदर्श्यते । मिला on या. III. 22 ; लोकसमाचारावनादरणीयमिति केचन । अथवा वेशाचारात्तो व्यवस्था । उत गुणवद्वगुणवद्विषये यथाक्रमं न्यूनाधिककल्पाश्रयेण निर्वाहः । किंवा आपवनापदेनैव व्यवस्था । मद्र. पा. p. 392.

607 a. त्रिरात्रेण विशुध्येत योऽग्निवेदसमन्वितः । पञ्चाहेनाग्निहीनस्तु दशाहाह् ब्राह्मणः । इहस्पति q. by कल्प. (छुद्धि) p. 4, हारलता p. 5 and शु. को. p. 7. अङ्गिरस् defines ब्राह्मणः as 'गर्भाधानादिसंस्कारेर्दुक्तश्च निष्कमन्वितः । नाप्यापयति नाधीते रिक्षेयो ब्राह्मणः' .

by Hāratalā p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmaṇa who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śān Śr. and Manu ⁶⁰⁸ (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmaṇas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to *Kalivarjya* usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 941-42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying dicta thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Dakṣa VI. 7, Yāj. III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Śāṅkha (15. 2-3), Matsyapurāṇa (18. 2-3), Brahmapurāṇa 220. 63, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 1-4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. Yaj. III. 22 makes the virtuous śūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1-4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27-30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four *varṇas*. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgara brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āśauca for one month as if they are ordinary śūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Āṅgiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all *varṇas* become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death.⁶⁰⁹ Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 18

608. On न वर्षयेद्व्याहानि (मनु. V. 84) कुल्लूक comments: यद्यपि तु वृत्तस्त्राध्यापाद्यपेक्षया पूर्वमर्वाक्संज्ञवनावस्थनाम्-इत्याद्याशीचक्ष्णोश्च उक्तः स निष्कर्मा सुखमासिष्ये इति उज्ज्वला नाशीचक्षिणानि दशाहादिरूपतया वर्षयेत्संक्षुब्धिताशीचक्षिणेशपि ।

609. अङ्गिरास्त्राह-सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां द्वादशे द्वादशे तथा । दशाहाच्छुद्धिरित्येवमिति शाततापोऽप्यधीत् ॥ मिता. on वा. III. 22.

provides that a *sapiṇḍa* who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit. says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other smṛtis and is disapproved of by people.⁶¹⁰ Some of the rules mentioned by Vijñāneśvara (about 1100 A. D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the Nirṇayasindhu (composed in 1612 A. D. ⁶¹¹).

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe āśauca for ten days and not all sapiṇḍas and that their āśauca entails untouchability for them. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 517) remarks that what Vijñāneśvara said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the Smṛtyarthasāra also did not accept Vijñāneśvara's view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying dicta of the smṛtis, Purāṇas ⁶¹² and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under āśauca. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss. have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The Āśaucāṣṭaka attributed to Vararuci (published in the Trivandrum series) with a

610. यः पुनः स्मृत्यन्तरवचनम्-चतुर्थे वंशरात्रे ह्यत्यग्निस्राः पुंसि पञ्चमे । षष्ठे चतुरहोद्युद्धिः सप्तमे स्वहरेषु नु ॥ इति तद्विधीतत्वादावर्णीयम् । यद्यप्यविधीतं तथापि मनुपकारं कृप्यत्वालम्भनवलोकविद्विष्टत्वात्तादृशम् । अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेत् नु-इति मनुस्मरणात् । मित्ता. on या. III. 18. अस्वर्ग्यं is the latter half of या. I. 156.

611. यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं-ऊनाद्विधेः उभयोः क्षतकं मानुरेव हीति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः गर्भस्थे येने मानुर्दशाहं जात उभयोः कृते नास्ति सोदराणां च इति पैङ्गवोक्तेः च पित्रोः सोदराणां च वंशाहमस्युच्यत्वमिति तत्तेदानीं मन्त्ररिति । अत एव स्मृत्यर्थसारं तस्माद्वतम् । निर्णयसिन्धु p. 517. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 80) states 'अनुपनीतमरणे मातापित्रोर्दशाहाराक्षी-पक्षोऽनादृतः'.

612. Several among the Purāṇas devote considerable space to āśauca. For example, the Kūrma (Uttarārdha Chap. 23), Liṅgapurāṇa (Purvārdha, Chapter 89. 77-92), Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa Chap. 5), Agnipurāṇa (Chapters 157-158), Vāmana (14. 96-102) do so. In the Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5) several verses are taken from Yājñavalkya, Manu and other smṛtis.

commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāṣya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight *sragdharā* verses. The Āśaucadaśaka or Daśaśloki attributed to Vijñāneśvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of Mss (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several Mss of it, two of which were copied in *saṃvat* 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879-80) and *saṃvat* 1579 (D. C. No. 196 of 1884-87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Vijñāneśvara-yogindra. The ten Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses of the Āśaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāratalā of Aniruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āśaucakāṇḍa of the Smṛticandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Trīṃśacchloki with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in *śake* 1645 has been published at the Poona Ānandaśrama press and contains 30 Sragdharā verses on āśauca. The Ṣaḍaśīti (86 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre) of Kauśikāditya with the commentary Śuddhicandrikā by Vināyaka *alias* Nandapāṇḍita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śuddhikaumudī of Govindananda (B. I. Series); the Śuddhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233-412), the Śuddhiprakāśa (part of the Viramītrodaya of Mitrāmīśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śuddhimayūkha of Nilakaṇṭha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āśauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmaṇas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose *upanayana* had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a *sūtikā* (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Dakṣa (VI. 2-3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one's life.⁶¹³ Dakṣa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life's end (lit. till he is reduced to ashes), Dakṣa (VI. 8-10) says: 'those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts—all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i. e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i. e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (*nitya* or *naimittika*), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c.), who is always dependent (a king's servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i. e. only when he is cremated).⁶¹⁴ These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i. e. it is an *arthavāda* conveying merely censure).

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of Śunahśēpa narrated in the Ait. Br. (chapter 33. 2), where occurs the passage 'when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice).' The same

613. सद्यःशौचं तथैकाहस्वहस्वतुरहस्तथा । षड्विंशद्वाद्दशाहान् पक्षो मासस्तथैव च ॥ मरणान्तं तथा चाप्यष्ट दश पक्षास्तु सूतके । दक्ष VI. 2-3, referred to by विश्वरूप on या. III. 30 and q. by कल्प° (on छुद्भि) p. 5, अपरार्क p. 894, परा. मा I, 2. p. 207.

614. अस्मात्वा चाप्यहुत्वा च वायुत्वा ये तु भुञ्जते । एवंविधानां सर्वेषां यावज्जीवं तु सूतकम् ॥ व्याधितस्य कर्षस्य क्रणयस्तस्य सर्वदा । क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य क्षीजितस्य विशेषतः । व्यसनासक्तचित्तस्य पराधीनस्य नित्यशः । अज्ञात्यागविहीनस्य अस्मान्तं सूतकं भवेत् ॥ दक्ष VI. 8-10 q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 30, कल्प° (on छुद्भि) p. 15, हारलता p. 14, अपरार्क p. 895. The last verse of षड्विंशति is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above. The कूर्म (उत्स.) 23. 9 provides 'क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च । पथेष्टाश्चरणस्येह मरणान्तमशौचकम्' q. by हारलता p. 15.

inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1. 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.'⁶⁵

Abortion in the first four months ⁶⁶ of pregnancy is called *srūva*, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called *pāta* and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called *prasūti* or *prasava* (according to Parāśara III. 16, Śaḍaśīti verse 9). When there is *srūva* the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of *pāta* the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy (i. e. 5 days or 6 days). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is *srūva*, but when there is *pāta* the father and sapinḍas have to observe impurity for three days (according to Madana-pārijāta p. 380-381 and others) but they don't incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapinḍas for all varṇas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas as laid down in Yāj. (III. 22) and the samānodakas have to observe āsauca for three days and sagotras for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15-16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 (latter half) and the first verse of Āsaucaśāstra. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapinḍas ⁶⁷ when they take a bath after the *prasava* are not untouchable (Yāj. III. 19). In ancient times there were several differing views about *jananūśauca* for the father as vouched for by Baud.⁶⁸ Dh. S. I. 5. 125-128. Although a woman

615. अजनि वै ते पुत्रो यजस्व माऽनेनेति । स होवाच यद्वा वै पञ्चनिर्दशो भवत्यथ स मेधो भवति । ऐ. वा. 33.2; तस्माद्दत्तं जातं वंशपात्रीनं दुहन्ति । तै. वा. II. 1.1.3.

616. अचतुर्थद्वेत्स्वावः पातः पञ्चमषष्ठयोः । अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रसूतिः स्याद् वंशाद् वृत्तकं भवेत् ॥ सावे मातृशिराश्च स्यात्सपिण्डाशौचवर्जनम् ॥ पाते मातृवर्धामासं पित्रादीनां दिन-
त्रयम् ॥ मरीचि q. by मिता. on य. III. 20, हरवच on मौ. 14.15, स्मृतिस. (आशीच) p. 4. The first is पराशर III. 16 and is quoted as such in स्मृति. p. 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452-455 for the meaning of sapinḍa and samānodaka (H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 752-753). These words mean in this section generally (unless otherwise expressly stated) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने तावन्मातापित्रोर्वंशादमाशौचम् । मातृरित्येके । तत्परिहरणाद् । पितृरित्य-
परे छकमाध्यायात् । अयोनिजा अपि पुत्राः स्यन्ते मातापित्रोरिव नु संसर्गसामान्यात् । जी. ध.
ख. I. 5. 125-128 q. by स्मृतिस. (आशीच) p. 9.

becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i. e. 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i. e. 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born.⁶¹⁹ Women of all varṇas become pure (i. e. touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetas.⁶²⁰ Devala states that there is no āsauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired.⁶²¹ If a woman was delivered at her father's or brother's house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āsauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband's house then her father or brother had to observe no āsauca (on birth). Even when *sagotras* have to observe āsauca on birth they are not untouchable (Śaḍaśīti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (*ahāḥ*) or night (*rātri*) in prescribing the duration of āsauca what is meant is *ahorātra* (both day⁶²² and night). When counting the days of āsauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an *āhitāgni*, but from the day of death in the case of one not an *āhitāgni*⁶²³ (Āsauca-daśaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārdha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āsauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

619. यथाह संवर्तः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः स्नानं सचैलं तु विधीयते। माता ह्यप्येव दशाहेन स्नानात् स्पर्शनं पित्रः। माता ह्यप्येव दशाहेनेत्येतच्च संन्यवहारयोग्यतामात्रम्। अद्वयार्थेण पुनः कर्मसु पैठीनसिना विशेष उक्तः। स्त्रिका पुत्रवतीं विंशतिरात्रेण कर्माणि कारयेत्। मासेन जीजनमीम्। इति। मिता. on पा. III. 19.

620. स्त्रिका सर्ववर्णानां दशाहेन विदुष्यति। स्तौ तु न पृथक् शौचं सर्ववर्णेष्वर्थं विधिः। प्रचेतस् q. by हारलता p. 20, शाङ्ख्यनिरुक्तिका on verse 6. स्मृतित्व. (आशौच-काण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. आशौचं पञ्चवत्स्यास्ति व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि। देवल. q. by कुल्लूक on मनु V. 76; रघुनाथ in his com. on विश्वश्लोकी verse 6 p. 27 reads 'आशौचं पञ्चवत्स्यास्ति व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि'.

622. अत्राशौचप्रकरणे अहर्ग्रहणं रात्रिग्रहणं चाहोरात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्। मिता. on पा. III. 18.

623. इदं आशौचमाहिताग्नेष्वपरे संस्कारादिवसप्रभृति कर्तव्यम्। अनाहिताग्नेस्तु मरणदिवसप्रभृति। मिता. on पा. III. 20; दाहादाहिताग्नौ मरणदिवसतोऽप्यत्र कुर्यात्तदाहम्। विश्वश्लोकी verse 11 (second पाद); दाहादाशौचं कर्तव्यं द्विजानामग्नेहोविनाम्। सपिण्डान् च मरणे मरणादितरेषु च ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 23. 52).

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75-76 and the Brahmapurāṇa. Pāraskara (III 10) provides: ⁶²⁴ 'if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āsauca) has expired they should observe āsauca for one night or three nights.' Manu (V. 75-76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāṇa states: 'if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches.'

We should now turn to āsauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views perferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smṛti passages. Āsauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10, 29-30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe *Jananāśauca* and become purified by the end of the āsauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāṇa q. by S. K. p. 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the *sapinḍas* had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āsauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śāṅkha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āsaucadaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūḍā (or the end of the third year) the *sapinḍas* had to observe āsauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śāṅkha 15. 5), but the parents had āsauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the *sapinḍas* became pure by a bath up to the girl's third year. If death occurs between Cūḍā (or three years) and *upanayana* or marriage (in the case of girls) the *sapinḍas* including the father have to observe āsauca for three days and *samānodakas* become purified by a bath alone. After *upanayana* all *sapinḍas* have to observe āsauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14. 1, Manu V. 59, Āsaucadaśaka 2) and all *samānodakas* for three days. In the case of a śūdra dying

624. श्रोतव्यं श्वेत्येवात् अजपमयुति कुतोद्बन्धः कालनेषमासीरजतीतश्चेत्करात्रं विरात्रं वा । पारस्करसूत्र III, 10.

after three and before marriage or 16 years the āsauca is three days for all sapindaś. After sixteen years or marriage (in the case of a śūdra) it is the āsauca prescribed for his caste. In the case of a girl dying after three years and before vāgdāna (betrothal) the parents have āsauca for three days and the sapindaś (up to three generations) one day. If a girl dies after vāgdāna and before marriage the sapindaś of her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to observe āsauca for three days. In the case of women and śūdras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years (if the Śūdra was unmarried) the period of āsauca for all sapindaś is ten days. If a woman dies at her father's house after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and step-brothers have to observe āsauca for three days and her paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents have to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī⁶²⁵ (i. e. two nights with a day between or two days with a night between). There are other views on this point which are passed over. For example, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (22. 32-34) says that in the case of a married woman there is no āsauca on the parents' side; but when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father's house then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively.⁶²⁶ A married woman has to observe āsauca for three days for the death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the period of ten (Yaj. III. 21 latter half). If the married daughter hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more than ten days after the death or within one year she has to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. If a brother whose upanayana has been performed dies at his married sister's house or *vice versa*, āsauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if they do not die at each other's house but in a different one

625. Gaut. Dh. S. 14.17 (अथ चोर्ध्वं वृक्षस्थाः पक्षिणी), Manu. IV. 97 and V. 81 employ the word पक्षिणी. हरद्वज explains 'अहर्द्वयमध्यमता रात्रिः पक्षिणी रात्रिर्द्वयमध्यमतमहर्वा'. The *अमरकोश* gives only the first meaning 'आगामिपूर्वमाना-हर्वाकायां निक्षिप पक्षिणी'. The *शुद्धिप्रकाश* p. 36 remarks 'ब्राह्मणैकैकानिश्च पक्षिणी-त्यभिधीयते—इति भट्टनारायणभूतवचनात् । पक्षिणी इति पक्षिणी पक्षिणीति ।'.

626. जीर्ण विवाहः संस्कारः । संस्कृताय जीवु नातीर्ष्य भवति पितृपक्षे । तत्पक्षमरणे चेत्पितृपक्षे स्थाता तदैकारार्चं चिरार्चं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 32-34.

then the āsauca is for a pakṣiṇī and if the death occurs in another village then there is āsauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āsauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āsauca for three days. The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āsauca for three days, but only for a pakṣiṇī if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grandmother the grandchildren have to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. Some works do not prescribe āsauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose upanayana had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āsauca for three days and for pakṣiṇī if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āsauca. In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āsauca for any relative other than the parents (i. e. on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āsauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āsauca for three days, but only for pakṣiṇī if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āsauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āsauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āsauca is for one day.

upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one's mother's sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo āsauca for a pakṣiṇī; the same rule applies on the death of the father's sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father's sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies. If one's father's sister or mother's sister dies in one's house then the āsauca is for three days.

In the case of *bandhus* (described by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 as *bhinna-gotra sapinḍas*) of⁶²⁷ the three kinds, the āsauca is for a pakṣiṇī, provided the bandhu is *upanīta* but if he died before upanayana then āsauca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one's house then for three days. If the daughter of the father's sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the āsauca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three *ātma-bandhus* have to observe āsauca for each other's death; but the case is different as to *pitṛ-bandhus* and *mātṛ-bandhus*. If any one of these latter dies, there is āsauca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his *pitṛ-bandhus* and *mātṛ-bandhus* have to observe no āsauca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe āsauca for three days (the Vyavahāra-mayūkha differs from this) and the *sapinḍas* for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe āsauca for three days and for one day for the *sapinḍas* of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the *sapinḍas* of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe āsauca for one day and

627. The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्मबन्धु, पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु. In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Sātātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given. आत्मपितृव्यसुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृव्यसुः सुताः । आत्ममातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवाः ॥ पितुः पितृव्यसुः पुत्राः पितृमातृव्यसुः सुताः । पितृमातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः । मातुः पितृव्यसुः पुत्रा मातृमातृव्यसुः सुताः । मातृमातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥ q. by the mīta. on Yāj. II. 135. गृह्य. वि. p. 455, परा. जा. III. p. 528, मद्. वा. p. 674. For further details, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 754-762.

vice versa. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapinda or samānodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapinda or a samānodaka be adopted, then the āśauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's ācārya⁶²⁸ dies, the pupil has to observe āśauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14. 26, 52, Manu V. 80). On the death of the ācārya's wife or son the āśauca is for one day.⁶²⁹ On the death of a guru (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the āśauca is three days and pakṣiṇī if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other aṅgas (subsidiary lore) of the Veda, the āśauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, ṛtvik (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent śrotriya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful. Vide Gaut. 14. 19-20 (which prescribe one day's āśauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent śrotriya).

These provisions about āśauca on the death of the ācārya and ṛtvik who were not sapindas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a yati (ascetic) dies,⁶³⁰ all his sapindas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a yati and brahmacārin have to observe no āśauca. Manu V. 82, Yāj. III. 25, Viṣṇu 22.45, Śaṅkha 15. 15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe āśauca up till

628. An ācārya is defined by Manu II. 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasūtra and Upaniṣads. Ṛtvik is defined by Manu II. 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyādheya, the pākayajñas and the solemn sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma.

629. आचार्यपत्नीपुत्रोपाध्यायमातुलश्चुरन्धुर्यसहाध्यायिष्वेवतितिवेकरात्रेण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 44. रन्धुर्य means wife's brother. Manu (V. 80-81) prescribes three days' āśauca on the death of the ācārya, his wife and son, and śrotriya. Gaut. 14.26 does the same.

630. वानप्रस्थे यती योपरमति कुलजे वण्डके ब्राह्मनः स्यात् । विश्वधौकी 5th verse, 3rd पादः. Vide मनु V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) about a ब्रह्मचारिन् carrying the corpse of his parents.

the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies.⁶³¹

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in āsauca. Āp. Dh. S. 1. 3. 9. 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village. The Smṛti-muktāphala (p. 541) quotes⁶³² several smṛtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmanas. The Dharma-sindhu (p. 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town.

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nirṇayasindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmana's house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra,⁶³³ a *patita* or a *mleccha* died in a brāhmana's house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a *śvapāka* died therein.

Atikrāntūśauca (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule⁶³⁴ is

631. प्रेते राजनि सज्योतिर्यस्य स्याद्विषये स्थितः। मनु V. 82. सज्योतिः is explained by the Mit. as 'ज्योतिषा सह वर्तते इति सज्योतिराशौचम्'। अङ्गि चोद्यावत्स्वयं दर्शनं राज्ञी चोद्यावत्स्वयं दर्शनमित्यर्थः'। या. III. 25 (निवासराजनि प्रेते तदहः शुद्धिकारणम्) is explained by the Mit. in the same sense as मनु V. 82, but the अङ्गि p. 36 holds that the āsauca for king's death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects.

632. स्मृत्यन्तरे। ग्रामस्थे शवच्छण्डाले शुद्धाद्यशुचिर्दानिधौ॥ नाध्येतत्त्वं न भोक्तव्यं न होतव्यं कदाचन॥ इति।...स्मृत्यन्तरे विशेषो दर्शितः। चतुःशताधिकैर्विधैः सम्पूर्णं ग्राममध्यके। विशेषं संप्रवक्ष्यामि जपहोमार्चनं यति। अन्तःशवस्य दोषस्तु नास्ति तत्र समाचरेत्। स्मृतिदु. (आशौच) p. 541.

633. शुद्धितत्त्वे बृहन्मनुः। श्वश्रुपतिताश्चान्त्या द्युताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे। शौचं तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा। दशरात्राच्छुनि सृते मासान्च्छूये भवेच्छुचिः। द्वाभ्यां तु पतिते गेहमन्ये मासश्चतुष्टयात्। अत्यन्ये वर्जयेद्देहमित्येवं मनुर्ब्रवीति। अन्त्यो म्लेच्छः। अत्यन्यः श्वपाक इति पाच्यस्तिः। निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 528; these verses are quoted by अङ्गिम. p. 100 also.

634. देशान्तरगतः श्रुत्वा कुल्यानां मरणोद्भवौ। यच्छेषं दशरात्रस्य तत्र देवाशुचिर्भवेत्॥ शङ्ख 15.11. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 47 reads 'कल्याणं मरणं तथा' in the 2nd पाद. The same verse occurs in अग्निपुराण 137.12-13 which reads देशान्तरस्थ श्रुत्वा तु, शोषितश्चेत्येषाच्छ्रवणमवृत्ति कालशेषमासीरजतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा। पार. दृ. III. 10.

that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapindaś, he has to observe āśauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapindaś. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj. III. 21 (latter half), Śāṅkha 15.11, Pār. gr. III. 10. Āśauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the death of a sapinda). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the śāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āśauca only for the days that remain (Smṛti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āśauca if the death of a sapinda comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapinda or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj. III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrṇe dattvodakam śuciḥ') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit. infers that there is no atikrāntāśauca for sapindaś on birth⁶³⁵. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharma-sindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śāṅkha 15.12, Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smṛtis Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha lays down: 'āśauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a pakṣiṇi if it is heard within six months (but later than

635. जन्ममृतिकाम्नाशौचं सपिण्डानां नास्तीति गम्यते। पितुस्तु निर्देशोऽपि जनने स्नानमस्त्येष श्रुत्वा पुत्रस्य जन्म च इति वचनात्। एतच्च पुत्रग्रहणं जन्मानि सपिण्डानां मृतिकाम्नाशौचं नास्तीति ज्ञापकम्। अन्यथा 'निर्देशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा जन्म च निर्देशम्' इत्येवावश्यम्। न चोक्तम्। मिता. on या. III. 21 (latter half).

three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i. e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the Mit. says ⁶³⁶ that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes Paithīnasi and another smṛti for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe āsauca for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 21 last half) further says that the rules about *atīkrāntāśauca* apply only to a deceased person whose upanayana had been performed. The Dharmasindhu (p. 433) remarks that there is no *atīkrāntāśauca* as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose upanayana had not been performed or as regards the periods of pakṣiṇi and three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different gotra. Similarly, there is no *atīkrāntāśauca* with reference to the āsauca for three days prescribed in the case of samānodakas; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about *atīkrāntāśauca* apply only to āsauca on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and of co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe āsauca for ten days. The parents, even when they hear of the death of an *aurasa* son after a year, have to observe āsauca for three days. On the news of the death of a sapinda living in the same country coming to a sapinda's ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of āsauca is three days, pakṣiṇi up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of Mādhava and others. Vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 49-51 for various views.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a sapinda staying in the

636. तथा च वृद्धवसिष्ठः । मासत्रये त्रिरात्रं स्यात्पश्चात् पक्षिणी तथा । अद्वस्तु नवमासपूर्वार्धे स्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ इति । एतच्च मातापितृभ्यतिरिक्तविषयम् ।...संवत्सरापूर्वमपि भेतकार्यमाशौचदानादिकं कार्यं न पुनः स्नानमात्राच्छुद्धिरित्यर्थः । मित्त. on य. III. 21 (latter half). The परा. मा. I. 2. p. 232 quotes a similar verse of वेदवत् 'आ विपक्षात् त्रिरात्रं स्यात्पश्चात् पक्षिणी ततः । परमेकाहमा वर्षापूर्वार्धे स्नानेन विगुह्यति ॥ इति । The वृद्धवसिष्ठ (34) includes the verse of वृद्धवसिष्ठ. The verse मासत्रये० occurs in Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti 20.86.

same country coming to a person's ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapinda staying in another country separated by a big river &c. In the latter case the sapindas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes⁶³⁷ a smṛti verse 'on hearing that a person (sapinda) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to *sagotra* sapindas in the case of abortion.' The Śaḍaṣṭi (35) has a similar verse.⁶³⁸ The Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati which define what *deśāntara* (a different country) means:⁶³⁹ 'Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is *deśāntara*. Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty *yojanas*, while others put it down at forty *yojanas* and still others at thirty *yojanas*.' There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (viz. a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 *yojanas* would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute *deśāntara*. The Sm. C. and Śaḍaṣṭi 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The Śuddhiviveka⁶⁴⁰ holds that a distance of 60 *yojanas* constituted *deśāntara* by itself, but even within sixty

637. यस्तु जघादिष्यवाहिते देशान्तरे श्रुतस्तस्मापिण्डानां दशाहापूर्वमासत्रयादवर्षागपि सद्यः शौचम् । देशान्तरमृतं श्रुत्वा कृत्रिं वैखानसे यती । श्रुते स्नानेन ह्युपयन्ति गर्भजाश्च च गोत्रिणः ॥ इति । मिता. on या. III. 21.

638. ज्ञातिसुरयौ पदाशौचं दशाहात् । अहिः श्रुतौ । एकदेश इदं पोक्तं स्नात्वा देशान्तरे श्राव्यः ॥ बहशीति 35.

639. देशान्तरलक्षणे च बृहस्पतिनोक्तम् । महानद्यान्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः । वाचो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद्देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥ देशान्तरं बृहस्पतेः बहियोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्दन्त्यग्रे त्रिंशदग्रे तथैव च ॥ इति । मिता. on या. III. 21. The first verse is ascribed to बृहस्पतु by अपराक्ष p. 905, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 52 and to बृहस्पतु by छुद्रिय. p. 51. The स्मृतिच. p. 53 adds one more verse and छुद्रिय. p. 51 and the com. on बहशीति 37 add the same and another half verse from बृहस्पतु viz. देशान्तरं नदीभेदो निकटे यत्र वै भवेत् । तेन देशान्तरं पोक्तं स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा ॥ दशरात्रेण या वार्ता यत्र न श्रूयतेऽथैवा । लघ्वान्मलायन 20.87 is पर्यन्तश्च (स्व) महानद्या व्यवधानं भवेद्यदि । त्रिंशद्योजनदूरं वा सद्यःस्नानेन ह्युपयति ॥

640. एतेषां च पक्षाणां देशपरिग्रहेण व्यवस्था । छुद्रिविवेके तु बहियोजनान्तरत्वं तद्व्यन्तरेपि भाषाभेदविदिमहानदीव्यवधानानि चेति लक्षणद्वयमेव निष्कर्षेणोक्तम् । रघुनाथ on त्रिंशद्योजकी verse 6 p. 29.

yojanas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to *deśāntara*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra*⁶⁴¹ avers that *deśāntara* is differently described in the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas* and the works on *tīrthas*. For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III n. 185 pp. 145-146.

The *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an *āhitāgni* were not found and only an effigy of *palāsa* leaves were burnt, still the *āsauca* is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an *āhitāgni*, the *āsauca* is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any *āsauca* for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other *sapiṇḍas* (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the *Gṛhya kārīkas*, the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 94), *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) and other works that if a man⁶⁴² went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young* or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three *cāndrāyaṇas* or thirty *kṛcchras*, prepare an effigy of the man with *kuśas* (or with *palāsa* leaves), should burn it and then observe *āsauca* and perform *śrāddhas* &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by *Medhātithi* on *Manu* V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of *āsauca* and the persons affected by it in several ways. (1) There is a distinction between *āsauca* on birth and *āsauca* on death; (2) As to *āsauca* on death numerous distinctions arise viz. (a) when there is abortion (*garbhasrāva* or *garbhapāta*, as in *Śaṅkha* 15. 4, *Brhat-Parāśara* VI. p. 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

641. देशान्तरमनेकधा स्मृतं स्मृतिपुराणतीर्थकल्पेषु। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 90.

642. देशान्तरगतस्य तु जीवद्वार्तानाकर्णने विशेषो यथाकारिकायाम्। दूरदेशान्तरगते जीवद्वर्तौ पुनः पुनः। इतस्ततः समन्विच्छेत्यर्थोलीच्य गतायतैः॥ तस्यामभ्युपगमायां वयःकाल-विशेषतः। तस्य पूर्ववयस्कारय विशिष्यबोधयतः क्रिया॥ ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चदशाब्दान्तु मध्यमे वयसि स्मृता॥ आग्नेयायनत्रयं कुशा विशिष्टाग्नेयाणि वा सुतैः। कुशैः प्रतिकृतिं तस्य दग्धवासीजादिकाः क्रियाः॥ कार्या इति शेषः। रघुनाथ's com. on विशिष्टाग्नेयाणी verse 15 p. 97.

pregnancy or the child is still-born or dies after being born but before the appearance of teeth (Yāj. III. 23, Atri 95); (c) after the appearance of teeth but before cūdā or three years (Viṣṇu 22. 29, Yāj. III. 23); (d) after cūdā or three years up to upanayana (Manu V. 67); (e) after upanayana (Yāj. III. 23, Manu V. 59, Gaut. 14. 1); (f) as to āśauca on death after upanayana the duration at one time depended in the case of brāhmaṇas on Vedic study, the performance of śrauta rites and whether the brāhmaṇa subsisted on ears of corn left in the field after the crops were harvested⁶⁴³ (Parāśara III. 5, Śaṅkha 15. 1, Atri 83, Agnipurāṇa 158. 10-11); (g) the duration of āśauca depended on caste (Gaut. 14. 1-4, Yāj. III. 22 &c.); (h) the duration of āśauca depended on nearness of blood i. e. whether the person affected was a sapinda or a samānodaka (Gaut. 14. 1 and 18, Manu V. 59, 64); (i) the duration depended also on the nearness or distance from the place of death (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 85, 89); (j) it also depended on whether the deceased died in a different country separated by a large river, a mountain or thirty yojanas (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20.87); (k) duration depended on the time that elapsed before it came to the knowledge of the relative; (l) the duration depended upon whether another āśauca supervened when the period of the first was not over.

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āśauca are to be calculated. For example, if a man died at 1 A. M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āśauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point.^{643a} One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

643. शिलोक्त्यायचित्तैर्जीवन् सद्यः सुध्येद् द्विजोत्तमः। संग्रहकार q. by परा मा. I. 2. p. 216. For शिलोक्त्यवृत्ति vide मनु X. 112 and या. I. 128.

643. a. रात्रौ जननमरणे रात्रौ मरणज्ञाने वा रात्रिं त्रिभागां कृत्वा प्रथमभागद्वये पूर्वदिनं तृतीयभागे उत्तरदिनमारभ्याशौचम्। यद्दार्धरात्रात् प्राक् पूर्वदिनं परतः परदिनम्। अत्र देशाचारसदिना व्यवस्था। धर्मसिन्धु p. 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and कादम्प 'अर्धरात्रावस्ताञ्चेत्युक्ते सुतेके तथा। पूर्वमेव दिनं प्राद्यमूर्ध्वं चे-
द्रुजरेऽहनि॥ रात्रिं कुर्यात्त्रिभागां तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्ववासराः। उत्तरांशः परदिनं जातेषु च सुतेषु च॥ पारस्कर q. by सूतिश्च. (आशौच) pp. 118-119.

parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide Madanapārijāta pp. 394-395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the smṛtis about the periods of āsauca for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varṇas (i. e. when there are anuloma marriages). For example, Dakṣa VI. 12 says that if a brāhmaṇa has married wives of the four varṇas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 22-24) provides that when a ksatriya has sapinda of the vaiśya or śūdra varṇa the āsauca on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a vaiśya has a śūdra as sapinda then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varṇas have sapindas of higher varṇas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varṇa sapindas ceases. Laghu-Hārita 84 (= Āpastambasmṛti IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other smṛtis and purāṇas like the Kūrma (Uttarārdha 23. 30-36) mention differing views quoted in Hāralatā pp. 54-60, Smṛ. M. pp. 495-496. The Madanapārijāta remarks (pp. 425-426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the Mit. on Yāj. 644 III. 22 persons belonging to the *pratiloma* castes have no periods of āsauca, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature. Others like the Smṛti-muktāphala 645 p. 495 aver, relying on Manu (X. 41), that the *pratiloma* castes are like śūdras and have to observe the āsauca prescribed for śūdras. The Hāralatā (p. 12) quotes Ādipurāṇa to the effect that varṇasankaras (i. e. *pratilomas*)

644. प्रतिलोमानां त्वसौच्यभाव एव प्रतिलोमा धर्महीनाः—इति मनुस्मरणात्। केवलं स्त्री प्रसवे च मलापकर्षणार्थं सूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गवद् सौचं भवत्येव। मिता. on य. III 22. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः is यौ. 4. 20.

645. सङ्करजातीनां सूत्रेण्यन्तर्भाषायां सूत्रवदासौच्यं। स्वतित्तु. (आसौच) p. 495.

should follow the sūtras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The *Smṛtyartha-sāra* (p. 92) states that those born of pratiloma unions should observe āśauca if they perform *prāyaścitta*, but if they do not perform *prāyaścitta* then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p. 215) how it was the duty of *sapinda*s to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa was highly eulogised (*Parāśara* III. 39-40). But, as *Manu* V. 101-102 provide, if a brāhmaṇa carried through affection the dead body of one ⁶⁴⁶ who was not his *sapinda*, as if he were a *bandhu* or carried (the dead body) of his mother's *bandhu*s (such as mother's brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe āśauca for three days). Vide *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*Uttarārḍha* 23, 37) and *Viṣṇu* 22. 7-9 also. *Gautama* (14. 21-25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and *Haradatta* remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by *sapinda*s, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmaṇa, *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *sūdra* had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called *nirhārāśauca*, the word '*nirhāra*'⁶⁴⁷ including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. *Sapinda*s who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.⁶⁴⁸

646. अतपिण्डं द्विजं मेतं विप्रो निर्वृत्य बन्धुवत् । अशित्वा च सहोषिरा दशरात्रेण ध्रुष्यति । कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.37) ; नाशौचे कस्यचिदन्नमश्नीयात् । ब्राह्मणादीनामाशौचे यः सकृदेवान्नमस्याति तस्य तावदाशौचं यावत्तेषाम् । आशौचापगमे मायाश्वितं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.7-9.

647. निर्हारशब्दार्थः स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः । मेतस्य वासःस्रग्मन्धधूषणाद्यैरलंक्रिया । बह्वर्हं दहनं चेति निर्हारार्थो निरुच्यते । इति । q. by. स्मृतिस्तु. (आशौच) p. 544.

648. तथा स्तकास्त्रभोजनमपि न कार्यम् । उभयत्र दशाहानि कुलस्यान्नं न भुज्यते-इति वमस्मरणात् । उभयत्र जलनमरणयोः...कुलस्य स्तकस्तुक्तस्य सम्बन्धयन्नमसस्तुक्त्यैर्न भोक्तव्यम् । सकुलपानां पुनर्न दोषः । स्तके तु कुलस्यान्नमदोषं मलुर्भवती-इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात् । निता. on पा. III. 17. कस्यतश्च (on आशौच) p. 23 and अपराकं ascribe (p. 892) the verse उभयत्र to मलु. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 17.

Gaut. 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmaṇa should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmaṇa, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III.43-46 and Kūmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23.45) provide a rising scale of the days of āśauca if a brāhmaṇa follows the corpse of a ksatriya (āśauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āśauca for two days and six prāṇyāmas), a śūdra (āśauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇyāmas⁶⁴⁹ and drinking of ghee). Vide Trīmśac-chloki verse 13.

If a brāhmaṇa who is not a sapinda of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a ksatriya or vaiśya, but āśauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones; when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23.46-47), Agnipurāṇa 158.47-48, Par. M. 1.2. pp. 283-285, Smṛ. M. (āśauca) p. 543 and Āśaucadaśaka verse 9 (for *nirhāra*, following a funeral procession and weeping).

Persons⁶⁵⁰ undergoing an āśauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āśauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prājāpatya or Śantapana).

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āśauca for one day. But if she lived with one lower in varṇa than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āśauca at all (Yāj. III.6). Similarly, one had to observe one day's āśauca on the death of sons that were not *aurasa* (such as ksetraja). Vide Yāj. III.25 and Viṣṇu 22.42-43.

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

649. एकाहास्त्रिदिवे शुद्धिर्द्वये च स्याद् द्व्यहेन तु । त्रये दिनत्रयं शोकं याजायाम-
कृतं पुनः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.45) q. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 293, शुद्धिय. p. 63.

650. आशौचिनामप्येवमसंस्पर्शं निबोधति श्रुतः । शाश्वतोश्च सद्यस्त्वपि स्तुते च द्विजा-
तिभिः । अग्राशौचवतां स्पर्शो न कर्तव्यो द्विजमनाम् ॥ आशौचेऽप्यग्राशौचं स्तुतेषां च
कामतः । चरेत् सान्त्वनं कुर्व्यं याजापत्यमकामतः ॥ स्तुतिः. (आशौच) p. 302.

āsauca. While a marriage⁶⁵¹ rite (as also *caula* and *upanayana*), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like *Jyotiṣṭoma*) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or brāhmaṇas and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a *smṛti* text⁶⁵² quoted by the *Mit.* says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice āsauca on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the āsauca) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to Āṅgiras,⁶⁵³ *Paṭhīnasi* (q. by *Sm. C.*) and *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*, when once a sacrifice (like a *Somayāga*), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening āsauca does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards *upanayana* and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by *Laghu-Viṣṇu* as follows:⁶⁵⁴ in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of *vratas* and *japa* when the *saṅkalpa* (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the *Nāndīśrāddha* is performed, and in the case of a *śrāddha* when the food meant for the brāhmaṇas has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing āsauca⁶⁵⁵ on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

651. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु स्वन्तरा सुतसूते। पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं द्रव्यं क्षीयमानं न द्रव्यति ॥ पराशर III. 27. The latter half is also ascribed to क्रतु by the *mita*, on *yā.* III. 29.

652. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञादिश्रद्धरा सुतसूते। शेषमक्षं परैर्देयं दानुष्मोक्तं न दृष्टेत् ॥ q. by *mita*, on *yā.* III. 29 and *परा. मा.* I. 2. p. 262. *हारलता* (pp. 105-106) quotes a very similar verse from *आदिपुराण* 'विवाहयज्ञयोर्मध्ये सूतकामिं चान्तरा। शेष...सूतेत्'.

653. Vide *स्मृतिच.* (आशौच p. 70) for the verses of अङ्गिरस् and पैठीनसि; न शेषमतिष्ठाविवाहयोः पूर्वसम्भृतयोः न देशविघ्नमे आपद्यति च कटापात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.53-55 q. by *mita*, on *yā.* III. 29 (with variants).

654. व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु आदौ होमार्चने जपे। मारम्भे सूतकं न स्याद्वनारम्भे नु सूतकम् ॥ मारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतजापयोः। नान्दीआदौ विवाहादौ आदौ पाकपरिक्रिया ॥ लघुविष्णु q. by छात्रिमकाश. p. 94, मद् *yā.* p. 423. The *स्मृत्यर्थसार* p. 17 begins मारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव च, then has the verses मारम्भो वरणं...परिक्रिया and adds 'निमज्जनं वा आदौ नु मारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतिः।.'

655. कलानि पुष्पं शार्कं च लवणं काष्ठमेव च। तत्र दधि दत्तं तैलमौषधं कीरमेव च। आशौचिनां गृहाद्यान् शृङ्गाक्षं चैव निष्पशः। कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 23.66 q. in *हारलता* p. 31.

from his hand, but with his permission). The *Kūrmapurāṇa* enumerates such articles. They are 'fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food' (like *laddus*, *lājas*). *Maṛīci* (q. by Mit. on *Yāj.* III 17) and *Trimsāc-chloki* verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some *smṛtis* and commentators lay down rules about the *āśauca* to be observed by slaves when their masters are in *āśauca*. Vide *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 22.19, *Devalasṁṛti* verse 6, *Brhaspati* quoted by *Haradatta* on *Gaut.* 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

Āśaucasannipāta or *āśaucasampāta* (the knowledge of another *āśauca* coming to a person already observing one *āśauca*).⁶⁵⁶ The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another *āśauca* supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first *āśauca* and then begin the period of the second *āśauca*. The *Gaut. Dh. S.* 14.5 starts by saying that if another *āśauca* supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first *āśauca* are over. Then *sūtras* 6 and 7 provide that if the second *āśauca* supervenes in the last night of the first *āśauca* then purification results in two days after the first *āśauca* ends and if the second *āśauca* comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first *āśauca*, the second ends in three days after the first ends. *Baud. Dh. S. I.* 5. 123 appears to be similar to *Gaut.* 14.5-6. *Manu V.* 79, *Yāj.* III 20, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 22. 35-38, *Śaṅkha* 15. 10, *Parāśara* III 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by *Gautama* 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated. The first rule is that in a conflict between *āśauca* on death and *āśauca* on birth, that on death is stronger.⁶⁵⁷ The

656. सम्पातो नामाशौचिनमेकाशौचित्वज्ञाने पराशौचित्वज्ञानम्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 436.

657. अथानां यौगपद्ये तु शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया गरीयसा। मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु गरीयो मरणं भवेत्॥
खेपल q. by शुद्धिकल्प. p. 31, सृष्टिच. (आशौच) p. 57. शुद्धिच. p. 74, and as from
कूर्मपुराण by परा. मा. I. 2. p. 265; स्वतकाश्च द्विगुणं श्रावं श्रावश्च द्विगुणमार्तवम्। अर्तवश्च
द्विगुणा सृतिः सृतेश्च श्रावदाहकः॥ लघ्वचि (Jiv. vol. I. p. 10) chap. V, अङ्गिरस् according
to हरवच on शौ. 14.5, वृद्धचि according to निर्णयसिन्धु p. 539; काशीशौच सङ्ग्रहके

2nd rule is that if both āśauca are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āśauca⁶⁵⁸ only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mīṭākṣarā, of the Gaudas and Maithilas (vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 74-82, Nirṇayasindhu 536-540). Following the Nirṇayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āśauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āśauca are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āśauca there is purification from both (Viṣṇu 22.35, Śāṅkha 15.70); (3) If both āśauca are due to birth and the second one is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śāṅkha 15.10, Śaḍaśīti 19); (4 and 5) If both āśauca arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āśauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āśauca arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śaḍaśīti 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the first āśauca is one arising from birth and an āśauca due to death intervenes, the āśauca on death must run its full course (i. e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āśauca due to birth), whether the āśauca for death is of lesser duration than the āśauca on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

(Continued from the last page)

सूतकं तु यदा भवेत् । कालेन हृष्यते सूतिर्न सूतिः कालकोधनी ॥ लघुहारीत verse 80, यद्-
विश्रामत according to हरदत्त on गौ. 14.5 and परा. मा. I. 2 p. 264; यदि स्यात्सूतके
सूतिर्मरणे वा सूतिर्भवेत् । शेषेणैव भवेच्छुद्धिरहःशेषे विरात्रकम् । मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु मरणेन
समाप्यते । कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23. 18-19) q. by श्राद्धिप. p. 74 (reads विरात्रकम्);
सूतके सूतकं चेत्याहृतके त्वय सूतकम् । तत्राधिकृत्य सूतकं शौचं कुर्यात् सूतकम् ॥ अङ्गिरस
q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 264, मद. पा. p. 438. This occurs in अग्निपुराण 158.64.

658. समानं लघुशौचं तु प्रथमेन समापयेत् । असमानं द्वितीयेन धर्मराजवचो यथा ॥
अग्निपुराण 157. 11-12. This echoes श्राद्धिप. (q. by हरदत्त p. 65) 'समानाशौचं प्रथमे
प्रथमेन...यथा', while परा. मा. I. 2 p. 265 reads श्राद्धिप. as समानाशौचसम्पत्ते प्रथमेन ...
and explains असमानं as दीर्घकालाशौचम् । The reading समानं लघु शौचं तु printed
in श्राद्धिप. p. 31 makes no sense.

duration (Ṣaḍaṣīti 18); (10, 11) If the ⁶⁵⁹ first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āsauca on death (Ṣaḍaṣīti 21); (12) If the first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Ṣaḍaṣīti 21).

The Dharmasindhu (p. 436) generally follows the Nirṇaya-sindhu but remarks: 'Āsauca on death cannot be done away with by āsauca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āsauca on death of the extent of pakṣiṇī cannot get rid of āsauca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āsauca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of three days' duration.' These are the views of many writers. A certain writer says that āsauca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of lesser extent.

The Mit. on Yaj. III, 20 (first half) states an exception to the above rules about āsauca-sannipāta. When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āsauca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āsauca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āsauca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of ⁶⁶⁰ the āsauca for father's death. Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āsauca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āsauca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āsauca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āsauca has to observe āsauca for the mother for one pakṣiṇī in addition. It may be remarked that Aparārka construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āsauca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz. that purification follows at the end of the āsauca for the mother.

659. जातके नैव घृतकं क्षयं याति न संशयः । बृहस्पत IV. 20; जातको घृतकं वा ह्यगन्ध-
तके घृतकं तथा । घृतके घृतके शुद्धिर्हते शुद्धिस्तु घृतके ॥ लघुहारीत 58.

660. तथा सजातीयान्तःपातित्वेऽपि मातरस्य कश्चित्पूर्वशेषेण शुद्धेरभावः स्वरूपतरे
वर्णितः । मातर्यशेषे ममीतायामक्षुद्धौ क्षियते पिता । पितुःशेषेण शुद्धिः स्वभ्यामुः कुर्यात्
पक्षिण्य ॥ मिता. on Yaj. III. 20. The verse is ascribed to शङ्ख by अपरार्क p. 900,
प्लत. मा. I, 2, p. 267, शुद्धिमहाश p. 76. Verses 24-25 of the पञ्चशतिका contain the
same idea; मङ्ग. पा. p. 438 ascribes it to अङ्गिरसः.

If, while an āśauca on death is being undergone, an āśauca on birth arises, the father of the child born is able to perform the rites of Jātakarma and the like, because he is to be deemed to be purified for the nonce, according to Prajāpati.⁶⁶¹

The Śadaśiti (verse 22) provides⁶⁶² that the rule about purification on the expiry of the first āśauca in the case of succeeding āśaucas on birth or death has three exceptions, viz. a woman who is delivered of a child, the person who actually cremates the body (of the deceased) and the sons of the deceased; that is, a *sūtikā* has to observe the proper period of untouchability and one who cremates a dead body has to observe āśauca for ten days, though the delivery or cremation takes place in the midst of an āśauca on death.

SADYAH—ŚAUCA (purification on the same day). It has already been seen (p. 274) that Dakṣa (VI. 2) speaks of ten kinds of impurity on birth or death, the first two of which are *sadyah-śauca* and *ekāha*. *Ekāha* means day and night together (vide note 622 above). The ordinary meaning of 'sadyah' is 'at once, immediately.' But when Yāj. III. 29, Parāśara III. 10, Atri 97 and other smṛtis employ the word 'sadyah-śauca' what is meant is that there is no āśauca for a whole day or three days or ten days, but only up to the taking of a bath or up to the end of the day or the end of the night on which the event occurs. Pāṇini⁶⁶³ mentions 'sadyah' and thirteen other words in one sūtra as *nipūtas* (irregularly formed). From Yāj. III. 23 (*ānantajanmanaḥ sadya acūdānnaisikī smṛtā*) it impliedly follows that *sadyah* has the meaning of 'a part of a day or a part of the night' (as the case may be) and 'naisikī' means a whole day and night (as note 622 shows). The *Sūddhitattva*

661. प्रेतक्रिया पुनः क्षतकसंनिपातेऽपि न निवर्तत इति तेनैवोक्तम् (ज्ञातात्पेन) । तथा ज्ञावाशीचयोः सन्निपातेऽपि प्रेतकृत्यं कार्यम् । तुल्यन्यायत्वात् । तथा जातकर्मादिकमपि पुत्रजन्मनिमित्तकमाशीचान्तरसंनिपातेऽपि कार्यमेव । तथाह मजापतिः । आशीचं तु समुत्पन्ने पुत्रजन्म यदा भवेत् । कर्तुंस्तात्कालिकी शुद्धिः पूर्वाशीचेन शुध्यति । मिता. co. प. III. 20, मङ्ग. पा. p. 439.

662. पूर्वशेषेण या शुद्धिः क्षतिना मृतिना तथा । क्षतिकामाशिवं हित्वा प्रेतस्य च क्षतानपि ॥ वदशीति 22; this is made clear by the verses of देवल and ज्ञातात्प quoted by शुद्धिचण्डिका on वदशीति 'क्षतिकानां भवेच्छुद्धिः कालेनैव रजःक्षये । नाशीचान्तरपातेन क्षतके क्षतकेपि च । सपिण्डानां तु यः काश्चिद्वहेताय दहेत वा । तस्याशीचं दशाहं तु नाप्याशीचेन शुध्यति ॥'

663. सद्यःपरत्परार्थेयमः परेष्वप्यपूर्वेद्युरप्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युषभयेद्युषस्तरेद्युः । प. V. 3.22. 'समानस्य सभावो यद्य् चाहनि' is वार्तिक on the सूत्र. The महाभाष्य explains 'समानेऽहनि सद्यः'.

(pp. 340-341) explains ⁶⁶⁴ 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 92) explains that 'sadyaḥśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of āśauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom piṇḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Smṛtimuktāphala ⁶⁶⁵ (āśaucakāṇḍa) p.481 says that 'sadyaḥśauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath.' That piṇḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyaḥśauca' is stated by the Ādipurāṇa. ⁶⁶⁶ According to the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 73) 'sadyaḥśauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of āśauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c. (Yāj. III. 28), (2) āśauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76).

The rules about āśauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz. certain *persons* are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to āśauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain *articles* can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by āśauca, no āśauca is to be observed *for certain deceased persons* owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons *express texts* say that no āśauca need be observed for them. These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order. In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13.7 it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging. Vide also Gaut. 14.11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāṇa 14.99.

664. अत्र सद्यःपदमहोरात्रार्धपरम्... द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाहिकः स्मृतः । द्वयद्वयैकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते ॥ इति भट्टनारायणवचनात् । द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाह उच्यते । दिनद्वयैकरात्रिस्तु पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते इति नव्यवर्धमानभूतवचनाच्च । सद्य एकाहेनाशौचमिति पारिजाते सद्य एकाहेनेति स्मृतिसारे । एकमहः सद्य इति शुद्धियङ्ग्या इति नाम्नाञ्जतिः । तन्नाथं दिनमात्रं रात्रिमात्रं च । एतदेव काचित् सज्योतिःपदेन व्यपदिश्यते । शुद्धि- तत्त्व pp 340-341. शुद्धियकाश p. 93 states that the verse द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य^० occurs in the गोभिलभाष्य of नारायणभट्ट.

665. सद्यःशौचं नाम स्नानाशतमयम् । सद्यःशौचे तु तावत्स्यादाशौचं संश्रितस्य तु । पावत्स्नानं न कुर्वन्ति सद्यैलं वारधवा बाहिः ॥ इत्याहुःस्मरणात् । स्मृतिहु. p. 481.

666. दिवसे दिवसे पिण्डो देय एव क्रमेण तु । सद्यःशौचेपि दातव्याः सर्वेपि पुनपसथा ॥ आदिपुराण q. by हारलता p. 165. The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण by रजुनाथ on त्रिशप्तोक्ती verse 28 p. 249. It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 पुराण was therefore called आदिपुराण.

Yāj. (III. 28-29) prescribes that there is sadyahṣauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a sapinda) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone dikṣā for a vedic sacrifice (like *Somañyāga*) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in prāyaścittas like cāndrāyana or the vows of snātakas, for brahmacārins (when performing the duties of their āśrama), for persons who everyday make gifts of a cow, gold etc. (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahman (ascetics); there is sadyahṣauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body). Gaut. (14. 43-44) says that there is sadyahṣauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmapas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śaṅkhalikhita say the same 'Rāja dharmāyatanaṃ sarveṣāṃ tasmādanavaruddhaṃ pretaprasavadoṣaiḥ' (Śuddhikalpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings,⁶⁶⁷ those engaged in *vratas* and *sattras* (like *Gavām-ayana*) are not liable to undergo the blemish of āsauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahmana (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyahṣauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhilasamṛti⁶⁶⁸

667. न राज्ञामघदोषोऽस्ति ब्रह्मिणां न च सत्रिणाम् । ऐवं स्थः न सुपासीना बह्वभूता हि ते सदा ॥ राज्ञो माहात्म्ये स्थाने सद्यःशौचं विधीयते । प्रजाणां परिकार्यमासनं चात्र कारणम् ॥ मनु V. 93-94. The first verse is the same as Vasīṣṭha 19.48 (Further's text is corrupt, which must be corrected into न घदोषोऽस्ति) which cites it as Yama's. It is the position that he holds that renders the king (whether a ksatriya, brāhmaṇa or śūdra) free from āsauca. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र (22. 47-52) restricts the absence of āsauca by saying 'kings are free from āsauca when they are performing the duties of a king (such as administration of justice)': 'न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न ब्रह्मिणां ब्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे न कारुणां स्वकर्मणि न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तद्विच्छया ।'

668. न त्यजेत्स्वकं कर्म बह्वचारी स्वकं कश्चित् । न वीक्षणात्परं यज्ञे न कुण्ड्लादि तपश्चरन् । पितर्यपि सुते चैवां दोषो भवति कश्चित् । गोभिलस्मृति III. 64-65 q. by हारलता p. 107. अपराक p. 919. कुट्टिकल्प. p. 64.

(III. 64-65, often quoted as Chandogaparisiṣṭa of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sūṭaka, a brahmacārin should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vratas), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dīkṣā, one who is practising penance should not give up kṛcchra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother)'. The Kūrmapurāṇa⁶⁶⁹ provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97-98, Liṅga-purāṇa, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āśramas of *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *yati* there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work.⁶⁷⁰ Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21-22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) that a brahmacārin was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyāya, ācārya and guru). He did not incur āśauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and piṇḍa to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āśauca for ten days, and to undergo prāyaścitta and had his *upanayana* performed again. A brahmacārin had to observe after *samāvartana* (returning from the Vedic teacher) āśauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42-44) says generally⁶⁷¹ that on the death of child-

669. नैष्ठिकानां व्रतध्यानां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणां । नाशौचं कीर्तितं सद्भिः पतिते च तथा सुते ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.61 q. by हारलता p. 114, परा. म. I. 2. p. 254. Sewall has almost the same verse, नैष्ठिकानां...शौचं सुतके भोक्तुं शक्ये वापि तथैव च ॥ q. by परा. म. I. 2. p. 254, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 543. A similar verse occurs in लिङ्ग-पुराण (पूर्वार्ध) chap. 89.77.

670. सत्रिणां व्रतिनां सत्रे व्रते च ह्युद्धिर्न कर्ममात्रे संन्यतहरे वा । ... ब्रह्मविद्यतिः । एतेषां च ब्रह्मण्यमाधमिणां सर्वत्र ह्युद्धिः । विहिरे प्रमाणाभावात् । मिता. on या. III. 28.

671. बालवैशाखरितभञ्जितासपिण्डानां सद्यःशौचम् । राज्ञां च कार्यविरोधात् । ब्राह्मणस्य च स्वाध्यायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । जी. 14.42-44. पराक्षर III. 10 and कामन्दakya 14.99-100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first sūtra.

ren (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapindaś, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyaḥśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmaṇa also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study.⁶⁷² The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no āśauca (as stated by Yāj. III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a dikṣita had to bathe on the death of a sapinda, a brahmacārin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c., but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred āśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20-21) says; 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and śrotriyaś are declared to be sadyaḥśauca, as also one observing a vrata (cāndrāyana &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gavām-ayana), a brāhmaṇa who has established śrauta fires; the king has not to observe āśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it.' The Ādipurāṇa⁶⁷³ gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe āśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

672. शिल्पिनः कारुका वेद्या दासीदासाश्च नापितः। राजानः भोजिषाश्चैव सद्यःशौचाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ सवतः सन्नपूतश्च आहिताग्निश्च यो द्विजः। राजश्च द्यूतकं नास्ति पश्य चोच्छति पापिवः॥ पराशर III.20-21.

673. तथा आदिपुराणे। शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराणाः कर्म यत्साधयश्चलम्। तत्कर्म जाप्यो जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धाः स्वकर्मणि। द्यूतकारेण यत्कर्म करणीयं नरोप्सिह। तदग्नौ नैव जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स द्यूतकृत्॥ चिकित्सको यत्कुरुते तदग्नौ न शक्यते। तस्माच्चिकित्सकः स्पर्शो द्यूतो भवति नित्यशः॥ वास्यो दासाश्च यत्किञ्चित् कुर्वन्त्यपि च लीलया। तदग्नौ न भयः कर्तुं तस्मात्ते द्यूचयः सदा॥ राजा करोति यत्कर्म स्वमेव न्यस्य तत्कथम्। एवं सति द्यूतः शुद्धः संस्पर्शो द्यूतयुक्ते॥ यत्कर्म राजभृत्यानां हस्त्यश्वगजनादिकम्। तस्मास्ति यस्मादग्नौ तस्मात्ते द्यूचयः स्मृताः॥ q. by परा. मा. I. 2. pp. 255-256. Three of these from द्यूतकारेण are quoted as from आदिपुराण by हारलता p. 110, as from आदिपुराण by द्यूतित्त pp. 289-90 and all from द्यूतकारेण onwards are quoted from आदिपुराण by द्यूतिम्. p. 95; the verse चिकित्सको is q. by भित्ता. on या. III. 27.

It has ⁶⁷⁴ to be noted that the absence of āśauca in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, śrāddhas and gifts. This is clear from the words of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra ⁶⁷⁵ 22. 48-52. The Trīmśacchloki (verse 18) ⁶⁷⁶ gives a long list of such peculiar activities. The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha 23. 57-64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the Hāratalā (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp. 238-240) that Par. gr. III. 10 (nityāni vinivartante vaitānavarjam), Manu. V. 84, Yaj. III. 17 (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo āśauca on death should not stop rites to be performed with śrauta fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were āśaucin.

The Dharmasindhu (p. 552) emphasizes that this exception to āśauca should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing āśauca. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of āśauca.

The fourth class of cases where rules of āśauca do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. Gaut. (14. 11) ⁶⁷⁷ and Śaṅkha-Likhita provide that there is sadyahśauca for those who kill themselves (i. e. commit suicide) by starting on the great journey (to the Himālaya), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

674. अयं चाशौचम् (भावस्तत्तद्वसाधारणकर्मणस्तद्व्यत्ययमतिवैधरूपो बोधः; न तु सर्वेषु दानआद्यादिधर्मकृत्येष्वाशौचाभावाः। छुद्रिय. p. 95.

675. (भाशौचं) न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि। न ब्रह्मिणां ब्रह्मे। न सत्रिणां सत्रे। न कार्त्तिकेण कारकर्मणि। न राजाशौकारिणां तद्विच्छया। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 48-52.

676. तत्तत्कार्येषु सत्रिवातिरूपरूपवदीक्षितत्विक्स्ववेशश्रेणीपत्त्वप्यनेकश्रुतिपठनभिक्षावशिष्टानुराणाम्। संप्रत्यक्षेषु दानोपनयनयजनआद्यशुद्धमतिष्ठान्महातीर्थार्थप्राज्ञापप-विजयमाश्रित्येवेतदर्थे॥ त्रिशष्ट्योकी 18. रूपवत् means रूपसेवक.

677. For गौ. 14.11 vide note 522 above; प्रायश्चित्तविधौकोद्देश्यमपतने-भ्येच्छताम्। अयं शब्दानाशकाग्निरजु-धृगु-जल-विषममापणेभ्येवमेव। शङ्कालिखितौ q. by हारलता p. 113; सुव्याघ्रिपाशकाम्भोभिर्मुक्तानामात्मघातिनाम्। पतितान च नाशौचं विद्युच्छब्द-इत्याद्य ये॥ अग्निपुराण 157.32. Vide वामनपुराण 14. 99-100.

Yāj. III. 6 provides ⁶⁷⁸ that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular āśrama, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89-90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāṇa also prescribes ⁶⁷⁹ that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for *patitas*, nor *antyeṣṭi* nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no *piṇḍa* and no *śrāddha* should be performed for them. It is provided by Āngiras quoted by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from *cāṇḍālas* (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a *brāhmaṇa*, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and *piṇḍa* are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and *piṇḍa*) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Āngiras ⁶⁸⁰ himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmapurāṇa by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Suddhiprakāśa pp. 36-57, Nirṇayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yāj. III. 6, Āngiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or *śrāddha* to *patitas* through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo *prāyaścitta* (viz. two *Taptakrochras*).

678. For यज. III. 6 read p. 222 above; अपरार्क reads 'पाषण्डानाभिताः' and explains 'पाषण्डान्मोहादीनाभिताः तद्धोत्रायां प्रविष्टाः', while the मिता reads पाषण्ड-नाभिताः and makes two different classes.

679. पतितानां न दाहः; vide note 522 above; the अग्निपुराण (159. 2-4) states 'आत्मनस्त्रयाग्निना नास्ति पतितानां तथा क्रिया। तेषामपि तथा वाङ्मे तोषेऽर्थेनां पतनं हितम्। तेषां वृत्तं जलं चाक्षं गगने तत्पल्लयते। अनुग्रहेण सहता येतस्य पतितस्य च। नारायणचलिः कार्यस्तेनाल्लुप्तमभ्युते॥'

680. यदि कश्चित्पमादेन श्रियेताम्बुदकादिभिः। तस्याशौचं विधातव्यं कर्तव्या शौचक-क्रिया॥ अङ्गिरस्य q. by मिता. on यज. III. 6. A similar verse is औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. vol. I p. 540), chap. VII.

If an *āhilitāgni* were killed by *cāṇḍālas* in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by *śūdras* without proper mantras and *Gobhilasmr̥ti* (III. 49-51) provides for the disposal of his *śrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Though suicide was generally condemned, the *smṛtis* (such as *Atri* 218-219) and *Purāṇas* allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on *Mahāprasthāna* or die at *Prayāga*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 926-928 for detailed treatment of this topic. If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the *śāstra* then there was no blemish and *āśauca* had to be observed and water and *śrāddha* had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on *Mahāprasthāna* and suicide on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the *Kali* age. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958-959.

The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 6 quotes *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya* and *Chāṅgaleya* to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the *śāstras*, *Nārāyaṇabali* should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of *śrāddha* may be performed thereafter. The *Mit.* ⁶⁸¹ on *Yāj.* III. 6) relying on *Viṣṇupurāṇa* describes the *Nārāyaṇabali* as follows: On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped *Viṣṇu* and *Yama*, one should with the face to the south offer near them on *darbhās* with ends turned towards the south ten *piṇḍas* laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesame after bringing to mind the deceased ⁶⁸² who should be looked upon as having the form of *Viṣṇu* and having uttered the name and gotra of the deceased; he should honour the *piṇḍas* with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of *piṇḍas*, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

681. एवं नारायणबलिः प्रेतस्य द्युद्धवापादनद्वारेण आह्वातिसंमदान्तरे योग्यतां जनयतीति और्ध्वदेहिकमपि सर्वं कार्यमेव । अत एव षट्त्रिंशन्मतेऽपि और्ध्वदेहिकस्याप्यमुञ्ज । इत्यने । गोबाह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरास्कुयोस्सर्वेऽप्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ इति । एवं संवत्सराः ऊर्ध्वमेव नारायणबलिं कुत्वौर्ध्वदेहिकं कार्यम् । *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 6. The same provisions are recommended by *परा. मा.* I. 2 pp. 226-227, *रघुवति.* p. 489. Vide *गृह्य.* प्रेतखण्ड, 40. 15-65 for *नारायणबलि*.

682. The *सङ्कल्प* will be अमुकमोक्षस्यामुकस्य दुर्मरणात्मघातजद्वीवनाशार्थमौर्ध्वदेहिकसंयमान्तयोग्यतासिद्धयर्थं नारायणबलिं करिष्ये इति संकल्प्य । *मिर्णयसिन्धु* p. 559.

wife or to others. Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, should observe a fast, should worship Viṣṇu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmanas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmanas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*, then he should silently go through all the rites from *ullekhana* (drawing lines) up to *avmejana* (anointing) by the procedure of *Piṇḍa-pitryajña*. He should offer four piṇḍas to (images of) Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Viṣṇu and then offer the 5th piṇḍa. Then having gratified the brāhmanas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmanas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmanas that have *pavitrās* on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārāyaṇabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The Hāralatā⁶⁸³ (p. 212) also says the same and explains a verse of Viṣṇu: extending the performance of Nārāyaṇabali to those killed by cows and brāhmanas and those who become *patita* as a usage restricted to a certain country only.⁶⁸⁴

The Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa describes (on folio 187) Nārāyaṇabali rite at greater length than in the Mitākṣarā. One or two details may be pointed out. Five kaśāṣas (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or *yavas*, then filled with water, then have the three mantras 'Āpo hi śthā'

683. आत्मघातिन इत्याभिधानात् आत्मघातकमात्रस्यैवं विधानं न तु महापातक्यादी नमिति दर्शयति। विष्णुः। गोब्राह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्यात् सर्वमेवार्धवेदिकम् ॥ एतच्च देशविशेषव्यवस्थितमिति आदितुराणवचन एवोक्तं न तु दास्या षट्तेयदानमारण्यबलिद्वययोः मध्यमसंवत्सराभ्यन्तरविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यम्। हारलता p. 212. A long passage is quoted from आदितुराण in हारलता pp. 203-205, the last verses of which are: क्रियते पतितानां तु गते संवत्सरे कञ्चित्। देशधर्ममणत्वात् गयाकूपेण चक्षुभिः। मार्तण्डपादमूले वा आर्द्रं हरिहरं स्मरन्।

684. Nārāyaṇabali is described in the Appendix B to the Sholapur District Gazetteer in Bom. Gaz. vol. XX. pp. 522-523.

(Rg. X 9. 1-3) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 121. 1-10, Rg. I. 43. 1 (= Tai. Ā. X. 17), Rg. X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyaṇa with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90). Ten pindas⁶³⁵ are to be offered on *darbhās* to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra (as stated in the note below). After the ten pindas are cast in a river, there is *tarpaṇa* of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Puruṣasūkta. Then *bali* is offered separately to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the Mitākṣarā, there is no homa nor bali, both of which are described in the Antyestipaddhati and the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 85-86) copies verbatim the procedure given in the Mit. Bhṛatparāśara (V. pp. 175-176) contains the same procedure that is set out by the Mit. from the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Nirṇaya-sindhu first describes Nārāyaṇabali as gathered from Hemādri and the Garuḍapurāṇa (III. 4. 113-119). It then describes Nārāyaṇabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 12th day (along with Pārvaṇaśrāddha), following the procedure laid down by Baudhāyana. It then describes another form of Nārāyaṇabali based on Śaunaka which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by cāṇḍālas, ⁶³⁶ snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and *yogins*. The Vṛddha-Hārta-smṛti (IX. 123-143) describes another method of Nārāyaṇabali for devotees of Viṣṇu.

The Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra (X. 9) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyaṇabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahūpātakas* after twelve years from their death. The

635. अक्षितदेवसमीपे अयुक्तगोत्रायायुक्तशर्मणे श्रेताय विष्णुस्त्वपिणेऽर्घं विष्णुः- इति मनुपुत्राह्मनास्तिलमिध्मावृश पिण्डाद विष्णुस्त्वपिणं श्रेतमयुक्तमरन् श्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्चार्य वक्षिणाश्रेषु दर्भेषु वक्षिणासुखोऽपसम्पेन वृत्वा । ततः पुरुषसूक्तेन श्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उक्त्वा अहुकं नारायणरूपं तर्पयामीति बौद्धशिवारं तर्पयेत्यष्टौचम् । अम्येष्टिपद्धतिः.

636. चाण्डालादुदकात्सर्पाद्वाह्मणाद्वैद्यतादपि । इक्षिंश्च पशुंश्च मरणं पापकर्मिणाञ्च ॥ श्री. य. शेषसूत्र III. 21. The same is q. by अपरार्के p. 877 as यम's, as स्वरूपम् by छद्दिग्. p. 56 and without name by the मिता, on श्री. III. 6.

Baudhāyana-gr̥hya-śāśasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāṇḍālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āsauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āsauca. Gautama (14. 8-10) provides⁶⁸⁷ that (the sapinḍas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmaṇas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āsauca but only 'sadyaḥśauca'. Manu V. 95 and 98 state⁶⁸⁸ that (the sapinḍas) of those that are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmaṇas and of one who was killed in the fashion of kṣatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āsauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āsauca. It is provided by Śātātapa⁶⁸⁹ that as regards a *yati* dying, his sons and other sapinḍas are not to offer water or pinḍa to him or to observe āsauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be *tridaṇḍin* or *ekadaṇḍin*, *hansas* or *paramahansas*. So also on the death of a vānaprastha there is no āsauca. In the case of one who has performed his own śrāddha while alive his sapinḍas have an option either to observe āsauca or not. On the death of a brahmacārin āsauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āsauca⁶⁹⁰ for one killed in battle, but at least

687. गोब्राह्मणहतानामन्वक्षम् । राजकोपाच्च । युद्धे । गौ. 14. 8-10. हरदत्त explains 'अन्वक्ष्यते मृत्युयते शत्रुस्तान्स्कारान्ते स्नात्वा शुद्धयेरक्षिति', while the *mita*. on ya. III. 21 (first half) explains 'तत्सम्बन्धिनां चाश्वक्षमनुगतमक्षमन्वर्क्षं सद्यःशौचमित्यर्थः.' The *mitakṣara* takes the corresponding passage of Yāj. III. 21 (first half) to mean 'of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmaṇas'. The *mita* reads राजकोपाच्चायुद्धे, while हरदत्त says that he does not like to read आयुद्धे but would read आयुद्धे.

688. दिव्याह्वे हतानां च विद्युता पाथिवेन च । गोब्राह्मणस्य चैवार्थे यस्य चैच्छति पाथिवः ॥ मनु V. 95. दिव्याह्वे is explained by कुल्लुक and हारलता (p. 111) as 'वृषति-रहितं युद्धं,' while हरदत्त takes दिव्य to mean जनसंसर्ग and अपराकं p. 916 explains दिव्याह्वे as अश्वकलह and शुद्धिकल्पते as अश्वकलहः संमर्दो वा (p. 46).

689. एकोदिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं येतसत्क्रियाम् । न कुर्यात्पार्षणादयम् ब्रह्मिष्ठताय भिक्षवे ॥ शातातप. - स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 171 ascribes this to बसिष्ठ.

690. युद्धदृष्टेऽप्याशौचं नेति सर्वग्रन्थेष्वलम्यते न त्वेवं ब्राह्मणेषु शिक्षाचार इति । चर्मसिन्धु p. 449.

among brāhmanas (i. e. as to brāhmanas killed in battle) the usage of the *śiṣṭas* is different (i. e. *śāuca* is observed).

Parāśara (III, 12-13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three *tithis* viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the *amāvāsyā* should be accepted as the day of his death and water, *piṇḍa* and *śrāddha* should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I, 2 p. 237 adds that *śāuca* also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārita says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a *śrāddha* or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th *tithi* of the following dark half (*Śuddhikaumudī* p. 17).

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of *śāuca* the usages of a country must be observed. The *Hāratalā* (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the *Ādipurāṇa* where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (*deśa-dharmapramāṇatvāt*). The *Śuddhitattva* p. 275 quotes⁶⁹¹ a verse of Marici 'one should not disregard the manner of observing *śāuca* and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities'. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the *Vāmanapurāṇa* to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Dakṣa⁶⁹² (VI 15) states that all rules about *śāuca* apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) *śāuca*.

Viṣṇu (19, 18-19) provides⁶⁹³ that at the end of the period of *śāuca* one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a *śūnti* (propitiatory rite)

691. तथा च मरीचिः । येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः । तत्र तत्रावमश्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥ रुद्रधर in *शुद्धिविवेक* (D. C. ms. No 309 of 1887-91, folio 77 b), *शु. को.* p. 360, *शुद्धितत्व* p. 275: "तथा च वामनपुराणं 'देशादुशिष्टं कुलधर्ममन्यं स्वगोत्रधर्मं न हि संत्यजेच्च'" *शुद्धितत्व* p. 276.

692. स्वस्थकाले तथा सर्वे सूतकं परिकीर्तितम् । आपद्बन्धस्तस्य सर्वस्य सूतकेषु न सूतकम् ॥ दक्ष VI. 15.

693. ग्रामाभिष्क्रम्याशौचान्ते कुतश्चक्षुर्कर्मणस्तिलकरक्षः सर्वेषकत्वेर्वा स्नाताः परिशतितवाससो सृष्टं मन्त्रिषुः । तत्र शान्तिं कृत्वा बाह्याणामां च पूजनं कुर्युः । *विश्वधर्मसूत्र* 19, 18-19.

and honour brāhmaṇas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 155-164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapindas should touch a cow, gold, fire, *dūrva*, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmaṇas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'śvasti'. If a brāhmaṇa cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāratalā and others say that without śānti water āśauca is not completely removed. The followers of Sāmaveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā nāscitra,' 'kastvā satyo,' 'abhi sū paḥ' (No. 682-684 of the Sāmaveda) together with the last verse of the Sāmaveda ('śvasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatrī; these form the śānti mantras for Sāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'ṛcam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauḥ śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī form the śānti mantras; the Rgvedins should employ for śānti Rg. X. 9. 4, VII, 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī. Then some gold with silver as dakṣiṇā should be donated to a brāhmaṇa, then the Vaitaraṇī cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śān. Śr.) and smṛtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āśauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śrauta fires had to undergo only one day's āśauca (Parāśara III. 5, Dakṣa VI. 6). But ultimately a flat period of ten days of āśauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapindas came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āśauca were not felt to be very irksome. It is on account of this reason and also the great *penchant* of dharma-sāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āśauca. Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world

can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmasāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about *āśauca* on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of *āśauca* are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome. Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of *āśauca*. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about *āśauca* that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the *smṛtis* and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the *Āśauca-daśaka* with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards *āśauca* on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient *smṛtis* set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.^{693a}

(1) *Āśauca* for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and *vice versa* and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

(2) For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family *āśauca* for only three days should suffice.

(3) For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

(4) When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important *tabus* were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness. Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1-4 and IX. 6). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were *tabu* for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads. Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus 12. 2-5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors. If one may surmise one can say this: it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the *tabu* on death. At all events *smṛti* writers put both on the same level (e. g. Manu V. 61 "Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of *sapinda*s the same holds good in the case of birth"). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the *Tai. S.* and have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 802-805.

We have now to turn to the subject of *śuddhi* apart from *śauca*. *Śuddhi* of a *dravya* means the⁶⁹⁴ removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and *Aparārka* p. 253). It has already been seen (note 555

694. *द्रव्यस्य दोषापगमः शुद्धिः । तत्र द्विविधा शुद्धिः शरीरशुद्धिर्बाह्यद्रव्यशुद्धिश्च । अपरार्क pp. 252-253 ; तत्राशुद्धिर्नाम द्रव्यादेः स्पर्शनाद्यनर्हतापादको दोषविशेषः । शुद्धिरन्यदोषकारविशेषोत्पादित्वा तत्किञ्चित् । हेमाद्रि (on आश्व p. 787).*

above) how even the Rg. lays great emphasis on suddhi and being pure (śuci). There are Vedic⁶⁹⁵ passages laying down that the cups (*grahas*) used in Jyotiṣṭoma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas*. In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an *agnihotrin* that was heated by him for the *homa* became impure (*amedhya*, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an *agnihotrahavanī* and was to be poured upon the ashes near the *Āhavanīya* fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. *Śauca* is one of the eight qualities of the soul (*ātmanuṣas*) mentioned by Gaut. 8.24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāṇa 52. 8-10, Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p. 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that *śauca* is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Brhaspati⁶⁹⁶ (q. by Aparārka p. 164), aver that *śauca* is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i. e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one's own prescribed duties. Many works divide *śauca* into two varieties viz. *bāhya* (external) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (internal). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 651-52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 5. 3-4), Hārīta, Dakṣa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 372. (17-18) is the same as Dakṣa V. 3. The Vanaparva 200. 52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II. 66. 86-87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Līṅgapurāṇa 8. 34-36 (not quoted there) which after stating that *ābhyantara śauca* is superior to *bāhya śauca* (verse 31) remarks⁶⁹⁷ that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

695. अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोमः । तत्र श्रूयते दक्षपतिज्ञेयं ग्रहं संमार्ष्टे इति । तत्रैवाधः सम-
धिगतः सर्वं ग्रहाः संमार्जितव्या इति । इवमिदानीं सन्दिश्यते किं चमसा अपि संमार्ष्टे या
उत नेति । शशर on जे. III. 1. 16.

696. अभक्ष्यपरिहारश्च संसर्गश्चाप्यनिवृत्तैः । स्वधर्मे च व्यवस्थानं शौचमेतत्प्रकीर्त-
ितम् ॥ बृहस्पति (q. by अपरांक p 164). आत्रे verse 35 (reads आचारेषु व्यवस्थानं).

697. अवगाह्यापि मलिनो ह्यन्तःशौचविवर्जितः । शैबला इत्यका मत्स्याः सखा
मत्स्योपजीविनः ॥ सखावगाह्य सलिले विद्युद्धाः किं द्विजोत्तमाः । तस्मादाभ्यन्तरं शौचं सखा
कार्यं विधानतः ॥ आत्मज्ञानाभ्यासं रत्नात्वा सकृदालिप्य भावतः । हृत्पैराग्यमुद्धा ह्युद्धाः शौचमेवं
प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण 8. 34-36; भावह्युद्धिः परं शौचं प्रमाणं सर्वकर्मसु । अभ्यधातिङ्गने
कास्ता भावेन बुद्धिसाम्या...अभ्यधेयं ततः श्रुत्वा भावव्यवस्थया पतिम् ॥ पञ्च (श्रुतिखण्ड
66. 86-87).

bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) *śauca*. Manu V. 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i. e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Viṣṇu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (*artha*) it substitutes food (*anna*). The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (prakīrṇaka 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Anuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmaṇḍa III. 14. 60 (*śucikāmā hi devā vai*), and Yogasūtra II. 32 (for *śauca* as one of the five *niyamas*).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648-668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths a day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty.⁶⁹⁸

In śrauta rites (such as Agniṣṭoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or *dikṣā*), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the *adhvaryu* priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1136). Śātatapa q. by Sm. C. I. p. 120, Śuddhiprakāsa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as *cāṇḍālas*).

698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).

The Ap. Śr. II 12 provides⁶⁹⁹ that *Pavitreṣṭi* should be performed by him who is desirous of *suddhi* and that if one performs in each season the three *iṣṭis*, viz. *Vaiśvānari* (to Agni *Vaiśvānara*), *Vrātapati* (to Agni *Vratapati*) and the *Pavitreṣṭi* one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (*dravyasuddhi*). But a few general observations must first be made. The Āp. Dh. S. (II, 6, 15, 17-20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the *sainṣkāra* of *annaprāṣana* (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of *Upanayana* according to others. *Manu* V, 127-133, *Yāj.* I, 186, 191-193, *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. 23, 47-52, *Baud.* Dh. I, 5, 56-57, 64, 65, *Śaṅkha* 16, 12-16, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 35, 19-21 state that the following are always pure:—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a *brāhmaṇa* as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a *brahmacārī* though walking from house to house on the road); the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance); meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, *cāṇḍālas*, and carnivorous birds; rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder—these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person. Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. *Yāj.* I, 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. *Baudhāyana*⁷⁰⁰ quoted by *Aparārka* p. 276 provides that

699. आद्रिकामो वा । तद्देशाभियज्ञायाया गीयते । वैश्वानरं व्रातपतिं पवित्रेष्टिं तथैव च । ऋताहुती प्रयुजानो पुनाति दक्षयौकषम् ॥ इति । आश्व. औ. II, 12.

700. ह्यखर्वर्जं तु गौर्मेघा मार्जारश्चक्रे (1 आक्रमे) आभिः । कौषायन q. by अपरार्क p. 276; almost the same words occur in *सङ्ख.* 16.14 (latter half).

the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Brhaspati⁷⁰¹ and Yama (q. by Apararka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmanas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses⁷⁰² on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read⁷⁰³ 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśara (X. 41) states:⁷⁰⁴ 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as *camasas* in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturvīṃśatimata⁷⁰⁵ that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to *caṇḍālas* become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Brhaspati provides:⁷⁰⁶ 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

701. बृहस्पतिः। पादौ शुची जाह्नवानामजाश्वस्य सुखं शुचि। गवां वृष्टानि मेघयानि सर्वात्राणि पोषिताम्॥ यमः। पृष्ठतो गौर्गजः स्कन्धे सर्वतोऽश्वः शुचिस्तथा। गोः पुरीषं च मूत्रं च सर्वं मेघमिति स्थितिः॥ पृष्ठशब्दोत्र सुखम्यतिरिक्तविषयः। अपरार्क p. 276.

702. आकराहृतवस्तुनि नाशुचीनि कदाचन। आकराः शुचयः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा साराकारम्॥ भृष्टा भृष्टयवाश्चैव तथैव खणकाः स्मृताः। खर्युरं चैव कर्पूरमण्डपहृष्टतरं शुचि॥ अत्रि 240-241. आकराः...कारम् occurs in गो. ध. सू. I. 5.58. The शु. को. (p. 258) after quoting शाङ्ग 16.13 (शुद्धं नदीगतं तोयं सर्व एव तथाकाराः) explains: सर्व एवाकरा धान्यादिमर्दनस्थानानि तथा अजलाजादिलिष्पत्तिस्थानानि चेत्यर्थः।

703. मक्षिका संततिर्धारा भूमिस्तोयं हुताशनः। मार्जारश्चैव दुर्बी च नकुलश्च सदा शुचिः॥ अत्रि V. 13. विश्वरूप on या. I. 195 quotes it without name as मक्षिका विप्रयो नार्यो भूमि...दुर्बी च मार्कतश्च etc. मार्जारश्च...मार्कतश्च—occurs in लघुहारीत 43, शुद्धिकौस्तुभे p. 357 explains: संततिः शिष्टः पञ्चवर्षाभ्यन्तरवयस्कः धारा तु पतन्ती।

704. आकाशां वायुरग्निश्च मेघं भूमिगतं जलम्। न प्रकुपयन्ति दुर्भाष्य यज्ञेषु चमसा यथा॥ पराशर X. 41.

705. आर्यं मांसं पूतं कौश्लं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवाः। अग्न्यभाष्करिण्या ह्येते निष्क्रान्ताः शुचयः स्मृताः॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 115. प्राय. विवेक p. 328 quotes the verse as यम's reading स्नेहभाण्डः. शु. को. p. 318 also ascribes it to यम.

706. श्राकेशु यन्त्राकरकावहस्ता मोदोद्गीर्णा यन्त्रविनिःसृतानि। बालैरथ स्त्रीभिरशुद्धितानि प्रत्यक्षदृष्टानि शुचीनि तानि॥ बृहस्पति q. by शुद्धिमकाङ्ग p. 106.

out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint. One's ⁷⁰⁷ own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śankha 16,15 is to the same effect.

Śankha ⁷⁰⁸ states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śankha-Likhita ⁷⁰⁹ declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow's urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yāj. I. 184, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23,13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullūka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45-46, Manu V. 126 (= Viṣṇu 23, 39), Yāj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed ⁷¹⁰. Devala (q. by Aparārka p. 270) defines *śauca* as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

707. आत्मशय्या च वस्त्रं च जायापर्यं कमण्डलुः । आत्मनः छुत्स्नीयेतानि परेषाम-
छुत्स्नीयानि तु ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 4, बौधायन I. 5. 61 (reads शय्यासनं वस्त्रं) ; अपराक
p. 257 quotes it as बौधायन's.

708. मलं संयोगजं तज्जं यस्य येनोपहन्यते । तस्य तच्छोधनं योक्तं सामान्यं द्रव्यछाजि-
कृतं ॥ शङ्ख q. by अपराक p. 256, वीपकालिका on या. I. 191. मद्र. पा. p. 451 reads
मलसंयोगजम्.

709. सर्वेषामपि सुदरिडकेषु वाषिष्ठतण्डुलसर्षपकल्कसारगोमूत्रगोमयादीनि शौच-
द्रव्याणि संव्रतानां शोक्षणमित्येके । शङ्खलिसिद्धौ q. by चतुर्वर्ग vol. III. part 1 p. 817.

710. लेपवन्धापरकर्षणं शौचमेवेत्याकस्य । तद्वज्रिः पूर्वं श्रुता च । गो. घ. सू. I. 45-46.
Almost the same words occur in वसिष्ठ III. 48 : यावत्तारित्यमेवेत्याकाङ्क्ष्यो लेपश्च
तत्कृतः । तावन्मुह्यारि चादेयं सर्वाहं द्रव्यछाजितु ॥ मनु V. 126 = विष्णु 23,39.

Gaut. Dh. S. (I 28-33) briefly deals ^{710a} with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas. (III. 49-53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I 5. 17. 10-13) ⁷¹¹ provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scoured with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yāj. (III. 31-34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Āśvamedha or performing of *sandhyā*), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as *kṛcchra*), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of *buddhi* in the case of substances that are not clean, *sannyāsa* (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, water in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras (*japa*) is the means of purifica-

710 a. द्रव्यशुद्धिः परिमार्जनप्रदाहतक्षणनिर्णेजनानि तेजसमातिक्कारवत्तान्तवानात् । तेजसवदुपलमणिशुद्धिकामात् । दाहवदस्त्रिभूयोः । आपपनं च भूमेः । चैलपद्मशुद्धिदल-
क्षमणाम् । उत्सर्गो वात्यन्तोपहतानाम् । गौ. 1.28-33. अत्यन्तोपहत is explained by
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.1 as 'शारीरैर्मलेः सुषाभिमर्शेन यदुपहतं तदत्यन्तोपहतम्'.

711. अनायति क्षुण्णये शोकस्यम् । आयतिं चैदमिदमर्थः । परिसृष्टं लोहं प्रयत्न
निर्लिखितं वाक्यमयम् । यथागतं यज्ञे । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 9-13. हरदत्त explains;
'आयतिं कश्चित्कार्यं पाकादावुपयुक्तम् ..अग्निहोत्रहवणी दर्भैरग्निः प्रक्षालितः सोमपात्राणि
मार्जालीये प्रक्षालितानि आग्न्यपात्राण्युष्णेन कार्याणि'.

tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. Manu V. 107-109 (= Visṇu 22.90-92) contain almost the same idea in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana ⁷¹² by the Mit. (on Yaj. I. 190) which states: 'One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).'

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the smṛtis and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5.66 provides ⁷¹³ that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow's milk, urine or water), by smearing with cowdung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified). Baud. Dh.

712. देशं कालं तथात्मानं द्रव्यं द्रव्यप्रयोजनम्। उपपत्तिमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा शौचं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ बोधायन q. also by विश्वरूप on ya. I. 195 and मेधातिथि on मनु V. 118. बोधायनधर्मसूत्र I. 5.55 reads देशं...वस्थां च विज्ञाय शौचं शौचज्ञः कुशलो धर्मेष्टुः समाचरेत्। The verse is लघुहारीत 55 which reads कालं देशं. The मिता. reads तथा मानं which means 'the bulk' (or extent of the thing to be purified).

713. धूमेस्तु संमार्जनयोः कणोपलेपनावस्तरणोत्तेजनैर्यथास्थानं शौचविशेषाद्व्यापयत्यम्। बो. प. सू. I. 5.66. कसिह III. 56 is almost the same.

S. in another place states:⁷¹⁴ when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing. Land is purified by means of four viz., being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow's urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasiṣṭha III. 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz. time). Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz. sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.57 adds *dāha* (burning) to the five of Manu. Yāj. I. 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding *dāha* (burning) and *kāla* (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to⁷¹⁵ the Vāmanapurāṇa the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Dvala quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka on Yāj. I. 188 gives a more elaborate treatment. According to him polluted ground (*bhūmi*) is of three kinds, viz. *amedhyā* (impure), *duṣṭā* (soiled), and *malinā* (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by *cāṇḍālas* or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be *amedhyā*.⁷¹⁶ That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes *duṣṭā* (soiled) and it becomes *malinā* (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

714. घनाया भूमेरुपयात उपलेपनम् । सुषिरायाः कर्षणम् । छिन्नाया मेध्यमाहृत्य प्रच्छादनम् । चतुर्भिः क्षुध्यते भूमिर्गोभिराक्रमणात्स्नननाद् वहनादभिवर्षणात् । पञ्चमाक्षोपलेपनात्पञ्चात्कालात् । नौ. घ. सू. I. 6.17-21 quoted and explained by छ. कौ. p. 100.

715. भूमिर्विक्षुध्यते स्वातदाहमार्जनमोकमेः । लेपाद्बुलेस्ननात्सेकाद्देशमसंमार्जनाचर्चानात् ॥ बामनपुराण 14.68.

716. यत्र प्रसृत्ये नारी म्रियते दृष्टतेपि वा । पञ्चालाधुषितं यत्र यत्र विष्टाविसंहतिः ॥ एवं कश्मलधुषिष्टा घूरमेघा प्रकीर्तिता । श्वश्वकरस्वरोष्ट्रादिसंस्पृष्टा दुष्टतां ब्रजेत् । अङ्गार-तृषकेशादिभस्माद्यैर्मलिना भवेत् । मिता. on या. I. 188. अपरार्क reads यत्रावेष्टादिसङ्कृतिः in the first verse and घूम for तृष. छ. कौ. p. 101 reads प्रसृते गमिणी यत्र म्रियते यत्र मातृशः... यत्र वा दृष्टते शवः ॥ विष्णुसौपहतं यत्र कुणपो यत्र दश्यते । एवं कश्मलः. The definitions of *दुष्टा* and *मलिना* as quoted from देवल by छ. कौ. p. 101 and छद्दिप. p. 99 are different.

Devala⁷¹⁷ prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain. Even *amedhyā* ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or *caṇḍālas* dwell) or by four (i. e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of *amedhyā*); ground that is *duṣṭā* is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz. digging up and burning) and *malinā* ground is purified by one (i. e. by digging up).

The *Smṛtyarthasara* (pp. 73-74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of *pañcagavya* after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with *pañcagavya*. Any idol, if polluted with ordure, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with *pañcagavya*, after being well washed with cow's urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than *brāhmanas* in the inmost shrine (*garbhagṛha*) have come before the courts e. g. in *Gopala Muppanar v. Dharmakarta Subramania* 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. In *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* (37 Bom. L. R. 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of *brāhmanas* and a Lingayat entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz. of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not *brāhmanas* was proved and that the Lingayat gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the *Nirṇayasindhu* (III

717. दहनं क्षननं क्षूमेरवलेपनवापनं । पर्जन्यवर्षणं चेति शौचं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ पञ्चधा वा चतुर्धा वा क्षूमेरवया विक्षुण्णयति । द्विधा त्रिधा वा पुनः तु क्षूण्यते मलिनैकधा ॥ देवल q. by छ. की. p. 101 which explains वापनं as मृद्वन्तरेण पूरणम्.

pūrvārdha pp. 351-52), the Dharmasindhu (III p. 324) and other medieval digests provision is made for the re-consecration (punah-pratiṣṭhā) of an idol in a temple when the idol is polluted by the touch of cāṇḍālas or wine or is burnt by fire or is defiled by the touch of sinners or the blood of a brāhmaṇa.⁷¹⁸ If the idol be broken in two or more pieces or if it becomes broken (irregularly), if it be burnt or falls from its pedestal or be insulted, is without worship or is touched by an ass or the like animal, or falls on foul ground or is worshipped with the mantras of other gods,—in these ten circumstances Godhood ceases to indwell in the idol. If an idol be touched by robbers, cāṇḍālas, patita people, by a dog or a woman in her courses or if it be polluted by the touch of a corpse re-consecration is necessary.

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (23. 34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substance of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by śūdras or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time *puṇyābhavācana* should be performed, an even number of brāhmaṇas should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with *pañca-gavya* from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective *mantras*, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

718. अध पुनःप्रतिष्ठा । तामधिकृत्य ह्यशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे । चाण्डालमद्यसंस्पर्शदूषिता वह्निनाथवा । अपुण्यजनसंस्पृष्टा विप्रक्षतजदूषिता ॥ संस्कार्यति शेषः । पदार्थादर्शं बाह्ये । खण्डिते स्फुटिते वग्रे अथ मानविरजिते । यागहीने पञ्चस्पृष्टे पतिते दुष्टधूमिषु । अन्यमग्न्याग्निं चैव पतितस्पर्शदूषिते । दशस्तेतेषु नो चक्रुः संनिधानं दिवौकसः ॥ यायः पूजा पञ्चः गर्वभाविः ।... सिद्धान्नाशोकरे । चौराच्चाण्डालपतितश्चोदकपात्यग्निं सति । श्वाद्युपहतौ चैव प्रतिष्ठा पुनराचरेत् ॥ ... छुद्रिष्येके विष्णुः । इष्यवत्कृतशौचानां वेवताचर्चानां भूयः प्रतिष्ठापनेन छुद्रिरिति । अर्चाः प्रतिष्ठाः । तद्ब्रह्मण्यस्य ताम्रादिककौर्त्तुं कृत्वा पुनः प्रतिष्ठां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तद्विधिर्बोधायनसूत्रे । पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याहुद्रिपूर्वकमेकरात्रं द्विरात्रमेकमासं द्विमासं वा अर्चनादिविच्छेदे शूद्ररजस्वलाद्युपस्पर्शने पूर्वोक्ते काले पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा युग्मान् ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा निशायां जलाधिवासं कृत्वा श्चोदते कलशार्पणं पञ्चगव्येन तत्तन्मन्त्रैः स्नापयित्वा अन्यं कलशं छुद्रोदकेनापूर्य तस्मिन्मन्त्रेणानि शस्त्रिण्य तं कलशं तत्तद्वायुः पादसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वाभिमन्त्र्य तेनोदकेन वेवं स्नापयेत्ततः छुद्रोदकेन स्नापयेद्वृक्षसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वा पुरुषसूक्तेन मूलमन्त्रेण च । ततः पुण्याणि कृत्वा यथासम्भवमर्चयित्वा छुद्रोदनं निवेद्येवेति । इन्द्रिपूर्वं तु विच्छेदे पूर्वोक्तां प्रतिष्ठां पुनः कुर्यात् । निर्णयतिगु III पूर्वार्ध pp. 351-52 The passage from पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याहुद्रि to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and additions) from बोधायनपृष्ठोक्तसूत्र II.19 (Mysore Un. ed.)

Gāyatrī mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1008 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and the *mūlamāntṛa* 1008, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a *naivedya* of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e.g. Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable. This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in *Saklat v. Bella* 28 Bom. L. R. 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of

punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Rg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Rg. VII. 49. 2 and 3 'śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ'). Similarly Rg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Rg. X. 9. 8 'idam-apaḥ pra vahata yat kiñca duritam mayi'). Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as 'śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ' (in A. V. I. 33. 1 and 4). The Vaj. S. VI. 17 (closely following Rg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is censurable and dirty.⁷¹⁹ In Vaj. S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'⁷²⁰ The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage⁷²¹ wherein it is said "what-ever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure." It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Yaj. I. 182-183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31-32)⁷²² lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the *pitṛs*, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, laughs loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform *ūcamana* (or touch water).

According to Yaj. I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and coudunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a *patita*, a *mleccha* or a *caṇḍāla* died in a brāhmaṇa's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

719. इदमापः प्रवहतापद्यं च मलं च यत् । यच्चभिदुद्रोहादृतं यच्च शेषे अभीषणम् । आपो मा तस्मादेनसः पवमानश्च सुजतु । वाज. सं. VI. 17.

720. आपो अस्मान्मातरः क्षुण्धयन्तु हृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु । वाज. सं. IV. 2.

721. तथा चाग्नायः । वाग्यै देवेभ्योऽयाक्रामत्...तस्माद्यद्यग्नीमांसं दद्यात्तदग्निः सृशेत् क्षुण्धये भवति । विश्वरूप ०० वा. I. 191.

722. पित्र्यामन्त्रादुपवन आत्मात्मनेऽधनेकणे । अधीवापुतसुत्सर्वे महासेऽद्वतभाषणे ॥ मार्जारमूषकरपर्शे आकृष्टे नोघसम्भवे । भित्तिसेष्णेषु सर्वत्र कर्म कुर्वन्तः सृशेत् ॥ गोभिलसृति I. 31-32, quoted by कृष्णरत्नाकर p. 50.

stated in note 633, it is provided by Sainvarta⁷²³ that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cowdung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and *kūṣa*s are put in by brāhmaṇas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatri mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marici prescribes⁷²⁴ that if a candāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cowdung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmaṇa's house, in a temple, in a cow-pen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smṛtis and digests about the purification of water. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2 says⁷²⁵ in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure. But the Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yaj. I. 192, Śāṅkha 16. 12-13, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śāṅkha says⁷²⁶ the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states⁷²⁷ that water brought in clean vessels is

723. संवर्तः । गृहशुद्धिं प्रवक्ष्यामि अन्तःस्थशवदूषणे । गोत्सृज्य शुभ्रमयं भाण्डं सिद्धमन्नं तस्यैव च ॥ गृहात्पास्य तत्सर्वं गोमयेनोपलेपयेत् । गोमयेनोपलिप्त्वाथ छागेनाघ्रापयेद् बुधः । मातृजेर्मन्त्रप्रत्येकं शिष्यकुलवारिणा । सर्वमभ्युक्षयेद्देहम् ततः शुद्धपर्यसंशयम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 265, छुद्रिय. pp. 100-101, छुद्रिकौ. pp. 303-304.

724. गृहेष्वजातिसंवेशे शुद्धिः स्वाधुपलेपनात् । संवत्सो यदि जायेत दाहतापे-र्विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ मरीचि q. by अपरार्क p. 266, छुद्रिय. p. 101, छु. कौ. p. 303 (reads दाहलेपः).

725. भूमिगतास्वप्नश्चावश्यं प्रयतो भवति । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 2.

726. भूमिदुग्धकं शुद्धं शुद्धिं तोयं शिलागतम् । वर्णगन्धरसैर्दुर्वैर्जितं यदि तज्जवेत् ॥ शाङ् 16. 12-13 q. by छु. कौ. p. 297, छु. य. p. 102.

727. उद्धृताश्चापि शुध्यन्ति शुद्धैः पानैः सद्युक्ताः । एकरात्रोचिता आपस्याजयाः शुद्धा अपि स्वयम् ॥ देवल q. by मिता and अपरार्क on या. I. 12.

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There ⁷²⁸ is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the *ghat*) if they come in contact with *caṇḍālas* and other impure persons or things. In *Narhari v. Bhimrao*, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Brhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then *pañcagavya* should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs) ⁷²⁹. Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudī p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: 'hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it' (and further purification by putting *pañcagavya* in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Parāśara VII 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like *caṇḍālas*), dogs and crows and buildings (like *maṭhas*) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone

728. अक्षोभ्यानि तडागानि नदीवापीसरांसि च । चण्डालाण्युच्चिस्पृशे तीर्थतः परित्यजेत् । अक्षोभ्याणामपि नास्ति प्रसूतानां च वृषणम् । देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 272 सु. म. p. 102 (reads कर्मलाण्युच्चियुक्तानि) and explains कर्मल as शवादि and अद्युचि as विष्णुच्युत्.

729. सूतपञ्चमखात्कृपावत्यन्तोपहतसथा । अयः सद्युद्धेत्सर्वाः शेषं बज्जेण शोधयेत् ॥ बज्जिज्ज्वालनं कृत्वा कृपे पकेष्टकाशिते । पञ्चगव्यं न्यसेत् पञ्चाजवतोयसद्युद्धे ॥ ब्रह्मस्वति q. by अपरार्क p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of Uśanas by सु. की. p. 298 and reads बज्जेण (ज्ञातयिषिणा) for बज्जेण. The two verses are विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.44-45.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states⁷³⁰ that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure⁷³¹ for ten days. Similarly Yogiyājñavalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no *prāyaścitta* is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom.⁷³²

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 46 provides⁷³³ that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i. e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparārka p. 273 provides⁷³⁴ that even the water at a *prapū* (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

730. रथ्याकर्षमत्तोयानि गात्रः पथ्यास्तृणानि च । मरुताकेण ह्युपपत्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च । अत्रोक्तं VII. 34. हीयकलिका on वा. I. 197 and ह्यु. कौ. p. 304 quote it but read रथ्याकर्षमत्तोयानि पक्वेष्टकाचितानि and the latter explains 'रथ्याकर्षमत्तोयानि मरुताकेण ह्युपपत्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि' ; विन्ध्यरूप does not comment on वा. I. 197 saying that it is superfluous; for the verse रथ्याकर्षमत्तोयानि गात्रः पथि तुणानि च मरुतेनैव ह्युपपत्ति vide वासनपुराण 14. 73.

731. अजा गानो महिषश्च ब्राह्मणी च मरुतिता । वसरात्रेण ह्युपपत्ति भूमिष्ठं च भिन्नोदकात् । वम q. by ह्यु. कौ. p. 297, while अपरार्क p. 293 ascribes it to मनु.

732. अन्वैरेपि कृते कृपे सेतो वाचादिके तथा । तत्र स्वात्मा च पीता च प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते । शातात्प q. by मिता. and अपरार्क on वा. I. 192. ह्युद्धिपकाश p. 106 remarks 'इति स्वयन्त्यापद्विषयमिति श्रुतिपाणिः'.

733. जलाशयेष्वध्यालेषु रथावरेषु मरुतले । ह्युपपत्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च न ह्युपपत्ति । सोमप्रायश्चित्तेन मरुतप्रायश्चित्तेन च । यथा मरुतप्रायश्चित्तेन ह्युपपत्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च । विष्णु q. by अपरार्क p. 273. The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.46 and the 2nd is almost like आपस्तम्ब (in verse) II. 7.

734. प्रपण्वरपणे वमं च कृपे त्रयोषां जलं कोशमतास्तस्थापः । अतोपि श्रुत्याश्रयेण मरुतप्रायश्चित्तेन कश्चित्पक्वेष्टकाचितं च । वम q. by अपरार्क p. 273 and ह्यु. प्र. p. 104 (which reads 'भूमिगताः पिबेज्'). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अत्रि 233, आपस्तम्बश्रुति II. 2. ह्यु. प्र. p. 103 quotes श्रुतिलिखित to the same effect.

thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-35 and I. 6. 37-41, Vasiṣṭha III. 58 and 61-63, Manu V. 111-114, Yāj. I. 182 and 190, Viṣṇu 23. 2, 7, 23-24, Śaṅkha 16. 3-4, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz. water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i. e. pollution caused). Vasiṣṭha (III. 58, 61-63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yāj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Līṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhatithi on Manu V. 114

quotes a verse ⁷³⁵ which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śūdras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scoured ten times with ashes (salts).' Śātatapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baud. Dh. 8. I. 5. 34-50, I. 6. 33-42, Yaj. I. 182-183, Viṣṇu 23. 2-5, Śāṅkha 16. 1-5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but, as the Mit. on Yaj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to. It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels. A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117-118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of *pātrasūddhi* (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India: "vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them; if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śūdras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scoured with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śūdras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scoured ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scoured 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher *varṇas* a śūdra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

735. गवाग्रहातानि कार्श्वानि शुक्रोच्छिद्यानि यानि च । क्षुप्यन्ति वृक्षानिः कारैः श्वका-
कोपहवानि च ॥ q. by मेघा. on मनु V. 113 and मिता. on या. I. 190. This is
लघुशाताव 141. This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by ह्य. कौ. p. 307 and to
शाताव by ह्य. म. 116. This occurs in पराशर VII. 23, where the words शुक्रो-
च्छिद्यानि and श्वकाकोपहवानि are transposed.

woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24-25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days. All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirt such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow's urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Viṣṇu (23. 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devala⁷³⁶ and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire⁷³⁷ (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vas. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire.⁷³⁸

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51-52)⁷³⁹ remarks that the *camasa* vessels used in sacrifices

736. काष्ठानां तक्षणाच्छुद्धिर्बुद्धोमयजलेरपि । सुष्मयानां तु पात्राणां दहनच्छुद्धि-
रिष्यते ॥ वेदल q. by छाजिप्र. p. 118. Vide मनु. V. 115 for the same rule about
wooden vessels.

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32-33 about unclean vessels of wood and earthenware and their purification.

738. मधैर्मूत्रैः पुरीषैर्वा श्लेष्मपूयाक्षुणोणैः । संस्पृष्टं नैव क्षुध्येत पुनःपाकेन सुष्मयत् ॥
बसिष्ठ III. 59 = मनु V. 123. It may be noted that मेधातिथि does not comment
on this verse and quotes it on मनु V. 122 without naming the source.

739. दक्षनाद्यज्ञे चमसपात्राणां । न सोमेनाच्छिद्य भवत्यति क्षुतिः । जी. ध. द.
I. 5. 51-52. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma
from *camasas* by the priests one after another.

are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that *camasa* vessels do not incur the fault of being *ucchiṣṭa* when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. *Manu* V. 116-117, *Yaj. I* 183-185, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 23. 8-11, *Saṁkha* 16. 6, *Parāśara* VII. 2-3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, *Manu* (V. 116-117) provides 'sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with *darbhas* or strainer) and then *camasas* and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the *caruṣṭhāli* (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), *sruc* (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and *sruva* (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the *sphya* (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to *Yaj. I*. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn. Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. *Viṣṇu* 23.25 provides⁷⁴⁰ that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one *droṇa* and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred *Gāyatrī* verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. *Vide Baud. Dh. S. I* 6. 44-48. 'If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the *Anuvāka*

740. अतिदूषणाकृत्य वापन्मात्रमुपहृतं तन्मात्रं परिचय्य शेषस्य कण्डमयकालने कुर्यात् । शीघ्राधिकं सिद्धमकण्डमुपहृतं न दूषयति । तस्योपहतमात्रमवसर्य वापन्वागिमन्त्रितं हवर्जान्मः प्रक्षिपेद् वस्तस्य च प्रक्षिपेद्वज्रेण । *विष्णु* 23.11. The *ह्यसिद्धौ* p. 317 reads 'सूर्यस्य वज्रेण वज्रेण'.

pavamaṇaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4.8). Gaut. 17. 9-10 provide⁷⁴¹ that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yāj. I. 189 and Parāśara VI. 64-65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5.16. 24-29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i. e. it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (*prokṣaṇa*) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāśara (VI 71-74) puts the matter⁷⁴² thus: "food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brāhmaṇa, but purification should be resorted to if it is a droṇa or ādhaka in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

741. नित्यमभोज्यम् । केशकीटावपकम् । रजस्वलाकुल्लशकुनिपदोपहतम् । गौ. 17. 8-10.

742. काकश्वानवलीङ्गं तु गवाश्वातं खरेण वा । स्वल्पमक्षं त्यजेद्विषः क्षुद्रिर्द्रोणादके भवेत् ॥ अक्षरपोदरय तन्मात्रं यच्च लालाहतं भवेत् । सुवर्णोदकमम्बुदय द्रुताग्नेनैव तापयेत् । द्रुताग्नेन संसृष्टं सुवर्णसलिलेन च । विद्यायां ब्रह्मलोभेण भोज्यं भवति तत्क्षणम् ॥ पराशर VI. 71-74, q. by क्षुद्रिमकाशा pp. 128-129 (which reads यच्च लालाकृतिर्भवेत् in the 2nd verse).

food and brāhmanas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating". The Śuddhiprakāśa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a *droṇa* in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an *āḍhaka* ⁷⁴³.

Manu V. 115 ⁷⁴⁴ says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two *kūśas* dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śāṅkha provides ⁷⁴⁵ that purification is brought about by mere *prokṣaṇa* in the case of all exudations (*Asafoetida* &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even *mlecchas* &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. *Laghu-Āśvalāyana* (I 28-30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a *dhōti*), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; *trasara* is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120-121, Yāj. I. 186-187 and Viṣṇu (23. 19-22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow's urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Viṣṇu 23. 6 says ⁷⁴⁶ that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śāṅkha ⁷⁴⁷ quoted by Viṣva-

743. Vide H. of Db. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called *droṇa* and *āḍhaka*. According to most writers four *āḍhakas* are equal to a *droṇa*.

744. इवाणां चैव सर्वेषां छुद्रिकृत्यवनं स्मृतम् । प्रोक्षणां संहृतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणात् ॥ मनु V. 115. कुल्लूक explains 'यावेक्ष्यमाणकुरापत्रह्वयान्वाप्त्यवनेन छुद्रिः', while the छुद्रिय. p. 133 remarks उत्पवनं वक्ष्मास्तरितपात्रप्रक्षेपेण कीदाद्यपनयनमित्युक्तम्.'

745. निर्यासानां छुद्राणां च लवणानां तथैव च । कुलुम्भकुङ्कुमानां च ऊर्णाकार्पा-सयोस्तथा । प्रोक्षणात्कषिता छुद्रिरित्याह भगवान्ममः ॥ शाङ्ख 16. 11-12.

746. अत्यन्तोपहतस्य वक्षस्य यत्प्रक्षालितं विरज्येत तच्छिष्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. 23. 6.

747. चेलानामुत्पेदनं प्रक्षालनं तस्मात्प्रच्छेदो वा । शाङ्ख. q. by विश्वकप ०२ वा. I. 182.

rūpa on Yāj. I. 182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere *prokṣaṇa*.

The smṛtis speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu. V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120-121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow's urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yāj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one's own body. Purification of the body by means of *ācamana* and *snāna* (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 315-316 and 652-653 (about *ācamana*), 656-668 (about *snāna*). Purification by bath on *āśauca* has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 594, vol. III. pp. 647-649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). *Snāna* (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is *patita* (murderer of a brāhmaṇa &c.), a *capḍāla*, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28-30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Aṅgīras verse 152, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 15-16, Yāj. III. 30). Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a *yūpa*, a funeral pyre, a *patita*, a dog and a *capḍāla* one should

undergo a bath.⁷⁴⁸ Parāśara also has a similar verse.⁷⁴⁹ It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 175-176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āśauca. But this is not correct. The explanation of the Śuddhi-kaumudī and Śuddhiprakāśa given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of *Jananāśauca* and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āśauca on birth and death.⁷⁵⁰

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

748. वेदविक्रियेन दूरं पतितं चित्तिमेव च । स्पृष्टा समाचरेत्स्नानं श्चानं चण्डालमेव च ॥
नौ. ध. सू. I. 5.140.

749. चैत्यवृक्षश्चित्तिरूपध्यान्नालः सोमविक्रयी । एतस्तु ब्राह्मणः स्पृष्टा तच्चेतो जल-
मन्विशेत् ॥ पराशर q. by सु. कौ. p. 327, which explains 'चैत्यवृक्षो ग्राममध्ये देववृक्षा-
वृक्षाः, दूषोऽप्येष्टिकर्मरूपश्चित्तसंनिधानात्.'

750. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविहरे । नगरग्रामवाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दूष्यति ।
बृहस्पति q. by सु. कौ. p. 323, सु. प्र. p. 130. सु. कौ. explains 'स्पृष्टः अस्पृष्टिः
अस्पृष्टयो येन स तथा' and सु. प्र. remarks 'अस्पृष्टिरस्पृष्टयं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टिर्वेनेति च बहुव्रीहिः ।
तेन तीर्थादौ अस्पृष्टयस्पर्शने नाचमनस्नानादि ॥'. The स्पृष्टिच. I. pp. 121-122 quotes
this verse and two others 'ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु । ग्रामसंग्रामे चैव
स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते ॥' and 'देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञेषु मङ्गलेषु च । उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टा-
स्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥' from शातातप and बृहत्सिंहस्त respectively and explains ग्रामे राज-
मार्गादौ.....एतच्च वाक्यत्रयं यत्राहमनेन स्पृष्ट इति ज्ञानं नास्ति तद्विषयमिति केचित् ।
अव्यभिचाराद्युचित्यर्थविषयमित्यन्ये ।

(as stated in the Chāndogyopanīṣad VII. 26.2 'āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.

SECTION III

CHAPTER IX

ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāṇa defines śrāddha as follows: 'whatever is given with faith to brāhmaṇas intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitrs* at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha'⁷⁵¹. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 defines śrāddha as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed'. The Kalpataru on śrāddha defined it as 'the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for *pitrs* and its acceptance by brāhmaṇas'. The Śrāddhavigveka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the Mit. but in a more involved manner. Yaj. I. 268 (= Agnipurāṇa 163. 40-41) states that the *pitrs* viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

751. वेदो काले च पात्रे च अद्भ्या विधिना च यत्। पितृभ्यश्च विभक्त्यो वृत्तं आद्भ-
द्वद्भत्तम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by आ. म. p. 3 and 6, आ. क. ल. p. 3, परा. मा. I. 2.
p. 299; आद्भं नामावनीयस्य तत्स्थानीयस्य वा इव्यस्य प्रेतोद्देशेन अद्भ्या त्यागः। नितारा
on या. I. 217; एतेन पितृभ्यश्च इव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्तं आद्भस्वरूपं प्रधानम्।
कल्पतरु (आद्भ) p. 4; कल्पतरुलक्षणमप्यनुपादेयं संस्थासिनामात्मनाद्भे वैषमाद्भे सनका-
दिभ्योऽद्भ्यासाते। आ. क्रि. कौ. pp. 3-4; अत्र कल्पतरुकारः पितृभ्यश्च इव्यप्राप्तो ब्राह्मण-
स्वीकरणपर्यन्तो हि आद्भमित्याह तदनुक्तः। पितृभक्तिं of श्रीवत्त (folio 21a). The
हीपकलिका on या. I. 218 accepts कल्पतरु; आद्भं नाम वेदेष्वधीतपात्रालम्भनपूर्वक-
प्रमीतपित्रादिदेवतोद्देशको इव्यत्यागविशेषः। आद्भविवेक p. 1; अत्रापस्तम्बादिसकलवचन-
पर्यालोचनया प्रमीतमात्रोद्देश्यकाव्यत्यागविशेषस्य ब्राह्मणाद्याधिकरणमतिपर्यनुक्तस्य आद्भ-
पदार्थत्वं प्रतीयते। आ. म. p. 4. The आद्भविवेक states that इव्यत्याग is enjoined by
the words of the Veda (वेदेष्वधीत) and the thing abandoned is handed over
to a deserving brāhmaṇa (पात्रालम्भनपूर्वक). प्रतिपत्ति in आ. म. means the
final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e. g. in Darśa-pūrnāmāsa we have
the sentence इह शाकया प्रतरं महरति. Here शाकामहरणं is प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (Jal. IV. 2.
10-13) and not अर्घ्यकर्म; similarly, the cremation of an āhitaṅni with his
sacrificial vessels is a प्रतिपत्तिकर्म so far as the यज्ञपात्राः are concerned.

viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respectively to be identified with the three orders of superintending *pitr* deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some,⁷⁵² śrāddha denotes three things, viz. *homa*, the offering of *pinḍa* (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmaṇas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of *karma*, *punarjanma* (re-incarnation) and *karma-vipāka* (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in Br. Up. IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gītā 2.22)⁷⁵³ the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yāj. I. 269 (which is the same as Mārķ. 29. 38, Matsya-purāṇa 19. 11-12, Agnipurāṇa 163. 41-42) provides that the grand-fathers (i. e. *pitr*s) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmaṇa (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3-9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and *gotra* (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the *mantras* uttered and faith carry to the *pitr*s the offerings made, that if one's

752. होमश्च पिण्डदानं च तथा ब्राह्मणतर्पणम् । आहुताश्वामभिर्धेयं स्वाहेकस्मिन्नी-
पचारिकः ॥ १. ॥ by आहुतार p. 30. हरदत्त on आप. च. सू. II. 7. 16. 2 says the same
thing. श्रीदत्त in पितृभक्ति (folio 23a) says 'पिण्डदानं तु न आहुतं किं तु आहुताङ्गं पिण्ड-
विरहेऽपि निरयमाहुतवर्जनात्'.

753. अयमात्मेर्हं शरीरं निवृत्त्याविद्यां समयित्वाण्यकवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं कुर्वते पित्र्यं
वा मातृर्ध्वं वा देवं वा माजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वाग्वेषां वा भूतानीह । बृह. उ. IV. 4.4 ; तथा
शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णाश्चक्षुषानि संपाति नवानि देही ॥ कीर्ता 2.22,

father has become a god (by his good deeds) the food offered in śrāddha becomes nectar and follows him in his state of godhood, if he has become a *daitya* (an *asura*) then (the food) reaches him in the form of various enjoyments, if he has become a beast then it becomes grass for him and if he has become a snake the śrāddha food waits on him as wind (serpents are supposed to subsist on wind) and so on. Verses 5-9 of the Matsya, chap. 19 are quoted as from Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa by the Śrāddhakalpalatā p. 5. Viśvarūpa⁷⁵⁴ on Yāj. I. 265 (p. 171 of Tri. ed.) also raises the same objection and gives several replies. One is that this is a matter entirely based on *tāstra* and so when *tāstra* says that *pitr̥s* are gratified and the performer gets desired objects no objection should be raised. Another reply is that the gods Vasus and others that have access everywhere have the power to gratify *pitr̥s* wherever they may be situated. He does not call the questioners (*nāstika*) as some other and later writers do.

The Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapaṇḍita⁷⁵⁵ (about 1600 A. D.) enters upon an elaborate reply to these persons (whom he dubs atheists) that aver that the performance of śrāddhas for departed fathers and the rest, who according to the particular actions of each go to heaven or hell or to other forms of existence serves no purpose. He asks: why is śrāddha useless? Is it because there is no prescriptive text laying down an obligation

754. 'कथं हि स्वकर्माद्युत्पत्त्यनेकविधयोगितपितृपुत्रपुत्रपतिः । शास्त्रप्रमाणकत्वाद्द्वयार्थरूपान्धमेतद् ।...एते देवा वरदादयः प्रीताः प्रीणयन्ति यज्ञतत्रस्थान् मनुष्याणां पितॄन् आहूतात्तरसाधुयदानेनैवार्थः । सर्वयोगितत्वाच्चेत् सर्वावस्थितपितृतर्पणसामर्थ्यमविवक्ष्य ।' विन्ध्य on वा. I. 265 p. 171.

755. अथ ये नास्तिका युतानां पित्रादीनां प्रातिस्निकश्रुभाष्यभक्त्यर्थेन स्वर्गनरकादिषु तत्तद्योगिषु वा नतानां आहूतकरणमनर्थकमाहुस्तन्निराकरणं तावत् क्रियते । किं विध्यभावाद्वा आहूतकरणमनर्थकमुत कलाभावाद्वा पित्रादीनां तृप्त्यसिद्धेः । न तावदाद्यः तस्मात्सर्वप्रधानेन आहूतं कुर्वादिनिषेधः—इत्यादिविधिदर्शनात् । न द्वितीयः । आयुः प्रजां धने विद्यां स्वर्गं मोक्षं पुत्रानि च—इत्यादिकलम्वयनात् । न तृतीयः । न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादय एव आहूतकर्मणि संयोजनयुताः पित्रादिभिर्यवैवर्च्यन्ते किं स्वपितातृप्तृस्वादिदेवतासहिता एव । यथा देवदत्तादिभिर्यवैवर्च्यन्ते शरीर-नात्र नाप्यात्मनात्र किन्तु शरीरविशिष्टाः प्राणिन एवोच्यन्ते । एवमपिष्ठातृदेवतासहिता एव देवदत्तादयः पित्रादिभिर्यवैवर्च्यन्ते । अतश्चापिष्ठातृदेवता वरदादयः पुत्रादिभिर्देवतेनाश्रयणादिना तुलाः सन्तस्तानपि देवदत्तादींस्तर्पयन्ति कर्तुं च पुत्रादिकलेन योजयन्ति । यथा माता गर्भसोषणाद्यप्यवस्थेन बोहदश्रयणादिना स्वयमुपयुक्तेन तुला सती स्वजठरगतमपत्यं तर्पयति बोहदश्रयणमप्येवमवस्थेन उपकारफलेन संयोजयति तद्वत्पुत्रद्वारादिनाः पितरः पितृपितामहम-पितामहद्वारादिना न केवलं देवदत्तादय एव । तदेते आहूतदेवताः आहूतकर्मणि संयोजनयुताः आहूतेन तर्पिताः सन्तो मनुष्याणां पितृस्तर्पयन्तीति । आहूतकल्पलता pp. 3-4. The passage from न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादयः up to the end is taken almost verbatim from the Mit. on Yāj. I. 268. The आहूतकल्प p. 191 remarks 'यद्यप्यपि विष्णुताः—इति एतद्वचनं तु तदाकारत्वेन भावनापरमिति आहूतविवेकादयः'.

to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that *pitrs* and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yāj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words *pitṛ*, *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha*, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words *pitṛ* and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the *pitrs* denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grandfather are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā then quotes 18 verses⁷⁵⁶ from the

756. अन्नमकिरणं यत्तु मनुष्यैः क्रियते भुवि । तेन तुलितुपायान्ति ये विशाखत्वमागताः ॥
यदम्बु स्नानवस्त्रोद्यं भूमौ पतति पुत्रक । तेन ये वरुतां मासास्तेषां तुलितः प्रजायते ॥ यस्तु गन्धा-
म्बुकणिकाः पतन्ति धरणीतले । तामिराट्पायनं तेषां ये देवत्वं कुले गताः ॥ उद्धृतं पृथक् पिण्डेषु
याश्चाज्जकणिका भुवि । तामिराट्पायनं तेषां ये तिर्यक्त्वं कुले गताः ॥ ये वादग्धाः (चादग्धाः ?)
कुले बालाः क्रियायोग्या ह्यसंस्कृताः । विपक्षास्तेष्वेविकिरसंमार्जनजलाग्निः ॥ भुक्त्वा
चाक्षामतां जलं यच्च जलं यच्चाग्निशोधने । ब्राह्मणानां तथैरान्ये तेन तुलितं प्रयान्ति वै ॥ मार्कण्डेय
28. 8-13, स्कन्ध VII. I. 205.23-28 (with slight variations), ब्रह्मपुराण 220.89-95,

(Continued on the next page)

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said⁷⁵⁷ that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pitṛs.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kālpataṭā relying on passages of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Matsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Matsya 141. 74-75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offspring and bestow on them long life, wealth &c? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that *pitṛs* cannot bestow

(Continued from the last page)

quoted by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 333.), आदिसार p. 7 (the first three from मार्कण्डेय and the rest from बृहदारण्यक), आ. क. ल. p. 5; नामगोत्रं विवृणोतु मापके ह्यपकम्पयोः। नाममोत्रकालवेशा (नाममन्त्रास्तथा वेशा) भवाप्तरगतानपि॥ माणिनः प्रीणयन्त्येते तद्वाहारत्व-मागतान्। देवो यदि पिता जातः ह्यभकर्मादियोगतः। तस्याकममुतं भूत्वा विप्रत्यलेऽप्युपतिष्ठति। देवत्ये भोगरूपेण पशुत्ये च तृणं भवेत्। आन्दाकं वायुरूपेण सर्पत्येऽप्युपतिष्ठति। पात्रं भवति यस्तत्वे राक्षसत्ये तथा मिषत्। वसुजत्ये तथा माया (मर्त्त?) प्रेतत्ये वाधिरौघकम्। मनुष्यत्येऽज्ञपानानि नागतभोगरत्नं भवेत्॥ मत्स्य 19.4-9 (with changes in the order of verses) q. as from मार्कण्डेय by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 448), आ. क. ल. pp. 5-6, निर्णयस्तिष्ठु III p. 394 (from मत्स्य). Vide एका (सृष्टि 10. 38-43) for same verses with variations. The गवह (प्रेतकण्ड) 10. 4-7 are almost the same as those from देवो etc. to the end and गवह (प्रेत 10. 12 and 15 are the same as the verses नामगोत्रं...तद्वाहारत्वमागतान्. The स्मृतिच. (आ. 448) explains: नामानि देवदत्तयज्ञवत्तादीनि मन्त्राः पृथिवी ते वात्रानित्यादयः आवेशा इदमजादिकममुष्मी भवत्यिति एवमादिनिर्देशाः. मार्कण्डेय 29, 27-28 are similar.

757. यथा गोषु मन्त्रास्तु वत्सो विवृणोति मातरम्। तथा आद्येषु दृष्टान्तो (वत्सार्त्त?) मन्त्रः मापकते तु तद्। मत्स्य 141. 76, वायु. 56. 85 and 83. 119-120, बृहदारण्यक, अनुवक्त्रपाद 218. 90-91, उपोद्घातपाद 20. 12-13, q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 448) which reads गोदृष्यगो and आद्येकमुद्दिष्टं, आ. क. ल. p. 5.

any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of *punarjanma* and *karmavipāka* were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pitrs in the Rgveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words 'this is for thee,' Viṣṇu Dh. S. 75. 4 'He whose father is dead may put down a pinda for his father &c.' On the other hand Manu III 284 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c. and Yaj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitrs and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pitrs as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the Rgvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pitrs to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pitrs are mentioned ⁷⁵⁸ in post-Vedic Literature. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pitrs move about in the form of birds. The Auśanasa-smṛti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyupurāṇa ⁷⁵⁹ it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. वयसां पिण्डं दद्यात् । वयसां हि पितरः प्रतिमया चरन्तीति विज्ञायते । बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 14; न च पश्येत काकादीन् पक्षिणस्तु न वारयेत् । तद्वृत्ताः पितरस्तत्र समायाति कुमुदस्यः ॥ औशनस (Jiv. I. p. 531); न चात्र इयेनकाकादीन् पक्षिणः प्रतिबेधयेत् । तद्वृत्ताः पितरस्तत्र समायासीति वैविकम् ॥ देवल g. by कल्पतरु on भाद्र p. 17.

759. आहुकाले तु सततं वायुभृताः पितामहाः । आविशन्ति द्विजान् दृष्ट्वा तस्मादेतद् ब्रवीमि ते ॥ वक्ष्येऽहं प्रदानेस्तेर्षयेयैस्तथैव च । गोभिरप्यैस्तथा ग्रामैः पूजयित्वा द्विजोत्तमान् । भवन्ति पितरः श्रिताः पूजितेषु द्विजातिषु ॥ तस्मादन्वेन विधिबत् पूजयेद् द्विजसत्तमान् । वायुपुराण 75.13-15 (= वायु, उत्तरार्ध 13.13-15, Venk. ed.); ब्राह्मणस्ते समायाति पितरो ह्यन्तरिक्षागः । वायुभृताश्च तिष्ठन्ति मुक्त्वा यान्ति परां गतिम् । औशनससूक्ति (Jiv. I. p. 526).

enter the brāhmanas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brāhmanas are honoured with clothes, foods, gifts, eatables, liquids, cows, horses and villages, pitrs become pleased. Manu III 189 and the Auśanasa-smṛti also support this notion that pitrs enter the invited brāhmanas. The Matsyapurāṇa (18. 5-7) enjoins: pīṇdas should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death); the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra.⁷⁶⁰ (20. 34-36) provides "the departed spirit enjoys in the world of *pitr*s the food offered in śrāddha with the utterance of the word 'śvadhā'; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrāddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrāddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity)."

The Brahmapurāṇa⁷⁶¹ states that śrāddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word '*pitarah*' from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word '*pitr*' means 'father', but the word '*pitarah*' is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by them-

760. पितृलोकगतश्चात्मा आद्धे भुंक्तं स्वधासमम् । पितृलोकगतस्यास्य तस्माच्छ्राद्धं प्रपद्यते ॥ देवत्वे यातनास्थाने तिर्यग्योनी तथैव च । मानुष्ये च तथामिति आद्धे वृत्तं स्वधाम्भवे । मेतस्य आद्धकर्तृश्च पुष्टिः आद्धे कृते भवम् । तस्माच्छ्राद्धं सदा कार्यं शोकं त्यक्त्वा निरर्थकम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 20. 34-36. Compare मार्कण्डेय 23.49-51 (Venk. ed.) for similar verses.

761. कृष्णध्वं हनिशार्दूलः आद्धकर्तृं सुविस्तरात् । यथा यत्र यदा येषु (v. 1. येन) वैश्वदेवैस्तद्वाग्यहम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 2.

selves.⁷⁶² For this second meaning, vide Rg. X. 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191-92, 194) and Rg. IX.97.39.^{762a} 'That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.' In Rg. X. 15.1 the *pitrs* are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Rg. X. 15.2). They are all known to Agni, though all *pitrs* are not known to their descendants (Rg. X. 15.13). The *pitrs* are divided into several groups such as Āngirasas, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bhrgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas (Rg. X. 14. 5-6), the Āngirasas being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the Āngirasas (Rg. X. 14. 3-5). In Rg. I.⁷⁶³ 62. 2 it is said: 'through whose (Indra's) help our ancient ancestors (*pitarah*), the Āngirasas, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.' The *pitrs* called Āngiras were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. Navagva and Daśagva⁷⁶⁴ both of which words occur in Rg. I. 62.4, V. 39. 12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages⁷⁶⁵ as in Rg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22.2 and sometimes the Navagvas and Daśagvas also are said to be the seven sages (Rg. I. 62.4). Āngirasas are said to be the sons of Agni (Rg. X. 62. 5) and also of Heaven (Rg. IV. 2. 15). The *pitrs* are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of *Fravashis* that were originally the same as *pitrs* of ancient Hindu works or the Manes among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead. Gradually the meaning of *Fravashi* was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a *Fravashi*. Vide S. B. E. vol. 4 p. 262 for the *Fravashis* of the holy Yama and for the different classes of *Fravashis*; also S. B. E. vol. 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

762 a येना नः पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञाः स्वर्विदो अभि गा अत्रिमुष्णन् ॥ ऋ. X. 97.39.

763. येना नः पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा अर्चन्तो अङ्गिरसो गा अविन्दन् ॥ ऋ. I. 62.2

764. नवग्वासः सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशग्वासो अग्यर्चन्त्यर्कः ॥ ऋ. V. 39.12; ये अग्नेः परि जङ्गिरे विष्पासो दिवस्पतिः । नवग्यो नु दशग्यो अङ्गिरस्तमः सचा देवेषु मंहते ॥ ऋ. X. 62.6.

765. अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन् सप्त ऋग्यो वैर्गहे बध्यमाने । ऋ. IV. 42.8; तद् नः पूर्वे पितरो न ह्यवाः सप्त विपासो अभि बाजयन्तः । ऋ. VI. 22.2.

particularly of Yama (Rg. VII. 76. 4, X. 14. 10, X. 15. 8-10).⁷⁶⁶ The *pitrs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Rg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97. 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Rg. X. 15. 5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Rg. X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 16. 1-2, 5=A. V. 18. 2. 10; Rg. X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Mārķ. chap. 45), Brahmā is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, *pitrs* and human beings. Vide also Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upodghāta chap. 9. 35 (ityete pitaro devā devāśca pitarah punaḥ anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Rg. X. 14. 1 and 8, X. 15. 14, X. 16. 5), and with *pitrs*. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitrs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Viṣṇu (Rg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*divi*) in Rg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states.⁷⁶⁷ The Atharvaveda states:⁷⁶⁸ 'let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.' In Rg. I. 35. 6⁷⁶⁹ it is said: there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitr; one (i. e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate. 'The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the *pitrs*' (Rg. X. 107. 1). In the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 5⁷⁷⁰

766. त इवेवानां सधमाव अत्तञ्जतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः। गृहं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्धविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुपासन् ॥ अ. VII. 76. 4; अपा पितृन् सुविद्वान् उपेहि बभेन ये सधमादं मवन्ति ॥ अ. X. 14. 10 = अथर्व 18. 2. 11.

767. माध्यमिको यम इत्याहुः। तस्मान् माध्यमिकान् पितृन् मन्थन्ते। निबृक्त XI. 18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulliamy's 'Immortal man,' chap. V. pp 140-143.

768. ये नः पितुः पितरो ये पितामहा य आविबिष्टुर्वन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षिपन्ति पृथिवीमुत धां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम ॥ अथर्ववेद 18. 2. 49.

769. तिस्रो धावः सवितुर्ह्य उपस्थां एका यमस्य भुवने विरापाद्। अ. I. 35. 6.

770. तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 10. 5; अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्य-लोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जयत्ये माभ्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद्विद्यां यज्ञं सन्ति। बृह. उ. I. 5. 16.

it is said that the pitrs dwell in the third world from this. This means that after *bhūloka* and *antarikṣa* comes the *pitrloka*. In the Br. Up. I. 5.16 three worlds of men, pitrs and gods are separately mentioned. In Rg. X. 135, 1-7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Rg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X. 14. 1) or as being in company of the pitrs. In a few other places Yama is no doubt called *rājan* and praised in the same breath with Varuṇa (Rg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159-160 above and notes 381-386.

There is another division of pitrs viz. *pitarah somavantah*,⁷⁷¹ *pitarah barhiṣadah*, *pitarah agniṣvātāh*. The latter two are named in Rg. X. 15. 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows:—"those that performed a soma sacrifice are *pitarah somavantah*; those that offered cooked oblations (like *caru* and *puroḍāśa*) and secured a world are *pitarah barhiṣadah*; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are '*pitarah agniṣvātāh*;' these are the only ones that are *pitarah*." The Tai.⁷⁷² Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kāthaka Saṁhitā IX. 6. 17 also refers to these three kinds of *pitrs*. Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of *pitrs* and also increased the number of the classes of *pitrs*. For example, the Nandipurāṇa q. by Hemādri states: the *pitrs* of brāhmanas are called '*agniṣvātā*', those of kṣatriyas '*barhiṣadah*', those of vaiśyas '*kāvyas*', those of śūdras '*sukālin*' and those of mleccas and untouchables are called '*vyāma*'.⁷⁷³ Even Manu

771. तद्ये सोमेनेजानाः । ते पितरः सोमवन्तोऽथ ये वृतेन पकेन लोकं जयन्ति ते पितरो बर्हिषदोऽथ ये ततो जात्यतरञ्च यानग्निरेव बहन्स्वद्वयति ते पितरोऽग्निष्वात्ताः । एत उ ते ये पितरः । शतपथब्रा. II. 6.1.7.

772. पितृन् बर्हिषदो यजति ये वै यज्वानः ।...पितृनग्निष्वात्तान् यजति ये वा अयज्वानो गृहमेधिनः । ते पितरो अग्निष्वात्ताः । अग्निं कथ्यवाहनं यजति य एव पितृणामग्निः । तस्माद्वा वृषीयास्तुषबाक्षामनि युञ्जन्ति । एतावन्तो हीज्यन्ते । तै. ब्रा. I. 6.9.5. वायुपुराण (30.6-7) echoes this 'अग्निष्वात्ताः स्मृतास्ते वै पितरोऽग्नाहिताग्रयः । यज्वानस्तेषु ये ब्रह्मसन् पितरः सोमपीधिनः । स्मृता बर्हिषदस्ते वै पितरोऽग्नाहिताग्रयः'.

773. अग्निष्वात्ता ब्राह्मणानां पितरः परिकीर्तिताः । राज्ञां बर्हिषदो नाम विज्ञां काव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सुकालिनस्तु शूद्राणां व्यामा म्लेच्छास्वयजतिषु । q. by आ. प्र. p. 11 from हेमाद्रि; compare मनु III. 197,

(III. 193-198) mentions several classes of *pitrs*, connects *pitrs* called Somapās, Havirbhujah Aṅyapās and Sukalins with the four varpas and in III. 199 states that the *pitrs* of brāhmaṇas are designated as Anagnidagdha, Agnidagdha, Kāvya, Barhiṣad, Agniṣvāta and Saumya. Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitrs*. Vide Matsyapurāṇa 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15-18 for their definitions. In Śātātapa-smṛti (VI. 5-6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitrs* are mentioned viz. pinḍabhājah (three), lepabhājah (three), Nāndimukhas (three) and Aśrumukhas (three). This is a classification of *pitrs* from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73.60, Brāhmāṇḍa (Upodghāta 9.53), Padma V. 9. 2-3, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 138. 2-3 and other Purāṇas the classes of *pitrs* are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimat*) and four have forms (*mūrtimat*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa (VI. 216. 9-10) speaks of nine groups of *pitrs*, being Agniṣvātāḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ, Aṅyapāḥ, Somapāḥ, Rāsmipāḥ, Upahūtāḥ, those called 'āyantunah', Śrāddhabhujah, Nāndimukhah. In this list old and new elements are mixed up. The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III. 201) states that from the sages the *pitrs* sprang, from the *pitrs* sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the *pitrs*. This is really a more eulogy of *pitrs* (i. e. it is an arthavāda).

The *pitrs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word 'pañcajanāḥ' occurring in Rg. X. 77⁴ 53, 4

774. पञ्च जना नम होत्रं जुषध्वम् । गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षासीत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्येषामण्यवः । निकृत् III. 8. The ऐ. भा. 13.7 has 'एतत्पञ्च जनानां मुख्यं देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां सर्पोणां च पितॄणां च'. The real meaning of पञ्चजनाः is the same as that of पञ्चकुल्यः (in Rg. X. 60.4), पञ्च क्षितीर्मातृषीः (Rg. VII. 79.1), पञ्च चर्यणीः (Rg. V. 86.2) and we have यत् पञ्चजण्यया विशा in Rg. VIII. 63.7. पञ्चजनाः means विशा, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five clans. By the time of the Alt. Br. the original meaning of पञ्चजनाः was probably forgotten. The वेदान्तसूत्र (I. 4. 11-13) explains that the expression पञ्चजनानां occurring in Br. Up. IV. 4.17 refers to Prāṇa, Cakṣuḥ (eye), ear, food and mind occurring in the next verse (Br. Up. IV. 4.18). Śāṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word पञ्चजन in Rg. VIII. 63.7 means *prajā* (people).

(*pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam*) and other passages, the Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. Gandharvas with Apsarases, *pitṛs*, *devas*, *sarpas* and *rūkṣasas*. The Nirukta III. 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives another. In the Atharvaveda X. 6. 32 the gods, *pitṛs* and men are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the *Pitṛs*. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided the quarters, the gods took the east, *pitṛs* the south, men the west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the *pitṛ-yajña* is performed in the afternoon (Śān. Br.).⁷⁷⁵ The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 2 narrates that the *pitṛs* wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will have food at (the end of) each month (on the *Amāvāsyā*), your *svadhā* (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. ⁷⁷⁶ I. 3. 10. 4 appears to make a distinction between *pitṛs* who are of the nature and position of gods and *pitṛs* that are more or less like human beings.

The Kausika-sūtra (1. 9-23) neatly collects in one place the difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for *pitṛs*. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of the rites for *pitṛs* it is worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east or north, while that for the *pitṛs* is begun facing the south; the rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), while that for the *pitṛs* is completed in the south-west; an action is done only once for *pitṛs*, while for gods at least thrice or as many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the case of *pitṛs*; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' and 'vasat', while they are made to *pitṛs* with 'svadhā' and

775. अथ यद्वपराद्धे पितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति अपक्षयभाजो वै पितरः । शा. भा. V. 6.

776. देवान् वै पितृन् मीतान् मनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपियते । तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिनिदधाति । षट् सम्पद्यते । षड् वा ऋतवः । ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः । ऋतेष्वेव देवान् पितृन् मीणाति । तान् मीतामनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपियते । तै. भा. I. 3. 10. 4 (com explains अनुप्रपियते as मीता भवन्ति). This is alluded to in the बाधुपुराण 30, 4 'मध्वादयः षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितरन्प्रचक्षते । ऋतवः पितरो देवा इत्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥.'

'namaskāra'; the darbhās employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhās used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud. Śr. II. 2. also mentions some of these in one place.⁷⁷⁷ The Rgveda itself (in X. 14. 3 'svāhānye svadhayānye madanti') marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and *Pitrs*. The Śat. Br. (II. 1, 3, 4 and II. 1, 4, 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and *pitrs* are placed in separate classes, still the *pitrs* partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Rg. X. 15. 8 shows, the *pitrs* drank Soma. In Rg. X. 68. 11 it is said that the *pitrs* adorned the sky with nakṣatras (nakṣatrebhiḥ pitaro dyām-apimśan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The *pitrs* are said to have found out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Rg. VII. 76. 4). Here the *pitrs* are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The *pitrs* are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Rg. X. 14. 6 the good will (*sumati*) and favour (*saumanasa*) of the *pitrs* are sought. In Rg. X. 15. 1. and 5 the protection of *pitrs* is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Rg. X. 15. 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Rg. X. 15. 7 and 11) and on his son. Rg. X. 15. 11 and A. V. 18. 3, 14⁷⁷⁸ seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons. A. V. 14. 2. 73 says 'May the *pitrs* who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.'⁷⁷⁹ In the Vāj. S. II. 33 occurs⁷⁸⁰ the well-known mantra 'Oh *pitrs*! deposit (in this wife) an

777. मागपवर्माण्युदगपवर्गाणि वा माबुक्षः प्रदक्षिणं यज्ञोपवीती देवानि कर्माणि करोति । दक्षिणाह्व्यः प्रसव्यं माचीनावीती पित्र्याणि । बी. ओ. II. 2.

778. पता यात पितर आ च याताय वो यज्ञो मधुना समक्तः । दत्तो अस्मभ्यं द्विविण्णं भद्रं रयिं च नः सर्ववीरं दधात । अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 14.

779. ये पितरो बहुदुर्गा इमं बहुमागमन् । ते अस्यै वध्वै संपत्यै प्रजावच्छर्मं यच्छन्तु ॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 73.

780. आधत्त पितरो गर्भं कुमारं पुष्करलजम् । यथेह पुरुषोऽसत् ॥ वाज. सं. II. 33. The स्वाविरयुह्य III. 5. 30 provides 'मध्यमं पिण्डं पुत्रकामा प्राशयेदाधत्तेति'; vide गोभिलयुह्य IV. 3. 27 and also कौशिकसूत्र 89. 6. The आश्व. ओ. II. 7. 13 reads पत्नीं प्राशयेदाधत्त पितरो...लजम् । यथायमस्या असत्'. The *Asvins* are called पुष्करलजौ and so in पुष्करलजं the idea is that the son may be long-lived and handsome. यथेह...असत् may be explained as 'येन प्रकारेण इदं क्षितिं पुरुषो देवपितुमनुष्याणाम-मोष्टपूरयिता भूयात् तथा गर्भमाधत्त ।' ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. कात्या. ओ. IV. 1. 22 also says आधत्तेति मध्यमपिण्डं पत्नीं प्राशयति पुत्रकामा.

embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male' repeated when the wife of the performer of the śrāddha eats the middle one out of the three pinḍas. It should not be, however, supposed that the element of fear of the pitrs is altogether wanting.^{780a} For example, Rg. X. 15. 6 prays 'whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not injure us for that.' In Rg. III. 55. 2 we read 'May the gods and the ancient pitrs who know the place (of the cows or the path) not harm us here.' In Rg. X. 66. 14 it is said 'the Vasiṣṭhas praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like pitrs and like sages.' Here pitrs and ṛṣis are separate groups and Vasiṣṭhas are compared to both.^{780b}

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word *pitrah* is applied to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man. 'Therefore up to three generations they specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones to whom sacrifice is offered' (vide n. 772 above). The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 19⁷⁸¹ mentions the presentation formulas of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

780 a. Compare Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (pp. 24-25) for fear and affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive as well as civilized men.

780 b. देवाः सौम्याश्च काम्याश्च अयज्जानो ह्यपोनिजाः। देवास्ते पितरः सर्वे देवास्ताम्राद्यन्त्युत॥ मनुष्यपितरश्चैव तेभ्योऽग्रे लोकिकाः स्मृताः। पिता पितामहश्चैव तथा यः प्रपितामहः॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II. 28.70-71; आङ्गिराश्च क्रतुश्चैव कश्यपश्च महावृषिः। एते कुरुकुलश्रेष्ठ महायोगेश्वराः स्मृताः। एते च पितरो राजन्नेष आद्विविधिः परः। प्रेतास्तु पिण्डसम्बन्धान्मृच्यन्ते तेन कर्मणा॥ अनु. 92.21-22. This last shows that ancient sages like अंगिरस्, क्रतु and कश्यप are pitrs to whom water is offered (and no पिण्डs), while pinḍas are offered to one's immediate deceased ancestors.

781. स ददाति। असावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च स्वामित्यु ह्ये आहुस्वन्तु तथा न ज्ञात् स्वयं वे तेषां सह येषां सह तस्माद् ज्ञयादसावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे असावेतत् इति पितामहायासावेतत् इति प्रपितामहाय। तद्यदितः पराग्वदाति सकृदु होव पराश्वः पितरः। ज्ञतपथ II. 8.4.2. The तै. सं. I.8.5.1 is: सोमाय पितुमते पुरोडाशं षट्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो धानाः पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिवान्याये दुग्धे मन्धश्च। एतत् ते तत ये च स्वामन् एतत् ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च स्वामन् अत्र पितरो यथामागं मन्धश्च। Again in तै. सं. III. 2.5.5 occurs the passage 'एतत् ते तत...मन्धश्च'। This is carried on to later times as in अनु. 92.15 'सोमायेति च षक्त्यर्थं तथा पितृमते च'। Vide also अथर्व. 18.4.71-77 'अग्रे कश्यपाहनाय स्वधा नमः। सोमाय पितुमते स्वधा नमः। पितृभ्यः सोमवद्भ्यः स्वधा नमः। यमाय पितुमते स्वधा नमः। एतत् प्रततमिह स्वधा ये च स्वामन्। एतत् ततामह स्वधा ये च स्वामन्। एतत् तत स्वधा।' In Rg. IX. 11.2.3 कारुहं ततो भिषक्, तत means 'father'. नपात् (=पौत्र) and प्रणपात् (प्रपौत्र) occur in Rg. VIII. 17.13,

then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share" (Vāj. S. II. 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadhā-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III. 221) and Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (21. 3, 75. 4) prescribe the invocation of pitṛs after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p. 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Āditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya is meant only for contemplation (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāṇa⁷⁸² prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmaṇas that he would call the pitṛs to the rites and that when the brāhmaṇas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pitṛs here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāṇa (56. 65-66) Brahmanḍa and Anu. distinguish between pitṛs who are above and pitṛs who are *laukika*, viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70. 34 for pitṛs that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purāṇas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pitṛs. For example, the Vāyupurāṇa 56. 18 speaks of three classes of pitṛs viz. 'kāvyāḥ, barhiṣadaḥ and agnisvāttāḥ', while the same Purāṇa, chap. 73, Varāha 13. 16 ff, Padma (Śṛṣṭi 9. 2-4) and Brahmanḍa III. 10.1 speak of the origin of pitṛs of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (*mūrtimat*) and three of which are without form (*amūrta*). The Śātātapa-smṛti (6. 5-6) speaks of 12 pitṛs viz. pīṇabhājāḥ, lepabhājāḥ, nāṇḍimukhāḥ and āśrumukhāḥ. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

782. ब्रह्मपुराणे । पितृनावाहयामीति श्रयमुक्त्वा समाहितः । आवाहयस्वेति परैरुक्तत्वा-
वाहयेच्छुचिः॥ पितरो दिव्याः बभूवुर्मादित्याः मातृषाः यजमानस्य पित्रादयः । आ. म. p. 204.

From the sūtra period (about 600 B. C.) to the most modern among medieval Dharmaśāstra works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S. gives the following interesting information:⁷⁸³ "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i. e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i. e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitarāḥ*) are the deities but the brāhmanas (that are fed) are in the place of the *ūhavanīya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations are offered)". On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the brāhmanas is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmandapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 9, 15. and 10, 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 1. 30, Vāyu 44. 38 and Bhāgavata III. 1. 22 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345.⁷⁸⁴ 14-21 and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara I. 139. 14-16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three pīṇḍas offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather. From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S. cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the R̥gveda (VIII. 63. 1, VIII. 30. 3). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Pīṇḍapitr-yajña⁷⁸⁵ (performed on the *amūvāsyā* of each month by an

783. सह देवमनुष्या अस्मिँल्लोके पुरा बभूवुः। अथ देवाः कर्मभिरिविं जग्मुर्हीयन्त मनुष्याः। तेषां ये तथा कर्माण्यारभन्ते सह देवैर्ब्रह्मणा चास्मिँल्लोके भवन्ति। अथैतन्मनुः आद्भशब्दं कर्म योवाच। प्रजानिःश्रेयसाय च। तत्र पितरो देवता ब्राह्मणस्ताहवनीयार्थं। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.16. 1-3.

784. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। अहमेवात्र विज्ञेयस्त्रिषु पिण्डेषु संभितः। शान्ति 345. 21, q. by आ. प्र. p. 11.

785. That पिण्डपितृयज्ञ is a आद्भ is stated by गोभिलगृह्य IV. 4. 1-2 'अन्वष्टवयस्थालीपाकेन पिण्डपितृयज्ञो व्याख्यातः। अमावास्यां तच्छ्राद्धमितरद्वन्माहार्यम्।' Vide आ. प्र. p. 4 for the same. For a description of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085-1090, for महापितृयज्ञ *ibid.* pp. 1101-1103.

Ahītāgni), the *Mahāpitryajña* (performed in the *Cāturmāsya* called *Sākamedha*) and the rites called *Aṣṭakās* were known to the early Vedic literature. The word *śrāddha* occurs in the *Kāthopaniṣad* (1. 3. 17) 'whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of *brāhmaṇas* or at the time of *śrāddha* tends to secure immortality.'⁷⁸⁶ The other early occurrences of the word *śrāddha* known to me are confined to the *sūtra* literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the *pitṛs* and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the *pitṛs*. But when the number of rites in honour of *pitṛs* increased, the generic term '*śrāddha*' was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on *śrāddha* may be set out here. The Baud.⁷⁸⁷ Dh. S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The *Harivamśa*⁷⁸⁸ says 'the world derives support from *śrāddha* and *Yoga* (i. e. *Mokṣa*) springs from it.' Sumantu⁷⁸⁹ quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā* (*śrāddha* p. 333) states 'nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than *śrāddha*.' The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 14. 1-4) avers that if a man performs *śrāddha* with faith he thereby propitiates *Brahmā*, *Indra*, *Rudra* and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of *pitṛs* and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. *Yāj. I. 270*⁷⁹⁰ promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying *pitṛs* has already been quoted above (p. 337). *Yama* has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁷⁹¹ quoted by the *Śrāddhasāra* (p. 6) and *Śrāddhaprakāśa* (pp. 11-12) that the *pinḍa* offered to the

786. य इमं परमं शुभं आवयेद् ब्रह्मसंसादि। ययतः आद्धकाले वा तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ कठ० I. 3. 17.

787. पित्र्यमायुष्यं स्वर्ग्यं यशस्यं पुष्टिकर्म च। बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 1.

788. आद्धे प्रतिष्ठितो लोकः आद्धे योगः प्रवर्तते। हरिवंश I. 21. 1.

789. आद्धात्परतरे नाम्यच्छेयस्करमुदाहृत्य। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन आद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः॥ सुमन्तु q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.). p. 333.

790. आयुः पुत्रान् यशः स्वर्गं कीर्तिं पुष्टिं बलं भियः। पशून् सौर्यं धनं धान्यं प्रादुयापितुं पूजनात्॥ यम q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 333), आद्धसार p. 5. Similar verses are यāj. I. 270 (= *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 32.38) and शङ्ख 14.33.

791. पूजितैस्तैर्भविष्यामि चतुरात्मा तथाप्यहम्। पितृपैतामहः पिण्डो वासुदेवः प्रकीर्तितः। पैतामहश्च निदिष्टस्तथा सङ्कर्षणः प्रभुः। पितृपिण्डश्च विज्ञेयः प्रच्युन्नश्चापराजितः। आत्मानिर्द्धो विज्ञेयः पिण्डनिर्वपणे बुधैः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 139.20-22, q. by आद्धसार p. 6 and आद्धप्र. pp. 11-12.

great-grandfather is declared to be god Vāsudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Saṅkarsaṇa, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the piṇḍas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śāntiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Viṣṇu should be looked upon as staying in the three piṇḍas. In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is stated 'on the day of *Amāvāsyā* the pitṛs assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pits of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him'.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word 'śrāddha'. That the word is derived from 'śraddhā' is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahmapurāṇa and the definition⁷⁹² given by Marici and Bṛhaspati the connection of śrāddha with śraddhā is emphasized. In śrāddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmaṇas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śraddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śraddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Rg. 793 X. 151. 1-5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Rg. II. 26. 3, VII. 32. 14, VIII. 1. 31, IX. 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word 'śraddhā' (viz. 'śrat' and 'dhā') are separated without any change in the meaning. For example, in Rg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said 'Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra'. In Rg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have 'I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.' (śratte dadhāmi

792. मेतं पित्रुश्च निर्विश्य भोज्यं यत्प्रियमात्मनः। अद्भया दीयते यत्र तद्भाजं परि-
कीर्तितम् ॥ श्रीचिं quoted from the पुराणीचन्द्रोदय by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 372, आ.
प्र. p. 7; संस्कृतं व्यञ्जनादयं च ययोमपुष्टताञ्चितम्। अद्भया दीयते यस्माद्भाजं तेन निगद्यते॥
बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152, अपराके p. 501, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 176), आ. प्र. p. 3,
आद्भुतचर p. 189 quotes it as पुलस्तका.

793. अद्भयाग्निः समिध्यते अद्भया हव्यते हरिः। अद्भ्यां भगव्य मूर्धनि वचसो वेदया-
मसि ॥ ऋ. X. 151. 1.

prathamāya manyave). In the Tai. S. VII. 4. 1. 1. it is ⁷⁹⁴ said "Bṛhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'". Vide also Rg. I. 103. 5. *śrat* and *śraddhā* are both mentioned in the Nīghaṇṭu (III. 10) as meaning 'satya'. In the Vāj. S. 19.77 we are told that Prajāpati put Śraddhā in truth and aśraddhā in falsehood, while in Vāj. S. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by śraddhā.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāpini explains the forms 'śrāddhin' and 'śrāddhika' in V. 2. 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śraddha dinner.' The word 'śraddha' may be derived from śraddhā according to Pāp. V. 1. 109 ⁷⁹⁵. Śraddhā is variously defined. In the *bhāṣya* on Yogasūtra I. 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composure of the mind ⁷⁹⁶ (or mental approval). Devala defines śraddhā: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called śraddhā; one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts' ⁷⁹⁷. The Śrāddhasūtra ⁷⁹⁸ of Kātyāyana prescribes 'one endowed with śraddhā should offer śraddha even with vegetables (if nothing else is available)'. Vide Manu III. 275 which emphasizes śraddhā for the gratification of pitṛs. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (29. 27) emphasizes ⁷⁹⁹ the relation of śraddha to śraddhā and states that what is offered at śraddhas becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the *pitṛs* who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* and it also remarks that śraddha offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the pitṛs that are born as cāṇḍālas, pukkasas and similar very low grades of people.

794. बृहस्पतिरकामयत् अन्मे देवा बधीरन् गच्छेय पुरोधामिति । तै. सं. VII. 4. 1. 1.

795. प्रयोजनम् । पा. V. 1. 109; तद्व्यत्येव । सि. कौ.; अद्धा प्रयोजनं (कारणं) अर्थ इति आह्वयः.

796. अद्धा चेतसः संमसादः । सा हि जननीय कल्याणी योगिनं वाति । योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 20.

797. प्रत्ययो धर्मकार्येषु तथा अद्धेत्पुत्राद्वता । नास्ति ह्यअद्धधानस्य धर्मकृत्ये प्रयोजनम् ॥ देवल q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 16 and आह्वयतत्त्व p. 189.

798. अद्धाश्रितः आह्वं कुर्वीत शाकेनापि । आह्वसूत्र of कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152.

799. अद्धया परया वत्तं पितृणां नामगोत्रतः । यदाहारस्तु ते जातास्तदाहारत्वमेति तत् ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 27; अग्न्यायोपाजितैरर्थैर्बद्धाह्वं क्रियते नरैः । तृप्यन्ते तेन चाण्डालः पुत्रस्तादासु योगिषु ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 16, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 22.

It has already been stated above (pp. 349-350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṇḍa-pitr-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e. g. Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 10, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 1, Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 3 &c.), the Mahāpitr-yajña and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II. (as said above), but the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut. (VIII. 19) mentions 'Aṣṭakā' rite as the first among the seven kinds of *pākayajñas* and as one of the forty *saṃskāras*. Aṣṭakā appears to have meant the 8th *tithi* in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI. 4. 2. 10). The Śat. Br. states⁸⁰⁰ 'On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of *agnicayana*) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.' Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jai.⁸⁰¹ I. 3. 2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10. 2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20. 27 as a *mantra* indicative of Aṣṭakā. The mantra is "May that (Aṣṭakā) night be very auspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.' In the A. V. III. 10. 8 the Ekāṣṭakā is said to have the year (Sāmvatsara) as husband. The Tai. S. VII. 4. 8. 1. provides⁸⁰² 'Men about to take dīkṣā (consecration) for a *Sāmvatsarasattra* should undergo dīkṣā on the *Ekāṣṭakā*; what is called Ekāṣṭakā is the wife of the year.' Jai. (VI. 5. 32-37) explains that Ekāṣṭakā is the 8th *tithi* after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp. Gr. (quoted by Haradatta

800. अष्टकायामुक्तां सम्भरति । प्राजापत्यमेतद्वर्त्यद्वष्टका प्राजापत्यमेतत्कर्म यदुक्त्वा प्राजापत्य एव तद्वन् प्राजापत्यं कर्म करोति । ज्ञातपथः VI. 2. 2. 23.

801. अष्टकालिङ्गपथं मन्त्रा वेदे द्वयस्ते यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्तित्येषमाद्यः । शबर on जै. I. 3. 2. The verse as read by शबर on जै. VI. 5. 35 is: यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं धेनुमिवायतीम् । संवत्सरस्य या परमी सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली ॥ and he adds 'अष्टकायै सुराधत्ते स्वाहा'. In the A. V. III. 10. 2 the readings are देवाः for जनाः and धेनुमुपायतीम्.

802. संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमाणः एकावकायां दीक्षेरन्नेवा वै संवत्सरस्य परमी यद्वैकावका । तै. सं. VII. 4. 8. 1.

on Gaut. 8. 19) says ⁸⁰³ the same, but adds that on it (the 8th *tithi*) the moon is in *Jyesthā* constellation. This means that if the 8th *tithi* is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in *Jyesthā* would be called *Ekāṣṭakā*.⁸⁰⁴ The Hir. Gr. (II 15. 9) also says that *Ekāṣṭakā* is called the wife of the year.⁸⁰⁵

According to the Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 1 the *Aṣṭakā* days (and rites) were four, viz. the 8th *tithis* of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira* (i. e. of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *Pauṣa*, *Māgha* and *Phālguna*). Most of the *Grhya-sūtras* viz. *Mānava* Gr. II 8, *Sāṅ.* Gr. III. 12. 1, *Khādīra* Gr. III. 3. 27, *Kāthaka* Gr. 61. 1, *Kausītaki* Gr. III. 15. 1 and *Pār.* Gr. III. 3 say that there are only three *Aṣṭakā* rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of *Mārgaśīrṣa* (called *āgrahāyaṇī*) i. e. in the dark halves of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *Pauṣa* (or *Taiṣa*) and *Māgha*. The *Gobhila* Gr. III. 10. 48 mentions that the *Aṣṭakās* are four according to *Kautsa* and in all flesh is to be offered, but that *Gautama*, *Audgāmaṇi* and *Vārkakhaṇḍi* prescribe only three and *Gobhila* follows these latter. The *Baud.* Gr. II. 11. 1 provides that the three *Aṣṭakā* homas are performed in the months of *Taiṣa*, *Māgha* and *Phālguna*. Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 2 refers to an option that *Aṣṭakā* rites were performed only on one *Aṣṭamī* (and not on three or four). The *Baud.* Gr. provides that ⁸⁰⁶ the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of *Māgha* or even in one day (i. e. 8th of the dark half of *Māgha*). The *Hir.* Gr. (II. 14. 2)

803. वा मास्यः पूर्णिमास्या उपरिष्टाद् व्यष्टका तस्यामहमी ज्येष्ठया सम्पद्यते तामेकादशेऽप्यष्टकते । आप. दृ. VIII. 21.10 ; अष्टकां स्वाक्यास्यामः । माध्याः पूर्णिमास्या योऽवरपक्षस्तस्यामहमीमेकादशेऽप्यष्टकते । हिर. दृ. II. 14.1-2. Both अनाकुला and तात्पर्यहर्षान explain व्यष्टका as कुण्डपक्षः.

804 According to a *Vārtika* on *Pāṇ.* VII. 3. 45 the word *Aṣṭakā* is formed from 'aṣṭan.' वार्तिक 9 on पाणिनि VII. 3.45 teaches that from अष्टन् we get *Aṣṭakā* as meaning a rite in which the *pitṛs* are the deities and *Aṣṭikā* in any other sense (such as अष्टिका खारी).

805 The Full Moon night of *Māgha* is said to be the mouth of the year i. e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The *Aṣṭakā* day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

806. अथाष्टकाहोमः । तेने मास्यपरपक्षस्याहम्यां क्रियेत । एवं मासे एवं कालगुने यद्धि विद्वतः । एषु वै समस्त उपरिष्टामाध्याः पूर्णिमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामहम्यां नवम्यामिति क्रियेतापि वाहम्यामेव । बौ. दृ. II. 11.1-4.

describes only one Aṣṭakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Grhya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāṣṭakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyesthā is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gr. II. 14 and 15 the one Aṣṭakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the *pitr̥s*) and 10th (which was the Anvaṣṭakā). The Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Aṣṭakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kāthaka Gr (61. 3), Jaimini Gr. 2. 3 and Śān. Gr. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Aṣṭakās the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and *apūpas* (cakes), while the Pār. Gr. III. 3 and Khādīra Gr. III. 3. 29-30 put *apūpas* for the first Aṣṭakā (and hence Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 9 designates it *apūpāṣṭakā*) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādīra Gr. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 7-10, Gobhila Gr. IV. 1. 18-22, Kauśika 138. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 11. 51-61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, śāringa and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Veda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying 'this is the Aṣṭakā 1 offer,' but one should not remain without observing the Aṣṭakā day in some such manner as the above.⁸⁰⁷

It is remarkable that although the Vārtika quoted above, and the Kāthakagrhya 61. 1 state that the word 'Aṣṭakā' is

807. अथ यद्धि नो न लभते मेधमजं वा लभते। आरण्येन वा मांसेन यथोपपन्नेन। खड्गसुगमद्विषमेधवराहपृषतशशरोहितशार्ङ्गवृत्तिरिक्तापि खलु बाधोऽन्यतानामशयं तिलमधुसंघट्टम्। तथा मत्स्यश्च कतव्यः (?) क्षीरोद्वेनेन वा दूपोद्वेनेन वा। यद्वा भवत्यामिर्वा मूलफलैः प्रक्षानमात्रम्। हिरण्येन वा प्रक्षानमात्रम्। अपि वा गोघ्रासमाहरेत्। अपि बान्धवान्ग्य उदकुम्भानाहरेत्। अपि वा आद्रमन्त्रानधीयीत। अपि वारण्येना कक्षधुपोवेदेषा मेऽहकति। न रवेचानहकः स्यात्। नौ. सू. II. 11. 51-61; अहकायामहकाहोमाहुद्रयात्। तस्या हवींषि धानाः करम्भः कण्डूहवः पुरोडाश उद्धीवनः क्षीरोद्वनस्तिलोद्वनो यथोपपाद्विपद्भ्यः। कौशिकसूत्र 168.1-2. For बाधोऽन्यतानां, vide note (951) below.

applied to a rite in which the *pitrs* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the *Aṣṭakās*. The *Āsv. Gr.* (II. 4. 3 and II. 5. 3-5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitrs* and on the 9th also, but *Āsv. II. 4. 12* refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz. *Viśve-devāḥ* (all the gods), *Agni*, *Sūrya*, *Prajāpati*, *Rātri* (night), *Nakṣatras* (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitrs*, *Paśus* (cattle). The *Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 1* starts ⁸⁰⁸ by saying that Night is the *devatā* of *Aṣṭakā*, but adds that there are other views about the *devatā* being *Agni*, the *Pitrs*, *Prajāpati*, *Rtus* (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of *Aṣṭakā* comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting *brāhmaṇas* for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called *Anvāṣṭakya* or *Anvāṣṭakā*. When the *Aṣṭakās* were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each *Aṣṭakā*. When the *Aṣṭakā* rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in *Māgha*, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the *Grhyasūtras*, such as those of *Āśvalāyana*, *Kauśika*, *Gobhila*, *Hiranyakeśin* and *Baudhāyana* describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of *Aṣṭakās*. One of the shortest being that contained in *Āp. Gr.* (VIII. 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample ^{808a}. After defining *Ekāṣṭakā* (in VIII. 21. 10) *Āp.* proceeds: 'He (the performer of the *Aṣṭakā* rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i. e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a *puroḍāśa*). After the actions up to the

808. अष्टका रात्रिदेवता । शुद्धिकर्मा । आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा माजापत्यतुदेवता वैश्वदेवति देवताविचारः । गोभिलशृङ्ग III. 10.1-3.

808 a. या माध्या...स्यान्वक्षते । तस्याः सायमीपकार्यम् । अपूर्णं खतुःशरावं अपयति । अष्टकावाल इत्येके । पार्वणवद्वाज्यभागान्तेऽलिनोत्तरयापूपाञ्जलि । सिद्धः शेषस्तमष्टका कृत्वा माध्याह्न्य उपहरति । श्वोभूते दुर्भेण माधुपाकरोति पितृभ्यस्त्वा जुष्टाधुपाकरोमीति । तूर्ण्यो पञ्चाज्याहुतीर्भूत्वा तस्यै वर्षा अपयित्वापस्तीर्णाभिधारितां मध्यमेनान्तमेन वा पलाशपर्णेनोत्तरया जुहोति । मांसीद्वनमुत्तराभिः । पिडाकाधुत्तरया । आज्याहुतीरुत्तराः । स्विष्टकृत्पशूति समानमा- तिष्ठन्निधानात् । अन्वष्टकायामेतेके पिण्डनिधानमुपविशन्ति । अथैतद्वपरं दध्म एवाञ्जलिना जुहोति यथापुण्यम् । अत एव यथार्थं मांसं शिष्ट्वा श्वोभूतेन्वष्टका । तस्या मांसिश्वाद्येन कल्पो न्यारूपातः । आप. श्रु. VIII. 21.10-VIII. 22.12.

'Ājyabhāgas'⁸⁰⁹ have been performed in the same way as at the Amāvāsyā and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse⁸¹⁰. The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the brāhmanas⁸¹¹. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a *darbhā* with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready (for sacrifice)'. Having silently (i. e. without uttering the word *svāhā*) offered five⁸¹² oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a *palāśa* leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i. e. Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28).⁸¹³ He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from Āp. M. P. II. 20. 29-35). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 1 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca').⁸¹⁴ Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 2-9). The rites from Svistakṛt⁸¹⁵ down to the placing of the *pinḍas* are the same as at the monthly śrāddha (described in Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1-9). Some teachers prescribe that the *pinḍas* are to be offered the day after the Aṣṭakā (i. e. on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the Aṣṭakā rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For Ājyabhāgas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The Āp. Gr. S. here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha (edited by Dr. Winternitz). The verse meant here is Āp. M. P. (II. 20. 27), quoted above in n 801 (Yām janāḥ &c.).

811. The words 'siddbah śesaḥ' are explained by the Anākulā (of Haradatta) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812. As no *devatā* is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to Prajāpati.

813. Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28 is the *mantra* 'vaha vapām' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O Jātavedas), which is Vāj. S. 35. 20 and is prescribed for this rite in Āśv. Gr. II. 4.13, Sāh. Gr. III. 13.3 and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca' occurs also in Sāh. Gr. III. 14. 2.

815. For 'Svistakṛt' vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 208 and 1257.

(the Astakā day) the Anvastakā rite. Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gr. (II. 5. 3) and Śān. Gr. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvastakya rite follows the procedure of Pindapitryajña, some Grhyasūtras (such as Khādira III. 5, Gobhila IV. 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gr. and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gr. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Grhya-sūtras state that the Anvastakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e. g. Khādira Gr. III. 5. 1 'navamīm daśamīm vānavastakyam'). Further, it may be stated that though most Grhyasūtras call the rite Anvastakya still it is also called Anvastakā by Pār. Gr. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (*surā*), scum of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gr. II. 5) declare that the Astakā and Anvastakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Pindapitryajña, others (like the Baud. Gr. III. 12. 1, Gobhila Gr. IV. 4., Khādira III. 5. 35) say that the Astakā or Anvastakya is the norm which is followed in the Pindapitryajña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāthaka Gr. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers⁸¹⁶ that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapindīkaraṇa), Paśuśrāddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Astakā. The Pinda-pitryajña could be offered on amāvāsyā only by one who was *āhitāgni* (i. e. had kept the sacred vedic fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became *āhitāgni*. The case was probably the reverse i. e. only a few became *āhitāgnis* and the rest had only the grhya fire or many of the rest were without even the grhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā on the analogy of pindapitryajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvāsyā remained and in the sūtras and smrtis all the details were mentioned under māsiśrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smrtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsiśrāddha came to be called the *prakṛti* and the other śrāddhas were called *vikṛtis*.

816. देवपाल on काठकपृष्ठ 66.1. says अष्टकाविकाराणि हि सर्वमाहुर्जानि. The को. गृ. III. 12. 1 states 'अष्टकाविकृतिर्नास्तिकं तत्पुरस्ताद् व्याख्यातम्.'

or variations of the māśīśrāddha. Most of the details of the pīṇapitṛyajña were required in māśīśrāddha and a few (such as giving arghya, gandha, dīpa) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvāṣṭakya⁸¹⁷ is described in the Āśv. Gr. (II. 5. 2-15) as follows :—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,⁸¹⁸ having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Pīṇapitṛyajña (vide Āśv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the *pitṛs* and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the pits; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Maghā day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prauṣṭhapada (i. e. Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvāṣṭakā) to the *pitṛs* every month, observing uneven⁸¹⁹ numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmaṇas) or to any un-even number of brāhmaṇas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions⁸²⁰

817. अन्वष्टक्य is explained by रुद्रकण्ड on सादिरपुष्ट III. 5. as 'अष्टकामनु क्रियते इत्यन्वष्टक्यं कर्म एतच्च प्रत्यष्टकमनन्तरं कर्तव्यम्' and by देवपाल on काठकपुष्ट 65.1 as 'अष्टकाया अनु पश्चाद्भ्रमन्वष्टक्यमित्यग्निकेयं संज्ञान्वष्टक्यमिति। एतच्च केचिद्विष्टकाया अङ्गं वदन्ति केचित्तत्सङ्गं विकारयुतं कर्मांतरम्।'

818. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭakā day (Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 13).

819. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmaṇas or on uneven *tithis*.

820. 'Vṛddhi' or 'Ābhyudayaika' (referring to prosperity or good luck) Śrāddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the *pitṛs* in the Vṛddhi-śrāddha being designated Nādimukha. Pūrta means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide II. of Dh. vol. II. p. 844 n. 1992 and Yāj. I. 250, Sāh. Gr. IV. 4. 1 ff.

or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are to be used instead of sesamum.

The Anvaṣṭakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Aṣṭakās and if only one Aṣṭakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvārṣa⁸²¹ in Āśv. Gr. II, 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th.⁸²² The other view is that it is a rite like the Aṣṭakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Maghā *nakṣatra*. There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the mss. present various forms (vide Oldenberg's note in S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 103 on Śān. Gr. III, 13. 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvārṣa or Maghāvārṣa (meaning 'a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the Maghā *nakṣatra*'). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1⁸²³ mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Aṣṭakās, the three Anvaṣṭakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Maghā asterism, the seasons of *śarad* and *vasanta*. In Viṣṇu Dh. S. (78. 52-53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised. Manu III. 273 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Maghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas. XI. 40 (in the rainy season and on Maghā), Yāj. I. 26 and Varāhapurāṇa.⁸²⁴ In the

821. The word माघ्यावर्ष (as an attribute of *Karma* or *Śrāddha*) may be derived from मघावर्ष (मघायुक्तः वर्षः वर्षेतुः) or वर्षमघा (or वर्षामघा meaning वर्षे मघा or वर्षासु मघा). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of राजवन्त (पा. II. 2.31). हरदत्त on आश्व. सू. explains 'मघासु वर्षासंयोगाद् माघ्या-वर्षमिति भवति तच्च त्रयोदश्याम्' and then quotes पा. I. 261.

822. In the शुद्धासिमास्य of नारायणभट्ट आर्षे it is stated 'अथाष्टकाविकृतिभूतं माघ्यावर्षश्चादं तत्र भाद्रपदापरपक्षे सप्तम्यादिषु त्रिष्वहःसु अष्टकाकर्मवत् सर्वं कुर्यादिति कारिका । हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकुष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तत्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षाकर्म्यं श्राद्धम् ।' folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAS). Vide Cat. No 680 p. 215.

823. अमावास्यातिस्रोष्टकास्त्रिंशोष्टका माघी शौडपक्षार्धे कुष्णत्रयोदशी त्रीहियवपाकी च । निबन्ध. सू. 76. 1. माघी is to be connected with कुष्णत्रयोदशी.

824. यद्वाति गयार्थश्च सर्वमानस्यमभुते । तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥ पा. I. 261 ; गायन्ति चैतत्पितरः कदा तु त्रयोदशीयुक्तमघासु सूयः । वर्षासितान्ते ह्युभर्तीय-तोयैर्यास्याम तृप्तिं तनयादिदत्तैः ॥ ब्राह्मपुराण 13.47; correct grammar requires यास्याम-इत्युक्तिम्.

Hir. Gr. II 13. 3-4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be *Madhyāvaraṣa* ⁸²⁵ and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār. ⁸²⁶ Gr. (III 3) the name (as printed) is *madhyāvaraṣa* which is said to be a 4th *Aṣṭakā* in which only vegetables are offered. *Aparārka* (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvaraṣa.' In the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* ⁸²⁷ (*Brahma-parva*), chap. 183. 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* is a precursor of the *Mahālayaśrāddha* of later times.

If *Āśvalāyana's* view, viz. that there are four *Aṣṭakās* in *Hemanta* and *Śisīra*, were followed and if the *Maghyāvaraṣa-śrāddha* were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* as *Nārāyaṇa* holds, then there would be five *Aṣṭakās* in all. *Bhaṭṭoji* in his *Caturvimsatimatasaṅgraha* says so. ⁸²⁸

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from *Āp. Gr.* and *Āśv. Gr.* with the procedure described in the other *Grhyasūtras*. It should be noted that several of the *sūtras* often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813-814).

It must be said that the *Aṣṭakā śrāddhas* gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly *śrāddha* on *Amāvāsyā* was the model *śrāddha* (*prakṛti*) of

825. मातृवत् on हिरण्य. सू. explains 'माघ्यावर्यः शीतपक्षे मासस्तत्र भव्य' i. e. he derives the name from मघ्य and वर्ष (year), the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with चैत्र).

826. मघ्यावर्ये च तुरीया शकाहका । पार. सू. III. 3 (last sūtra) in the Gujarathi Press edition.

827. त्रिकोहकारतु कर्तव्या मघ्यावर्ता (मघ्यावर्या?) चतुर्थिका । शकापायसपूरेतु मासेन तु चतुर्थिका ॥ भविष्यसू. (I. 183.4).

828. एवं भाद्रपदचतुर्दश्याहमप्यहका चोच्यते । तथा च एकपुराणे—अग्निष्वाप्तपितृ-कर्मणा वसुनाम्ना पित्रा ज्ञाताः पुनरतुयुहीतायाः भाद्रपदापरपक्षाहकालेनोत्पत्तिर्वसिता । शीतपक्षाहका रूपः पितृलोके भविष्यति । आधुरायोग्यद्वा निर्यं सर्वकामफलप्रदा ॥ इति । तदेवं पक्षाहका हेमाद्र्यादिग्रन्थे स्थिताः । तथापि आह्वं निर्यम् । भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 122. एक-पुराण (सुब्रह्मण्ड) chap. 9. 28-29 are: शीतपक्षाहका रूपः...स्वर्गकामफलप्रदा । हेमाद्रि on आह्व. p. 185 says 'अथ पूर्वोक्ताहकचतुर्दश्याहकानि चोच्यते एकपुराणे' and then he quotes eight verses from the पक्ष of which शीतपक्षाहका is the last.

which the *Aṣṭakās* and other *śrāddhas* were copies (*vikṛtis*) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the *Gobhilagrhya* (IV. 4. 3 ff) another *śrāddha* called 'Anvāhārya' is prescribed after the *Pindapitṛyajña* on the same day. The *Śaṅ. Gr.* IV. 1. 13 appears also to describe the monthly *śrāddha* as distinct from the *Pindapitṛyajña*. *Manu* (III. 122-23) states: 'After performing the *Pitṛyajña* (i. e. *pindapitṛyajña*) a *brāhmaṇa* who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the *amāvāsya* day the funeral sacrifice *Pindānvāhāryaka*.⁸²⁹ The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes *Anvāhārya* and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the *śrauta* fires (i. e. an *āhitāgni*) was to perform the *pindapitṛyajña* in the *śrauta* fires and also perform the same day another *śrāddha* after the *pindapitṛyajña*, while those who had not consecrated *śrauta* fires were to perform on *amāvāsya* a *śrāddha* in the *gṛhya* fire, which was called *pindānvāhāryaka* or simply *anvāhārya* and also were to offer *pindapitṛyajña* in *smārta* fire (vide *Sat. Śrauta* II. 7. 64 'gṛhyāgnau anāhitāgneḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most *Agnihotṛins* (at least in the Deccan) do not perform *Pindapitṛyajña* at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the *Pindānvāhāryaka śrāddha*. It is further to be noted that in *smārta* *yajñas* no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead *māṣa* grain and there are *āhitāgnis* who do not offer meat in *śrauta* sacrifices also, but only *piṣṭa-paṭu* (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on *śrāddha* is enormous in extent. From the Vedic *Saṁhitās* several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with *śrāddha* have been dealt with in more or less detail. The *Purāṇas* contain thousands of verses on *śrāddha*. An

829. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 122 explains: 'पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्नियतेऽह्नियते तत् पिण्डान्माहार्यकं भवति', while सर्वज्ञानारण्य explains 'पिण्डेभ्योल्लिप्यते मात्रामन्वाहृत्य बाष्पाना अथ आह्ने भोग्यन्ते इति पिण्डान्माहार्यकम्'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पञ्चपुराण, सुष्टि 9.88-89 'पितृयज्ञं तु निर्भर्यं तर्पणार्थं तु योऽग्निमान् । पिण्डान्माहार्यकं कृत्वा आह्निकाले अये तदा ॥ (कुप्योऽह्नाह्निमुदुक्षये तथा?)' and by the मत्स्यपुराण 16. 43 यस्माद्वह्नौऽहुता मात्रा भक्षयन्ति द्विजानयः । अन्वाहार्यकमित्युक्तं तस्मात्-अह्न्यन्तं अये ॥. The पञ्चपुराण (सुष्टि 9. 119) further says 'एतदग्निमतां मोक्तमन्वाहार्यं च धार्यकम्'. The कल्पतर्क (on आह्निक p. 10) explains मनु III. 122: पितृयज्ञोऽत्र पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञः । पिण्डान्माहार्यकं पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्नियते कियते यद्दर्शाद्वाह्ने तत्तथा ॥.

adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i. e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇa* texts, then in the comparatively older *Gṛhya* and *Dharma sūtras*, then in such early *smṛtis* as those of *Manu* and *Yāj.*, then in some representative *Purāṇas*, then in the early commentaries of *Medhātithi*, *Vijñāneśvara* and *Aparārka*, and then in the medieval digests. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the *śākhā* and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the *Purāṇas* the differences in detail in the several *śākhās* have been adverted to.^{329a} Apart from the *smṛtis* and passages of the *Mahābhārata* (such as *Anuśāsana* chap. 87-92) and commentaries on the *Sūtras*, on *Manu*, *Yāj.* and other *smṛtis*, the digests on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digests (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: *Kalpataru* on śrāddha; the *Hāralatā* and *Pitṛdayitā* of *Aniruddha*; the *Smṛtyarthasāra*; the *Smṛticandrikā*; the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (section on śrāddha) of *Hemādri* (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the *Śrāddhaviveka* of *Rudradhara*; the *Madanapārijāta*; the *Śrāddhasāra* (a part of *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda*); *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* of *Govindānanda*; the *Śrāddhatattva* of *Raghunandana*; the *Śrāddhasaukhya* (part of *Ṭoḍarānanda*); the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* of *Vināyaka* *alias* *Nandapaṇḍita*; the *Nirpayasindhu*; the *Śrāddhamayūkha* of *Nilakaṇṭha*; the *Śrāddhaprakāśa* (part of *Vīramitrodaya*); the *Śrāddhacandrikā* of *Divākarabhāṭṭa*; the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (on śrāddha); the *Dharmasindhu*; the *Bālabhāṭṭi*, a commentary on the *Mitākṣarā*. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like *parivitti*, *vṛṣalipati* increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

329 a. The स्कन्दपुराण (नागरखण्ड chap. 215. 24-25) says: इदमन्ते बहवो भेदाः द्विजानां आश्रयकर्मणि। शास्त्रस्य बहवो भेदाः शास्त्राभेदेऽप्यविरचिताः ॥

We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādhipikārin*). This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256-261 (notes 581-588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer *pinḍas* (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer *pinḍas* to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13-21 it is narrated⁸³⁰ that emperor Mandhatṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kirātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled Dasyus in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all *dasyus* may perform Pitṛyajñas (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmanas also. The Vāyupurāṇa (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to *Pitṛs*. The general rule is stated by the Gobhila-smṛti⁸³¹ that the husband should not offer *pinḍa* to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nini who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was *dharmaśaṅkara* is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Śaṭtrimśan-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Bṛhat-parāśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhasātatapa (q. by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except sapinḍikarāṇa) to be performed by any one for any

830. यवनाः किराता मागधराक्षीनाः शबरवर्चराः । अकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च पल्लवाश्चान्ध-
मज्ञकाः । ...कथं धर्मीश्चरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनाः । मद्भिषेक्ष कथं रथाग्न्याः सर्वे वै हस्त्य-
जीविनः । ...मात्रपितृभ्यो हि ह्येषा कर्तव्या सर्वहस्त्युभिः । ...पितृयज्ञास्तथा क्रुपाः प्रपाश्व शयनानि
च । दानानि च यथाकालं हिजेय्वो विसृजेत्सदा । ...पाकयज्ञा महाहर्षश्च दातव्याः सर्वहस्त्युभिः ।
स्मृतिपर्व 65. 13-21; on this the सूत्रकमलाकर (p. 55) remarks 'इति स्लेष्ठादीनां
आहुविधानं तदपि सजातीयभोजनस्यैवदानादिपदम्'.

831. न योषायाः पतिर्ध्याह्युत्राया अपि कञ्चित् । न पुत्रस्य पिता नैव नापुत्रस्य
तथाग्रजः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 70 and also II. 104; but see बृहत्पराशर V (p. 153)
'आहुं पत्यापि कार्यं ह्याह्युत्रायास्तु योषितः । तस्यापि हि तथा कार्यमेकत्वं हि तयोर्वतः ॥ भ्रातृ-
उर्वेहस्य कुर्वीत कार्यं उपेक्षोऽपुत्रस्य च । देवहीनं तु तद् कुर्वीदिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ अपराकं
p. 538 quotes पित्रा आहुं न कर्तव्यं पुत्राणां च कार्यं चन from बृहत्सिंहमन्त्र.

relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized⁸³² that he alone deserves to be called *putra*, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food (to *brāhmaṇas*) every year (after his father's death) and who offers *piṇḍas* (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose *upanayana* has not been performed, is like a *sūdra* and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 19, Gaut. II. 4-5, Vas. II. 6, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 40, Manu II. 172).⁸³³ But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his *upanayana* may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic *mantras* required in funeral rites. Medhātithi on Manu II. 172 explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by *upanayana*, can offer water to his father, perform the *navasrāddhas* (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such *mantras* as 'sundhantām pitarāḥ' required in these rites, but since he has no *śrauta* or *gṛhya* fire of his own he can not perform such *śrāddhas* as the *pārvaṇa*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 56) provides that boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed, women and *sūdras* should get *śrāddhas* performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without *mantras* but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased or with the two *mantras* 'devebhyo namaḥ' and 'pitṛbhyāḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are *upanīta* as well as those that are *anupanīta* are under an obligation to perform *śrāddha*.

Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1, Tai. Br. I. 6. 9 (which will be quoted later on) show that *śrāddha* was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113-115) states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called *avibhaktadūya sapinḍas* viz. great-grand-father, grand-father, father, the man himself (who

832. जीवतो वाक्यकरणान्तरं मरणस्य श्रुतिभोजनान् । गयायां पिण्डदानाच्च त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता न quoted by त्रिरथलीसेनु p. 319.

833. नाभिग्न्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म स्वधामिनयनाहते । श्रद्धेण हि समस्तावद्यावद्वेदे न जायते ॥ मनु II. 172 ; on this मेधातिथिः says: स्वधाज्ञानेन पितृभ्यः कल्पितमन्नमिहोच्यते । अथवा पित्र्यं कर्म स्वधाज्ञानेनोच्यते । तन्निजीयते त्यज्यते प्राप्यते येन मन्त्रेण स स्वधामिनयनः शुद्धयन्तां पितरः इत्यादिस्तं वर्जयित्वा मन्त्रमन्त्री नोच्चारयितव्यः । अनुवर्णीतेनोत्पन्नानन्यथाज्ञादिव पितुः कर्तव्यमित्यस्मादेव प्रतीयते । पार्वणमाज्ञादौ त्वस्मिन्स्वामावाक्यनधिकारः । पिण्डास्वाहार्यं कं तद्वश्यते ॥ In the वेदान्तसौतेत 9.10 we read 'उत्पन्नमावाक्यं यजमानः शुद्धयन्तां पितरः- इति त्रिः मरणं वेदिमयः परिबिज्जन् पर्येति ।'.

offers *piṇḍas* to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great grandson; that *sakulyas* are those that are called 'vibhaktadāyādas', that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased⁸³⁴. *Manu* IX. 137 (= *Vas.* 17.5 = *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. 15. 46) solemnly⁸³⁵ affirms: 'by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun'. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. *Yāj.* also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says 'since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son'. Therefore when *Manu* (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the *Dāyabhaga* (XI. 34) explains that the word *putra* stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* and equally benefit the ancestors by the *piṇḍas* they offer, and that the word *putra* is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the *adhikāra* of the grandson (as a performer of *śrāddha* and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of *piṇḍa*)⁸³⁶. On *Yāj.* II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the *Mit.* adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father's debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

834. अपि च प्रपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोढव्यं भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्र एतान्विभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाञ्चकते । विभक्तदायादान् सकुलपानाञ्चकते । सत्सङ्गजेषु तन्मानी ह्यर्थो भवति । *बौ. ध. सू.* 1.5.113-115, quoted by *दायभाग* XI. 37 and explained in 38 and by *दायतत्त्व* p. 189. The text printed in the *आनन्दशास्त्र* collection of *स्मृतिस* is slightly different.

835. दुष्टेण लोकाजयति पौत्रेणानन्दमश्नुते । अथ दुष्टस्य पौत्रेण बभनस्यामोति विष्टपम् ॥ *मनु* IX. 137. *बौ. ध. सू.* II. 9. 7 reads the last pāda as नाकमेवापिशोहति.

836. अत एव पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरं तत्पर्यन्तानामेव पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानोपकारकत्वादिभिरेवाह । अन्यथा पुत्रपदस्य स्वार्थस्यानुपपत्तेः पौत्राधिकारज्ञापकं वचनं कथं चिदादि सन्वेतापि प्रपौत्रस्य तु न दृश्यन्मनसि । तस्मान्नोपकारकत्वादेव प्रपौत्रस्याप्यधिकार इति पुत्रपदमुपलक्षणम् । *दायभाग* XI. 34-36.

has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Brhaspati⁸³⁷ where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of 'putra'. Yaj. II. 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter's debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father's debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II. 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father's debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the *praputra* under II. 50 if the Mit. did not include the *praputra* in the word *putra*. Again on Yaj. II. 51 ('putrahinasya rikthinaḥ') the Mit. included even *praputra* under the word *putra*. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and *putra* includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word 'putra' is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yaj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yaj. II. 135-136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If 'putra' is taken to mean only 'son' and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son's son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word *putra* has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, the *Vīramitrodaya*, the *Dattakamīmāṃsā* interpret the word 'putra' as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

837. ऋणमात्मनियवत्पितृव्यं देवं पुत्रैर्विभाति यः । पैतामहं समं देयमदेवं तत्पुत्रस्य तु ॥ इति बृहस्पतिस्मरणान् । ; समं यावद् युहीतं तावदेवं देवं न वृद्धिः तत्पुत्रस्य प्रपौत्रस्यादेयम-युहीतधनस्य । मिता. on या. II. 50 ; पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिन इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रा-द्वनो यदि रिक्थं युक्कन्ति तदा ऋणं दाप्या नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम् । पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थमहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम् । मिता. on या. II. 51.

son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in its comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the rikṭha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as apratibandha dāya. Baud., Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śankha-likhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ ⁸³⁸ only the word *putra* or *suta* in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñāneśvara understands by the word *putra* sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śankha-Likhita and Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 13.30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of *putra* on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137: 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135-36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñāneśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñāneśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word '*putra*', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer śrāddha (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

838. तथा शङ्खलिखितयमः । पिता पितृमहत्तयेव तथैव प्रपितामहः । ज्ञातं पुत्रं प्रशंसन्ति पिप्लवं छुकता इव ॥ प्रपितामहग्रहणात् पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरम् । तद्वन्नेन प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तस्य आद्भुतानेन प्रपितामहपर्यन्तोपकारकत्वात् तुल्यो दायधिकारः । दायमान III. 18 and कल्पसूत्र p. 20; पिता पितो...उपासते स्तुतं ज्ञातं शङ्खुता इव पिप्लवम् ॥ कसिद XI. 39. कसिद XI. 40 is quoted by कल्पसूत्र p. 20.

Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas.

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz. the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Ā. (II 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers *svadhā* (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called *pitṛyajña*. Manu III, 70 defines *pitṛyajña* as *tarpana* (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III, 82 provides that an householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsya (vide Gaut. 15. 1-2).⁸³⁸ By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsya is of two kinds, Sinitvālī and Kuhā. Those who keep śrauta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrauta fires and sūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. An observance is called *nitya* when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsya, or on Āṣṭakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called *naimittika* (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called *kāmya* (e. g. the performance of a śrāddha on Kṛttikā or Rohiṇī by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily *yajñas* including *pitṛ-yajña* are *nitya* i. e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

838 a. अथ आह्वन् अमावास्यायां पितृभ्यो वृक्षात् । नौ. 15. 1-2. दृढचन्द्रा सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहस्तथा । तत्र साग्निकैः सिनीवाल्या आह्वं कार्यमितरेः कुह्वात् । तथा च प्यातः । दृढचन्द्रा सिनीवाली कार्या विमैस्तु साग्निकैः । नष्टचन्द्रा कुहः कार्या शुद्धेर्विरेनाग्निकैः ॥ अपरार्क p. 417, स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 344). The स्कन्दपुराण (VI. 216.83) gives the following etymology of अमावास्या 'अमा नाम रवे दक्षिणवर्त्तमानस्य स्थितः । तस्मिन्सति येमेन्द्रमावास्या ततः स्मृता.' The वायुपुराण (56. 42) states 'अमा वसेत्तासुते तु यदा चन्द्रविवाकरी । एका पञ्चदशी रात्रिममावास्या ततः स्मृता ॥' अमा means सह or एकत्र.

non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i. e. such performances are not *kāmya*). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 7. 16. 4-7) provides certain times for the performance of *śrāddha* viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that *śrāddha* may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy *brāhmaṇas* are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as *Gayā*) a *śrāddha* may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20. 23) says the same thing. The *Agnipurāṇa* 115. 8 says that at *Gayā* a *śrāddha* may be performed on any day (*na kālādi Gayātīrthe dadyat pindāmsca nityasah*). Manu (III. 276-278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th^{838b} are recommended for *śrāddha*, that one performing a *śrāddha* on even lunar days (i. e. on the 10th, 12th) and on the even *nakṣatras* (i. e. on *Bharanī*, *Rohiṇī* &c.) gains the fulfilment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c.) and on uneven constellations (*Kṛttikā*, *Mṛgaśīras* &c.) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

838 b. About the 14th of the dark half वा. I. 264 says 'प्रतिपत्यभुतिर्वेकां वर्जयित्वा चतुर्वर्षीयः कालेन तु इति ये वे तेष्वस्तत्र वर्जयितेः'; compare मनु III. 276; and मरीचि states विषमकालपदाविति यैः ब्राह्मणवातिनाम् । चतुर्वर्षीयां किंवा कार्यां अन्येदां तु विगर्हिता ॥ q. by स्तुतिश्च. (भा.) p. 367, ब्राह्मणत्व p. 191. ब्राह्मणवातिनां here means ब्राह्मण-कुलवातेरवासीति. This only means that *śrāddha* should not be performed for anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or *brāhmaṇas* or in battle. But a *śrāddha* may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282) that an *āhitiāgni* should not perform a *śrāddha* except on *darśa*, from which it follows that only others (who had no *śrauta* fires) could offer *śrāddha* on any day of the dark half. Vide स्कान्दपुराण VI. 204, 24-27 and VI. 219. 19-21 for the proposition that *śrāddha* should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide.

preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. Anuśāsanaparva 87. 18 is the same as Manu III.276. Yāj. (I. 217-218), the Kūrma (II 20. 2-8), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 20 ff) and Varāhapurāṇa 13. 33-35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: Amāvāsyā, the Aṣṭakā days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two *āyanas* (the two days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i. e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmaṇa, the equinoctial points (visuvat, i. e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one *rāśi* from another, the astrological conjunctions called Vyatipāta^{838c}, Gajacchāyā, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha—these are times for performing śrāddha. The Mārkaṇ-

838c. अपरार्क p.426 quotes बृहस्पति for defining व्यतीपात 'अवनाभिधनिष्ठाद्वा-
नायदैवतमस्तके । यद्यपि रविरेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥'. Vide अग्निपु. 209. 13 for
the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss.
correctly). When Amāvāsyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day
either in Śravaṇa nakṣatra or in Āśvini, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā or the first quarter
of Aśleṣā, that is a conjunction called व्यतीपातः; some explain मस्तक as meaning
सुगन्धिरोन्मत्त. Bāṇa mentions Vyatipāta in his हर्षकण्ठ. व्यतीपात is also
defined in another way with reference to Rāśis. पञ्चाननरूपौ सुवभूनिद्वयौ मेघे
रविः स्याद्यदि हस्तपक्षे । पाश्चाभिधना करमेव युक्ता तिथिर्व्यतीपात इतीह योवः ॥ q. by आ.
क. ल. pp. 18-19. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in
Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Mēṣa (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in Lion,
then the conjunction is called व्यतीपातः. गजच्छाया is a conjunction that occurs
when the moon is in Maghā nakṣatra and the sun is in Hasta and the tithi
is 13th in the rainy season. विश्वरूप on या. II 218 quotes: यदि स्वाश्वत्थमाः
पित्रे करे चैव विपाकरः । वर्षासु च त्रयोदश्यां सा च्छाया कुजरस्य तु ॥. अपरार्क quotes a
काठकश्रुति 'एतद्धि देवपितृणां चायनं यज्ञस्तिच्छाया'. Both the मित्त. and अपरार्क
p. 427 have a similar verse. The कल्पसूत्र (आ.) p. 9 and कुर्यरत्नाकर p.319 quote
बृहस्पति 'योगी मघात्रयोदश्यां कुजरछायसंज्ञितः । भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिपक्षे करे
स्थिते ॥'. The सौरपुराण (51.31-32) puts it as 'आश्वपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां मघास्तिष्ठुः करे रविः'.
The स्कन्दपुराण (VI.220.42-44) explains हस्तिच्छाया in several ways. The
अग्निपु. (165.3-4) explains हस्तिच्छाया in two ways. Some take गजच्छाया literally
and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The
Vanaparva 200.121 avers that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the
elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of कल्पs. अपरार्क
p. 427 quotes a verse from the महाभारत about आश्व performed in the rainy
season under the shadow of an elephant and fanned by the flapping of its
ears and the meat being that of a goat all red in colour.

deya⁸³⁸ (chap. 28. 22-23), adds that śrāddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the nakṣatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for śrāddha is what is called *Sparśa Kāla*⁸³⁹ (i. e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 51-54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 30-32, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 4-6, Padma (śṛṣṭi 9. 128-129). Acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 76. 1-3, Amāvāsyā, the three Aṣṭakās and the three Anvāṣṭakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada on which the moon is in *Maghā*, *Śarad* and *Vasanta* are obligatory (*nitya*) times for śrāddha and that if a person does not perform śrāddha on these days he goes to Hell. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (77.1-7) states that the day of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solstitial days, Vyatipāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son's birth or the like)—these are *kāmya* times and a śrāddha performed on these occasions gives infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 16. 6-8) says that śrāddhas called *kāmya* are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyatipāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and śrāddha performed on Sankranti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several nakṣatras śrāddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8-22, Anuśāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10-19, Yāj. I. 262-263, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 15-21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 78. 36-50, Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 20. 17-22), Brahmāṇḍa III. 17. 10-22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half. These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp. being probably the most ancient, is set out here:—Śrāddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

838 d. आज्ञार्हश्चर्यकालौ तथा दुःस्वप्नदर्शने। अग्न्यर्हग्रहीणास्तु आर्द्रं कुर्वीत
कोपकृपाः मार्कण्डेय 28.22. A man can perform a śrāddha on any *tithi* of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a *tithi* when the moon is in the *nakṣatra* on which he was born or in Pūrva-bhādrapadā or in Uttarābhādrapadā or Kṛtikā, Ārdra, Āśleṣā or Mūla or in a *nakṣatra*, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the *nakṣatra* of his birth.

839. ब्रह्मणस्परायः। तत्रापि स्पर्शकालौ यावत्। त्रिविधाः स्पर्शकाले दुष्पान्ति पितर-
स्तथा। मनुष्या मनुष्यकाले तु मोक्षकाले तु राक्षसाः॥ इति ब्रह्मसिद्धस्मरणार्त्। भट्टोजि on
चतु. सं. p. 124; स्थितिच. (आ) p. 342 quotes the verse.

of dark half), sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, son that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i. e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the nakṣatra of birth and the preceding and the following nakṣatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 1-6 are *naimittika* and those performed on certain tithis and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be *kāmya* śrāddhas. According to Par. M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) actions is *samskāra* (i. e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i. e. it is 'vividisā-janaka' as indicated by the Gītā 9. 27). Jaimini (VI 3. 1-7) establishes the proposition that the *nitya* acts (such as Agni-hotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa-yāga) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8-10 provide that every part of *kāmya* actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a *kāmya* rite at all.^{839a}

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1-7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiṇa), Friday and Saturday respec-

839 a. This position is stated by the परा. मा. I part 1 p. 170: 'यदा कृत्स्नाङ्गानुष्ठानशक्तित्वेव काम्यमनुष्ठेयम्.' The विष्णुपुराण (III. 14.4-8) sets out the times for काम्यश्राद्धाः. The two propositions of जैमिनि are often spoken of as यथाशक्तिप्राय and सर्वोपसंहारस्याय.

tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The *Kūrma* (II. 20, 16-17) also expatiates on the rewards for *śrāddhas* on the several days of the week.

The *Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra* (78. 8-15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of *śrāddhas* on the 28 *nakṣatras* from *Kṛttikā* to *Bharanī* (including *Abhijit* which is placed after *Uttarāśādhā* and before *Śravana*). *Yāj.* I. 265-268, *Vāyu* chap. 82, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 30. 8-16, *Kūrma* (II. 20, 9-15), *Brahmapurāṇa* 220. 33-42, *Brahmāṇḍa* (*Upodghātapāda* 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement. For example, *Viṣṇu Dh.* 8. and *Yāj.* agree that *śrāddha* performed on *Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī*, *Āśvini* and *Bharanī* yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e. g. while *Viṣṇu* says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing *śrāddha* on the *Puṣya*, *Āśleṣā* and *Maghā* *nakṣatras* respectively, *Yāj.* provides that a *śrāddha* on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The *Anu-śāsanaparva* 89 and *Vāyupurāṇa* 82 set out the rewards of *śrāddhas* on the several *nakṣatras* from *Kṛttikā* as declared by *Yama* to *Śaśabindu*.

It is stated in the *Agnipurāṇa*⁸⁴⁰ that *śrāddhas* performed at a holy place and on days that are called *Yugādi* and *Manvādi* yield inexhaustible gratification (to the *pīṭṛs*). The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*⁸⁴¹, *Matsyapurāṇa* (17. 4-5), *Padma* V. 9. 130-131, *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Prajāpati-smṛti* verse 22 and *Skanda* VII. 1. 205. 33-34 state that the third *tithi* of *Vaiśākha* (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of *Kartika*, the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* and 15th *tithi* of the dark half of *Māgha* are called *Yugādi tithis* (i. e. the first days of the four *Yugas* from *Kṛta*).

840. तीर्थे युगादौ मन्वादौ भाद्रं वत्समाक्षयम् । अग्निपुराण 117.61, युगादिषु च कर्तव्यं मन्वन्तरादिकेऽपि च ॥ बृहत्संहिता 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशाखमासस्य दु या तृतीया नवम्यसी कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे । मन्वन्तरमासस्य तमिष-पक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च मासे ॥ एता युगाद्याः कापिताः सुराणैरनन्तयुग्यास्तिस्रस्रवत्तमः । विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 12-13 q. by स्मृतिच. I. pp. 58-59, कुर्यदस्मात्कर p. 342, मन्व. पा. p. 538. अपरार्क (p. 425) quotes the विष्णुपुराण differently. The मत्स्यपुराण (17.4) and एक place 15th of माघ before the 13th of भाद्रपद. Vide अग्निपु. 209. 14-15 for some different dates for युगादि. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 9) gives a different order: शुक्लतृतीया वैशाखे श्रेतपक्षे त्रयोदशी कार्तिके नवमी शुक्ला मासे दशम्य पूणिमा । एता युगादयः शोका वत्समाक्षयकारकाः ॥ The ब्राह्मपुराण (13. 40-41) contains the verse वैशाखमासस्य O. प्रजापतितृप्ति (22) has a similar verse for युगादि days.

Matsya 17. 6-8, **Agnipurāṇa** 117. 61-64 and 209. 16-18, **Saurapurāṇa** 51. 33-36, **Padmapurāṇa** (Śrṣṭi 9. 132-135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows: 9th of the bright half of Āsvinā, 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsya of Fālguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pausa, 10th of bright half of Āśādhā and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, the Full Moon of Āśādhā, Kārtika, Fālguna, Caitra and Jyesthā. The **Matsya-purāṇa** list is quoted in the **Sm. C. I.** p. 58, **Kṛtyaratnākara** p. 543, **Par. M. I.** 1. p. 156 and **I. 2** p. 311, and the **Madanapārijāta** p. 540. The orders in the **Skandapurāṇa** VII. 1. 205. 36-39 and the **Smṛtyarthasāra** (p. 9) are slightly different. In the **Skandapurāṇa** (Nāgarakhaṇḍa) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. II. ⁸⁴² 7. 17. 23-25, **Manu** III. 280, **Viṣṇu Dh. S.** 77. 8-9, **Kūrma** (II. 16. 3-4), **Brahmaṇḍa** III. 14. 3, **Bhaviṣya** I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Āp. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the piṇḍas on the darbhas. **Viṣṇu Dh. S.** declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the **Kūrmapurāṇa** threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The **Mit. on Yaj. I.** 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brāhmaṇa who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby. ⁸⁴³

842. न च नक्तं आरब्धं कुर्वति । आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात् । अप्यत्र राहुवर्जनात् ।
आप. च. सू. II. 7. 17. 23-25 : नक्तं तु वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धं राहोरव्ययं वर्जनात् । सर्वस्वेनापि
कर्तव्यं क्षिप्रं वै राहुवर्जने ॥ उपरागे न कुर्वाणः पण्ड्रे नीतिश्च लीयति ॥ कूर्मपुराण II. 16. 3-4.

843. यद्यपि 'चन्द्रवर्जमेव नाद्यात्' इति ब्रह्मे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तृवैषो दातृ-
भ्युदयः । मित. on यज. I. 217-218.

Very learned disquisitions are held in Aparārka p. 465 ff, Hemādri p. 313 ff and other writers and digests as to the meaning of *aparāhṇa* which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (III 278). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'after-noon.' The word 'pūrvāhṇa' occurs in Rg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti⁸⁴⁴ text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pitrs' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāhṇa.' A third view is that *aparāhṇa* is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely⁸⁴⁵ on Śat. Br. II. 2. 3. 9. The five parts are called *prātah*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina* (or *madhyāhna*), *aparāhṇa* and *sāyāhṇa* (or *sāyam* or *astagamana*). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Rgveda V. 76. 3. Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156-157) says that each of these five parts extends over three *muhūrtas* (the day being divided into fifteen *muhūrtas*). It further states that *kutapa* is the 8th *muhūrta* from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in *kutapa* and should not last beyond *Rauhiṇa* *muhūrta* and that five *muhūrtas* (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha.⁸⁴⁶ The word *kutapa* has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemādri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i. e. sin) and 'tapa' means 'what burns.' The eight⁸⁴⁷ meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woollen seat or blanket

844. पूर्वाह्णे वै देवानां मध्याह्निनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितृणाञ्च । तस्मादपराह्णे दद्याति ।
ज्ञातपथञ्च II. 4.2.8.

845. आदित्यस्तत्रैव सर्वं क्रतवः । यद्वैद्योऽस्तेष्वथ वसन्तो यदा संगवोऽथ मीमो यदा
मध्याह्निनो यदा यदापराह्णोऽथ शरद् यदेवास्तमेव हेमन्तस्तस्मात् मध्याह्निन एवाद्धीत
तर्हि द्यौषोऽथ लोकस्य वैदिष्टं भवति । ज्ञातपथ II. 2.3.9, quoted by स्मृतिच. (आ. p.363).

846. आरम्भं कुतपे कुर्यान्नौहिणं तु न लङ्घयेत् । एतत्पञ्चमुहूर्तास्तः आह्निककाल
उदाहृतः ॥ मुहूर्तास्तत्र विज्ञेया दद्या पञ्च च सर्वदा । तत्राहमो मुहूर्तो यः स कालः कुतपः स्मृतः ॥
मजापति verses 158-159. Compare पञ्च (सुविज्ञान 11.91-92) and स्कान्द VII.1
205.6 for similar verses. The names of the 15 मुहूर्ताः are quoted in दोहदानन्द
(on आ. folio 25a) and in बृहद्योगयात्रा of बराहमिहिर (VI. 2-4) m. In my paper
on "Varāhamihira and Utpala," JBBRAS vol., 24-25 p. 21.

847. मध्याह्नः ऋष्यायानं च तथा नेपालकम्बलः । रूपं दर्भास्त्रिला नावो दौहित्रश्चाह्नः
स्मृतः ॥ पार्यं कुत्सितमिरयाह्नस्तस्य सन्तापकारिणः । अद्यावेते वस्तस्तस्य कुतपा इति विमुक्तः ॥
स्कान्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 8-9, एव VI. 131.76-78, q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 433 as
स्मृत्यन्तर) and by हेमाद्रि p. 320 and p. 1176 (where these are quoted as
वेदीनसि⁸⁴⁸). लङ्घनातातप (verse 108) speaks of ऋष्यायानं as दौहित्र and is quoted
by अपरार्क (p. 474). लङ्घनातातप (109) defines कुतप as the 8th part of the day
(out of 15) and is quoted by आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 317. अपरार्क p. 474 quotes a
smṛti giving three senses of दौहित्र 'अपत्वं दुरितं चैव ऋष्यायानं तथैव च । पूर्तं च क-
पिलाया गोर्दौहित्रमिति कीर्तितम् ॥'.

from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.' The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Aṣṭakā and Anvaṣṭakā śrāddhas), while Vṛddhiśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhātithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smṛti text on this.⁸⁴⁸ The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (II. 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials.^{848a}

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III. 206-207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yāj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śaṅkha says:⁸⁴⁹ 'one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others.' The Kūrmapurāṇa states⁸⁵⁰ 'Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one)'. Yama provides⁸⁵¹ 'if one offers śrāddha to his *pitṛs* in spots

848. पूर्वाह्ने वैदिकं कार्यमपराह्णे तु वैशुकम् । एकोद्विंशं तु मध्याह्ने मातृवृद्धिनिमित्तकम् ॥ मेधातिथि on मनु III. 245. The दीपकालिका on पा. I. 226 quotes this verse as from बाणपुराण and reads पूर्वाह्णे मातृकं etc.

848 a. मुख्यकाले यज्ञादयं कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते । गौणकालेऽपि कर्तव्यं गौणोपबोधो भवेत् ॥ स्वकालादुत्तरो गौणः कालः पूर्वस्य कर्मणः ॥ मुख्यकालमुपाश्रित्य गौणमप्यस्तु साधनम् । न मुख्यद्वयलोभेन गौणकालप्रतीक्षणम् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 150, 157, 162.

849. गौणजात्यादिपृष्ठेषु कृत्स्नमायां तथा भुवि । न कुर्याच्छ्राद्धमेतेषु पारक्यास्तु च भूमिषु ॥ शङ्ख q. by परा मा. I. 2 p. 303, आ. म. p. 140, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 385).

850. अद्वयः पर्वतः पुण्यास्तीर्थान्यायतनानि च । सर्वाण्यस्वानिकाण्याहूर्न ह्येतेषु परिग्रहः ॥ कूर्म II. 22. 17. अपरार्क p. 471, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 116), and आ. म. p. 148 quote a very similar verse as यम's.

851. यमः । परकीयप्रदेशेषु पित्र्यां निर्वपेयु यः । तन्ममिस्त्वामिपितृभिः श्राद्धकर्म विहृत्यते ॥...तस्माच्छ्राद्धानि देवानि पुण्येभ्यःपतनेषु च । नदीतीरेषु तीर्थेषु स्वभूमौ प्रयततः । उपह्वरानिकुलेषु तथा पर्वतसाक्षेषु ॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 471, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 115); compare कूर्म II. 22. 16.

belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pitrs of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops.' The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other tīrthas, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cowdung (śrāddha may be performed).' Śāṅkha (14. 27-29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gaya, in Prabhāsa, Puskara, Prayāga, in the Naimiṣa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payoṣṇī, on Amarakantaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kurukṣetra, Bhṛgutaṅga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta-Veṇī, on Rṣikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 5-7) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puskara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 77 and Matsya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40) and Sr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the tīrthas in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on tīrthas).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra ⁸⁵² (chap. 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four *varṇas* is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that. The Vāyupurāṇa provides ⁸⁵³ that the country of Triśanku which is

852. न म्लेच्छविषये आहुं कुर्यात् । न गच्छेन्म्लेच्छविषयम् । परनिपातेष्वपि धीत्या कस्याप्यनुपपन्नमस्तीति । चातुर्वर्ण्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 84. 1-4.

853. त्रिशङ्कोर्वजयेदेशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम् । उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन तु कीकटम् ॥ देशैस्त्रैशङ्को नाम आहुर्कर्मणि वर्जितः । कारस्कराः कलिङ्गाश्च सिन्धोवस्तरमेव च । प्रजहा-
अमवर्णाश्च दक्षिण वजयोः प्रयत्नतः । वायुपुराण 78. 21-23, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 14. 31-33,
quoted by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 162), and आहुय. p. 147 and अपराङ्क p. 472
(as from ब्रह्माण्ड). Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 1. 141. 2-4.

twelve *yojanas* in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadi and to the south of Kikata (i. e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha; similarly the countries called Karaskara, Kalinga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of *varṇas* and *āśramas* is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 8-10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāta country, Kalinga, Konkana, Krimi (Krivi?), Daśārṇa, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Tāṅgaṇa, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmadā and the east of the Karatoyā.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa ⁸⁵⁴ prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15. 25-28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāṇḍālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should strew round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmana who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāṇḍāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. 8. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being *patita*) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmana who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmana woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manus (III. 239-242) states: 'a cāṇḍāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmanas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a *homa*

854. वज्र्या जम्बुवती कक्षा कितिः सुता तथाग्निना । अनिष्टपुष्टसहोवा दुर्गन्धा आश्र-
कर्मणि ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 19 q. by आश्रम. p. 139.

(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmaṇas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i. e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed.' It is provided by the Anuśāsanaparva (127.13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra (82. 3 ff) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 34-35) states that one devoid of a limb, a *patita*, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkaṇḍeya 32. 20-24, Vāyu 78. 26-40, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 12-14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91. 43-44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a *patita* and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* has already been described above (p. 369). Another classification is that into Ekoddishṭa and Pārvaṇa⁸⁵⁵. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saṅkrānti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Brhas-

855. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अमावास्यां यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुच्यते इत्यतः । क्रियते वा पार्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्थितिः ॥ मयिष्यपुराण I. 183.15 q. by कल्पतरु p. 7. आश्वलायन p. 192. आ. वि. of बृहदार. आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 6 (which explains 'पार्वणि अष्टम्यका मासीर्षोर्णमास्यादि'). The परा. मा. I. 2. p. 199 says पुत्रपौत्रपुत्रपौत्रा यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम् । एकपुत्रपौत्रेण यत्क्रियते तदेकोद्विष्टम्. Venk. ed. of मयिष्य reads पुत्रं वा क्रियते यत् ।

pati quoted in the Śrāddhāviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vṛddhi and Pārvana⁸⁵⁶. The Śrāddhāviveka remarks that the sixteen *pretatrāddhas* (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Goṣṭhi-śrāddha enumerated in other smṛtis are included in Pārvana. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II 20, 26) similarly speaks of the five śrāddhas as enumerated by Manu⁸⁵⁷. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahar-śrāddha, pārvana, vṛddhiśrāddha, ekoddīṣṭa and sapindīkarapa. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 82 (= Śaṅkha 13.16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra⁸⁵⁸ quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vṛddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapindāna (sapindīkarapa), pārvana, goṣṭhiśrāddha, suddhiśrāddha, karmāṅga, daivika, yātrāśrāddha, pustīśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa by the same works. Sapindāna and Pārvana will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Goṣṭhi-śrāddha⁸⁵⁹ is one which is performed when a man be-

856. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिश्चाजं तथैव च । पार्वणं चेति मनुना आज्ञं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by. आ. वि. of रुद्रधर p. 1.

857. कर्मरश्मेषु सर्वेषु युर्वादयुदये पुनः । पुत्रजन्मादिषु आज्ञं पार्वणं पर्वस्तु स्मृतम् ॥ अष्टस्यहनि नित्यं स्यात् काम्यं नैमित्तिकं पुनः । एकोद्विधादि विज्ञेयं द्विधा आज्ञं तु पार्वणम् । एतत् पञ्चविधं आज्ञं मनुना परिकीर्तितम् । कूर्म. II. 20.24-26. आश्वलायन q. by आज्ञक-लिका enumerates them as काम्यं नैमित्तिकं वृद्धिरेकोद्विधं च पार्वणम् । (folio 1.).

858. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिश्चाजं सपिण्डनम् । पार्वणं चेति विज्ञेयं गोष्ठ्यां शुद्धार्थमष्टमम् ॥ कर्मज्ञं नवमं द्यौकं दैविकं दशमं स्मृतम् । यात्राश्चेकादशं प्रोक्तं पुष्ट्यर्थं द्वादशं स्मृतम् ॥ विश्वामित्र q. by कल्पतरु p. 6, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 334), मद्. पा. p. 475, आ. क. ल. p. 6, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 374. The Kūrmapurāṇa also (II. 20.26-27) mentions यात्राआज्ञ, शुद्धिआज्ञ and दैविकआज्ञ. This enumeration occurs in भविष्यपुराण I. 183.6-7 and स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1.205. 41-42. The कल्पतरु refers to two verses of the बृहदपुराण for explaining यात्राआज्ञ which are quoted at length in आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 267 and आ. म. p. 333.

859. गोष्ठ्यां यत्क्रियते आज्ञं गोष्ठीआज्ञं तदुच्यते । बहूनां विदुषां संपत्सुखार्थं पितृतप्तये । भविष्यपु. q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, मद्. पा. p. 476, आ. क. ल. p. 7. The कल्पतरु explains: गोष्ठीं चात्र आज्ञकर्तुंसुखदायः । संपत्सुखार्थं आज्ञसामग्रीसम्पत्ता यत्सुखं तदर्थं बहूनां विदुषां केनचिन्मित्रेण पुनश्चाज्ञादे कर्तव्य उपस्थिते पृथक्पाकाद्यसम्पत्तां सम्भूय आज्ञसामग्रीसंपादनेन यथाज्ञादे क्रियते तद्गोष्ठीआज्ञमिति राज्ञधरः ।' (p. 7). The वृणवसति-आज्ञप्रयोग of रुद्रनाथ gives another explanation 'आज्ञस्य गोष्ठ्यां वार्तायां क्रियमाणायां तज्जनितास्ताहेन यत् क्रियते आज्ञम् ।'.

comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each, pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to themselves and for the gratification of the pitrs. The Śuddhi-śrāddha is one where brāhmanas are fed when a person undergoes *śuddhi* (purification) after being guilty of some sin or transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a *prāyaścitta*). That śrāddha is called 'karmāṅga' which is performed at the time of the *Garbhādhāna* rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice, or at *śimantonnayana*, *pumsavana* (it is like *Vṛddhiśrāddha*). That is called *daivika śrāddha* which is intended to propitiate gods (it is like *nityaśrāddha* and is performed on the 7th or 12th *tithi* or the like with sacrificial food). When a man going to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmanas) in abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is *yātrāśrāddha*. That is called *puṣṭiśrāddha* which is performed for the health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicine for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of these ⁸⁶⁰ twelve the principal ones are *pārvaṇa*, *ekoddiṣṭa*, *vṛddhi* and *sapindikāna*. There are works called *Ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha* such as those of Śivabhatta, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated in a verse ⁸⁶¹ quoted in the note. They are: 12 śrāddhas on

860. गोष्ठ्यां यत्क्रियते आहुं गोष्ठीआहुं तदुच्यते । बहूनां विदुषां सम्प्रसुखार्थं
पितृपुत्रये ॥ क्रियते ह्यहुये यत्तु नाह्वयानां तु भोजनम् । ह्यहुयार्थमिति तत्त्वोक्तं वेनतेय
मनीषिभिः ॥ निषेककाले सोमे च सीमन्तोन्नयने तथा । ज्ञेयं पुंसवने चैव आहुं कर्माङ्गमेव
च ॥ देवाहुदिश्य यच्छ्राद्धं तत्तु वैविकमुच्यते । हविष्येण विशिष्टेन सप्तम्याद्विषु यततः ॥
गच्छन्नेशान्तरं यच्च आहुं कुर्यान्तु सपिषा । यात्रार्थमिति तत्त्वोक्तं प्रवेशे च न संशयः ॥
हारीशोपचये आहुंसर्पोपचय एव वा । पुष्ट्यर्थमेतद्विज्ञेयसौपचारिकमुच्यते ॥ भविष्यपु. I, 183. 15-19, q. by स्थितिच. (Ar.) p. 334, Ar. क. ल. p. 7, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 374. There are some various readings here that are not noted. The printed text (Venk. ed.) presents different readings, such as योग्यञ्च क्रियते आहुं and क्रियते देवमुदिश्य सप्तम्याद्विषु यततः. These 12 आहुः are defined in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 43-50 also. On वैविकआहुः the टोडरानन्द (आहुःसौख्य folio 4 b) remarks 'अत्र यद्यपि प्रकृतं आहुंसप्तम्याभि देवोद्देश्यकत्वेन विधानात् तथापि अहुया कार्यं आहुमिति योगसामान्यात् आहुपदार्थमिधेयतावचनं बोद्धव्यम् ।'

861. अथा युगमश्रुकामिधृतिपातमहालयाः । आग्नेहृदयं च दूर्ध्वैः वण्णवन्धः
श्रुतीतिताः । verse 5 of वण्णवतिआहुः of शिवभट्ट (Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection)

(Continued on the next page)

the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 *saṅkrāntis* (i. e. the sun's apparent motion from one sign of the Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dhṛti (i. e. Vaidhṛti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatipāta yoga, the 16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvatakā days (according to Āśv. as noted on pp. 359-360), the four Aṣṭakā days and the four days (i. e. 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śiśira) of the day previous (to the Aṣṭakā). These classifications and enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year and most people were content with the performance of only one Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III. 281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three amāvāsyās in one year⁸⁶² (viz. in Hemanta, Grīṣma and Varsā) and one should perform every day the śrāddha which is one of the five daily sacrifices (III. 82-83). Devala went further and recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of the brāhmaṇas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmaṇas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

The महालयs are 16 as stated by शास्त्राचार्य and डेबल q. by वरा. मा. I. 2 p. 319 and by सू. सु. (आ. ३) p. 745; नभस्वस्वापरे पक्षे तिथिबोधार्कं तु यत् । कन्यास्थार्क-
म्बितं चेत् स्यात्स कालः आह्निककर्मणि ॥ (शा.) ; अहःबोधार्कं यत् शुक्लप्रतिपदा सह । चण्ड-
क्षयविशेषेण सापि दशार्तिका स्मृता ॥ (डेबल). Generally there are 13 वैधृतियोगs
and 13 vyatipāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each.
There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विष्कम्भ. The ज्ञतपथना. (VI. 4.
2. 10) speaks of 12 अह्निकs द्वादश पूर्णमास्यो द्वादशाह्निका द्वादशमासाः ।

862. एतेन विधिना आह्नं कुर्यात्संवत्सरं सकृत् । त्रिभुवर्गं यथा (आ. ३) मासे मासे विने
रुचिने । डेबल q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 497 which explains; एतेन विधिना पार्वणविधिना
प्रतिपदवत्सरेभ्योऽपि पिबिष्येति प्रतिपदवत्सरं त्रिवारं वा. कल्पतरु p. 22 (आ. ३) quotes
the verse.

dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brāhmaṇas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brāhmaṇas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 37-38, 135-138. It may be noted that the gr̥hyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smṛtis and purāṇas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invited. For example, the Āśv. Gr. ^{862a} IV, 7. 2, Śāh. Gr. IV, 1. 2. Āp. Gr. VIII, 21. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II, 7. 17. 4, Hir. Gr. II, 10. 2, Baud. Gr. II, 10. 5-6 and II, 8. 2-3, Gaut. 15. 9 provide that the brāhmaṇas to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e. g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh. S. states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu' occurs (Rg. I, 90. 6-8, Vāj. S. 13. 27-29, Tai. S. IV, 2. 9. 3), he who has studied the Trisuparna, one who is a Tripāciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Āśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha and Piṭṛmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Sāman called Jyestha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

862 a. ब्राह्मणान् क्षुतशीलवृत्तसंपत्तानेकेन वा । आश्व. गृ. IV, 7, 2; ब्राह्मणान् क्षुचीन् मन्त्रवतः समह्वानयुज आमन्त्रयते । योनियोत्रासम्बन्धान् । नार्थापेक्षो भोजयेत् । हिर. गृ. II, 10. 2; त्रिपुष्टिपुर्णक्षिणाधिकेतश्चतुर्मेधः पञ्चाग्निर्ज्येष्ठसामिको वेदाध्याययन्त्रानयुजः ओत्रिय इत्येते आद्रे धृजानाः पक्षिपावना भवन्ति । आप. घ. II, 7, 17-22.

त्रिपुर्ण is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with ब्रह्ममेतु माय (तै. आ. X, 48-50) or to the verse चतुः-क्षिण्ड्या युषतिः ह्यपेक्षाः in तै. ब्रा. 1. 2. 1. 27 or Rg. X, 114. 3-5. त्रिणाधिकेतः is explained in different ways viz. (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kathopaniṣad 1. 1. 16-18. The word 'Trināciketah' occurs in Kaṭha Up. I, 1. 17 and is explained by शङ्कर as 'त्रिःकुत्वा नाधिकेतोऽत्रिचित्तो येन सः त्रिणाधिकेतास्तद्विज्ञानस्तद्वध्ययनस्तद्वद्विज्ञानवान् वा । Tai. Br. (III, 11. 7-8) describes the नाधिकेत fire and the story of Naciketas. The five fires are Gārhapatyā, Āhavanīyā, Dakṣiṇāgni, Āvasathya (or aupāsana) and Sabhya. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 579. Vide *ibid.* II, p. 767 note 1838^a for explanations of पक्षिपावन, ज्येष्ठसामिक

and the other words explained above. श्वेकल defines ओत्रिय as 'एकां शाखां सकल्पां वा बहुभिरङ्गैरधीत्य वा । वदकर्मनिरतो विपः ओत्रियो नाम धर्मवित्' q. by आ. प. p. 59. Pāṇini (V. 2.84) derives ओत्रिय as ओत्रियश्चतुर्धीति. वदकर्म—refers to यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनयतिष्ठवृद्धानि.

who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *aṅgas*, a *śrotriya*—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.2, Manu III. 185-186, Yaj. I. 219, Varāhapurāṇa 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i. e. who are *pāṅktipāvana*). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25-31), Kūrmapurāṇa II. 21. 1-14, Matsya 16. 7-13, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 101-104, Vāyu 79. 56-59 and 83. 52-55, Skanda VI. 217. 21-25 give long lists of *pāṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gr. II. 10.2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 7, Kūrma (II. 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śrāddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i. e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138-139) provides that one should not invite at a śrāddha dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śrāddha a brāhmaṇa whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śrāddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śrāddhas or offerings. But Manu III. 144 (= Kūrma II. 21-22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135-137 and 145-147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śrāddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotriya and one who is himself not a śrotriya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i. e. whose father was a śrotriya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śrāddha an adherent of the Rgveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śakhā thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śrāddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66-67) describes the qualifications of those who are *pāṅkteya* brāhmaṇas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and *śīla*

(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śāṅkha-Likhita⁸⁶³ give a long list of *pāṅkteya* (fit to be associated with in a *pāṅkti* i. e. row of diners) *brāhmaṇas*, viz. he who knows the Veda and the Vedāṅgas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its *āṅgas*; one who knows Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotriya, a triṇāciketa, trimadhu, trisuparnaka and one that has studied Jyesthasāman; one who has studied Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 83, Brhat-Parāśara p. 150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70-72, Laghu-Śātātapa verses 99-100, Aśvanasasmṛti (Jiv. vol. I pp. 523-524). As Medhātithi⁸⁶⁴ on Manu III. 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotriya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III. 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a *brāhmaṇa* who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy *brāhmaṇa* (among *brāhmaṇas* studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III. 183) declares that *pāṅktipāvana* *brāhmaṇas* are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III. 184-186) gives examples of *pāṅktipāvana* *brāhmaṇas* viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Triṇāciketa &c. Hemādri (on śr. pp. 391-395) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64-65) quote numerous verses from Yama on *pāṅktipāvana*.

Manu III. 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a *brāhmaṇa* who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

863. सङ्कलितवर्णि । अथ पाङ्केयाः । वेदवेदाङ्गविद् पञ्चाग्निर्व्रतानः साङ्ख्ययोगोप-

निषद्धर्मशास्त्रविद्भ्यामिषः त्रिणाशिकेतः त्रिमधुः त्रिसुपर्णको ज्येष्ठसामगः । साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिष-
ज्जर्मशास्त्रव्यापी वेदपरः सदाग्निको मातापितृसुखदुःखर्मशास्त्ररतिः । इति । व by कल्पः (p. 68),
अन. प्र. p. 67.

864. ओषिचो विद्वान् साधुचरणः प्रख्याताभिजनः ओषिचापत्यमसम्बन्धो भोजनीयः ।
परिशिष्टं सर्वमर्थवाचार्थम् ॥ मेधा. on मनु III. 147.

132-146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmaṇa then the next best course⁸⁶⁵ ('anukalpa') may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister's son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter's son, son-in-law, a *bandhu* (such as mother's sister's son), wife's brother or a *sagotra*, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj. I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 21. 20), Varāhapurāṇa 14. 3, Matsya 16. 10-11, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 2-4 (anukalpeṣvanantarān). But Manu is careful⁸⁶⁶ to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S.⁸⁶⁷ expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one's full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śrāddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapinda to be fed.⁸⁶⁸ Gaut. 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and *sagotras* may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to be fed at a śrāddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śrāddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śrāddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says 'If a brāhmaṇa dines at a pārvana śrāddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śrāddha from the third month after a person's death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśrāddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapindana śrāddha.' The Mit. further quotes a

865. सुखाभावे योजनीयते प्रतिनिधिप्रायेण सोऽनुकल्प उच्यते । मेधा. ०३ मनु III. 147. The अमरकोश says 'सुखः स्वात्ययमः कल्पोऽनुकल्पस्तु ततोऽधमः'.

866. मनुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते । न साम्प्रदायिकं तस्य दुर्मतेर्विद्यते फलम् ॥ मनु XI. 30 (= छात्रिणर्ष 165.17) q in तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 191, where the 2nd half is स नामोति फलं तस्य परजेति विचारितम् ॥

867. गुणहार्यां तु परेषां सद्युदेतः सोऽयोर्यपि भोजयितव्यः । एतेनास्तेवासिनो व्याख्याताः । आय. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 5-6.

868. तस्मादेवंविधं सपिण्डमप्युपाशयेत् । बौ. ध. II. 8. 5. The आ. क. ल. p. 40 explains एवंविधं as गुणवन्तम्.

verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyana for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at śmantonnayana, in a navaśrāddha etc. Vide also Nirṇayasindhu III. pp. 467-468 for prāyaścittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varāhapurāṇa (189. 12-13) provides that if a brāhmaṇa dies while the food offered to a *preta* is still in his stomach he dwells for a *kalpa* in a horrible hell, becomes a rākṣasa and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut. 15. 10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one's deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one's grandfather. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmaṇas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.⁸⁶⁸

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or *yogins* at a śrāddha dinner. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. states that *yogins*⁸⁶⁹ are particularly *pañktipāvana* and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitṛs 'May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmaṇa yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.' The Varāhapurāṇa 14. 50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmaṇas. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides 'a wise man should always feed *yogins* at a śrāddha since the pitṛs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmaṇas he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water.' Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitṛs (29. 32-34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāṇa, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19. 2-3),⁸⁷⁰ winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śivā (verse 6).

868 a. तुल्यलुण्ठेषु वयोवृद्धः श्रेयान् व्रणकुशब्धेऽसन् । आप. ध. II 7.17.10.

869. विशेषेण च योगिनः । अत्र पितृगीता गाथा भवति । अपि स स्यात्कुलेऽस्माकं भोजयेद्यस्तु योगिनम् । विंश आदौ प्रयत्नेन येन तृप्तामहे वयम् ॥ विष्णुध. सू. 83.19-20.

870. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 9.70 is गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थकृतेन च । ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योग एव विशिष्यते ॥ योगिनश्च सदा आदौ भोजनीया विप्रश्चिता । योगाधारा हि पितरस्तस्मात्तान् पूजयेत्सदा ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 29; ब्राह्मणानां सहस्रेभ्यो योगी खग्रासने षड्वि । यजमानं च भोक्तुंश्च नौरिवाम्भसि तारयेत् ॥ वायुपुराण 76. 28, मार्कण्डेय 29. 30; These and other verses occur in ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 112-115. मार्कण्डेय 29.29-30 are ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 110-112 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 411 and आ. प. p. 72-73. The important पितृगाथाः are 'कदा नः सन्ततावग्नयः करयन्निज्ञाविता ह्यतः ॥ यो योगिभृत्करोषासो मुनि पिण्डं प्रदास्यति । नयापानपथा पिण्डं कङ्कमांसं तथा हविः । कालज्ञाकं तिलाज्यं च तुतये कृत्स्नं च नः ॥' ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 113-115 and मार्कण्डेय 29. 33-34.

The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 11-12) recommends 'He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of *pañktipāvanas*; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of *Brahma*—where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.' ⁸⁷¹ Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmaṇas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Manu II. 118 who says 'a brāhmaṇa ⁸⁷² knowing only the sacred Gāyatrī but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.' The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmaṇas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmaṇḍa (Upodghāta, chap. 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmaṇa about whom nothing is known because *siddhas* (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmaṇas. But if faults in a brāhmaṇa are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one's dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5-6). The same Purāṇa (Upodghāta 15. 24-26) arranges the orders of preference as follows: first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmaṇa who knows the four Vedas and itihāsa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an *upādhyāya*. Hemadri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agnipurāṇa ⁸⁷³ as follows: 'what is the use of (birth in a) famous

871. यश्च व्याकुर्वते वाक्यं यश्च मीमांसतेऽथर्वम् ॥ सामन्त्रवरविधिज्ञश्च यज्ञिः पावनपावनः। सामनो ब्रह्मचारी च वेदयुक्तोऽथ ब्रह्मवित् ॥ यत्रैते भुजते भ्रात्रे तदेव परमार्थवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16. 11-13.

872. सावित्रीमात्रसातेऽपि वरं विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः । नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि सर्वशी सर्वविक्रयी ॥ मनु II. 118 = बृहद्गीतम p. 517, which reads चतुर्वेदी. हेमाद्रि p. 444 quotes मनु as reading नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी.

873. तदुक्तमग्निपुराणे । किं कुलेन विशालेन वृत्तहीनस्य देहिनः । कुमयः किं न जायसे कुटुम्बेषु हुणन्धिषु ॥ जातकपयोपि । अपि विद्याकुलेर्दुक्तान् वृत्तहीनान् द्विजाधमान् । अनर्हान् हव्यकार्येषु वाद्यात्रेणापि नाचयेत् ॥ हेमाद्रि pp. 443-444, आ. प्र. p. 74.

family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers?' Jātūkarnya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes bad brāhmanas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pīṭra assuming an aerial form enter brāhmanas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmandapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Viṣṇu Dh. ⁸⁷⁴ S. 82.1-2. provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmaṇa (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmaṇa be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vāyupurāṇa ⁸⁷⁵ appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmanas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśāsanaparva provides ⁸⁷⁶ that in rites meant for gods a kṣatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmanas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vṛddha-Manu and the Matsya-purāṇa ⁸⁷⁷ lay down that a brāhmaṇa's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmaṇa (to be invited) is a worthy person.

874. देवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत । यत्कृत्वापि त्रये परीक्षेत । विष्णुध. सू. 82. 1-2.

875. न ब्राह्मणान्परीक्षेत सदा देवे तु मानवः । देवे कर्मणि पितृये च क्षुपते वै परीक्षणम् । वायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511 (reads देवे तु).

876. ब्राह्मणाश्च परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । देवे कर्मणि पितृये तु व्याप्यमातुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अश्वत्थामन 90. 2 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511.

877. परीक्षायाकारस्तु ब्रह्मणस्तत्पुत्राण्योर्दक्षितः । शीलं संपत्तनाज्ज्येयं शीघ्रं संध्य-
पहरतः । यज्ञा संकथनाज्ज्येया विभिः पार्श्वं परिदधते । हेमाद्रि p. 513, आ. न. p. 102.

The Nṛsimhapurāṇa ⁸⁷⁸ forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmanas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as *alithis*. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purāṇas where scrutiny into a brāhmana's qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states 'The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmana) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitrs are gratified and also gods'. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Bālabhāṭṭi) states 'It is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmanas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues'. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to *alithis* (vide Hemādri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālabhāṭṭi on Ācāra p. 494) ^{878a}.

Brāhmanas were declared to be *apāṅkṭeya* ⁸⁷⁹ (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmana diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmanas who should not be invited and brāhmanas that are *apāṅkṭeya* or *paṅktidūṣaka*. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a sagotra brāhmana even

878. न परीक्षेत आरिष्यं न विद्यां न कुलं तथा । न शीलं न च देशादीनतिथेरागतस्य हि ॥ मयेत विष्णुमेवैव साक्षात्काराय वरिष्ठः । अतिथिं समग्रमासं विचिकित्सन् कारित्वित् ॥
सुसिद्धपुराण q by आ. प्र p 102; अविज्ञातं द्विजं भ्रात्रे न परीक्षेत पाण्डिताः । सिद्धा हि विप्रस्येण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमां । तस्मादतिथिमावाप्तमभिगच्छेत्कुलाजलिः ॥ बृहदारण्यक, उपोद्-
घातप्राद, 15. 7.

878 a. इत्यादीनि विप्रपरीक्षामिषेधकानि तानि आह्वेतरदानपराणि निर्यभ्राज-
परानि वा तीर्थभ्राजपरानि अतिथिपूजापरानि वा । बालम्भट्टी on आचार, p. 494.

879. मेकालिथे on मनु III. 167 explains अपाङ्क्य (derived from पाङ्क्ति) as follows: अपाङ्के-याः पाङ्क्तिः नार्हन्ति । भवार्थे दङ्क कर्तव्यः । अनर्हत्वेनैव पङ्क्त्यावधनमनेन प्रदीयते ।
अन्यैर्वाङ्गैः सह भोजनं नार्हन्ति । अत एव पाङ्क्तिदूषका उच्यन्ते । तेः सहोपविष्टा अन्येऽपि
दूषिता भवन्ति । . वा. IV.1.20 is शब्दो दङ्क.

though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap.⁸⁸⁰ Dh. S. states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a brāhmaṇa who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmaṇa who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 19 also gives a brief list viz. 'one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.' Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16-19, Manu III. 150-166, Yāj. I. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 82. 3-29, Atri (verses 345-359 and 385-388), Bṛhad-Yama III. 34-38, Bṛhat-Parāśara pp. 149-150, Vṛddha-Gautama pp. 580-581, the Vāyu-purāṇa 83.61-70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6-11, Matsyapurāṇa 16.14-17, Kūrma (II. 21. 23-47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58-72, VI. 217.11-20, Varāhapurāṇa 14.4-6, Brahma-purāṇa 220. 127-135, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghāta 15.39-44 and 19.30-41), Mārkaṇḍeya 28.26-30, Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 15.5-8), Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārtha 28.11-18), Saurapurāṇa (19.7-9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmaṇa that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

880. श्वित्रो शिपिविहः परतल्पमाश्वायुधीयपुत्रः श्वेतोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यमित्येते आदे
मुजायाः पञ्चिद्वका मनसि। आप. श. सू. II. 7.17.21. As the son of a śūdra male

from a brāhmaṇa woman was treated as a cāṇḍāla in many smṛtis and therefore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words श्वेतो...ब्राह्मण्यम् as meaning 'born of a brāhmaṇa male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a śūdra woman, then a brāhmaṇa woman and procreating a son on that śūdra wife and then on the brāhmaṇa wife.' This latter (as the son of a श्वेतस्य ब्राह्मण) is 'अपाङ्केय'; श्वेतोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यो असमन्वयद्वारपरिवहे ब्राह्मण्यो पुत्र-

मन्वयाथ श्वेतायामुत्पादितपुत्र इति कपर्दी। कल्पसूत्र (आ. p. 90.), इत्यत्र follows कपर्दी. हेमचन्द्रि (आ. p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first and explains 'यो विद्वज्जातीयायामपि ब्राह्मण्यां श्वेतात् श्वेतस्यमात्रं ब्राह्मणादुत्पन्नः'.

king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his *guru*, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (*śrauta* or *smārta*) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of *brāhmaṇas* or of *Veda*, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a *śūdra* female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a *śūdra*, (39) one who instructs *śūdra* pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with *patilas* either through the *Veda* (i. e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the *Veda*) from his own son, (62) an epileptic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the *Veda*, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees

for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from śūdras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c.), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money)⁸⁸¹. Manu III. 167 says that a brāhmaṇa who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmaṇas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāh-

881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III. 150-166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here. निराकृतिः is explained in two ways viz. (i) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgets it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'उन्माद-स्त्वद्वीषो राजयक्षा श्वासो मधुमेहो भगन्दूरो महोद्वरमन्मरीच्यदौ पापरोमाः', q. by अपरार्क p. 451, स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 401. वृक्षली is explained in various ways by Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 205. 77-80 as meaning a śūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead. अग्नेदिधिषुपतिः:—When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अग्नेदिधिषु while the latter is called दिधिषु. वेत्तल says 'जेष्टायां यद्यच्छ्रद्धायां कन्यायासुखतेऽनुजा। सा चाग्नेदिधिषुर्ज्येष्ठा पूर्वा च दिधिषुर्मता' q. by अपरार्क p. 451, मिता. on या. III. 263. अग्नेदिधिषुपति is taken by मेधातिथे as equal to two words viz. अग्नेदिधिषु and दिधिषुपति. The latter means, according to the Amarakośa, the husband of a remarried woman, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' पुनर्धादिधिषुस्य द्वास्तस्या दिधिषुः पतिः। स तु द्विजोग्नेदिधिषुः सेव यय कुटुम्बिनी' अमरकोश q. by हरदत्त on यौ 15. 15. मञ्जु. III 173 explains दिधिषुपति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्मृति is said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemādri p. 485 gives another meaning of अग्नेदिधिषु 'जीवतस्तावत् भ्रातुर्भार्यायामनुरक्तोऽग्नेदिधिषुः'. बसिष्ठ I. 18 includes both अग्नेदिधिषु and दिधिषुपति among those who are called एनस्मिन्. Even the तै. ब्रा. III. 2.8. 12 mentions अग्नेदिधिषु as a sinner and आप. ख. छ. (II, 5. 12. 22) mentions both.

manas at a śrāddha repast. Manu III. 170-182 indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmaṇas results in the loss of the gratification of pitṛs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāṇa⁸² forbids inviting at śrāddhas Bauddha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pāñcarātra and Pāsupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the avabhṛtha in an Āsvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāṇa provides (III. 18. 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāṇa⁸³ provides that people who are 'nagna' should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines 'nagna' people as follows: 'the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called 'nagna'; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are *nagna* (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called *nag-nādh*'. Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmaṇas hailing from certain countries were declared in some

882. बुद्धभावकनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः । कापालिकाः पाशुपताः पादण्डा ये च
ब्रह्मिणः ॥ कुर्म (उत्तरार्ध) 21. 32 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 476 and 365; बुद्धभावकनिर्ग्रन्थ-
शास्त्राजीवककापिलादयः । ये धर्माननुवर्तन्ते ते वै नग्रादयो जनाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 14. 38-39
q. by हेमाद्रि p. 520. The same verse occurs in a corrupt form in वायु
78.30-31.

883. सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयी संवरणं स्मृतम् । परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्रादयो
जनाः ॥...वृथा जवी वृथा सुण्डी वृथा नग्नश्च यो द्विजः । वृथा व्रती वृथा जापी ते वै नग्रादयो
जनाः ॥ वायुपुराण 78.26 and 31. q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 520 (the first verse from
ब्रह्माण्डपुराण). The स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 411 reads वर्णानां for भूतानां and ascribes
that verse to the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14.35-41) has these
verses. अपरार्क. 473 ascribes verse सर्वेषामेव भूतानां to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, which is
found in उपोद्घातपाद 14.35.

works as not fit to be invited at a śrāddha.⁸⁸⁴ For example, the Matsyapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in *Mleccha* countries or the countries of Trisanku, Karavira, Āndhra, Cina, Draviḍa and Konkana should be carefully avoided at the time of śrāddha. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following : 'Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga, Saurāṣṭra, (Kāthiawar), Gurjara, Ābhira, Konkana, Draviḍa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śrāddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śrāddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śrāddhāviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 39-41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa⁸⁸⁵ and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śrāddha rite is in progress : "Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śrāddha". The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa⁸⁸⁶ similarly says that an *atithi* (guest) at a śrāddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śrāddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26, 30) provides that one should not ask such an *atithi* about his *gotra* or *caraṇa* or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 430-433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

884. कृतप्राजास्तिकास्तद्वन्लेष्टदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुषर्षरक्षीतद्विषकोङ्कणाश्च
(त्रिशङ्कुषरीरान्ध्रचीनद्विषः ?) । वर्जयेत्तुङ्गिणः सर्वान् आद्रकाले विशेषतः । मत्स्य 16.
16-17 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 505, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 94).

885. योगिनो विविधे रूपैर्नराणामुपकारिणः । भ्रमान्ते पृथिवीमेतामविज्ञातस्वरूपेणः ॥
तस्मादन्यथैवेत् प्राप्तं आद्रकालेऽतिथिं बुधः । आद्रक्रियाफलं हन्ति द्विजेन्द्रापूजितो हरिः ॥
बराह 14. 18-19, विष्णुपुराण 15. 23-4; compare वायुपुराण 79. 7-8 (सिद्धा हि विप्र-
रूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीभिमाश्च । तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत् कृताञ्जलिः).

886. अखिन्योऽप्यागतो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते ॥ अतिथिं तं विजानीयाच्च पुनः पूर्व-
मागतः ॥ अविषय. I. 184. 9-10 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 427; न पृच्छेद्द्वयोत्राचरणं स्वाध्यायं चापि
पण्डितः । शोभनाशोभनाकारं तं मन्येत प्रजापतिम् ॥ अनिरयं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथि-
रुच्यते । मार्कण्डेय 26. 30-31.

Viṣṇudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74-75) Purāṇas that gods, *siddhas* and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmaṇa *atithis* in order to favour people and to see how *śrāddhas* are being performed. About the definition of an *atithi* and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749-756.

Hemādri (Śrāddhakāṇḍa, pp. 380-385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of *śrāddha* belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmaṇas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmaṇa that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim ('as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering') invite only brāhmaṇas of their own *śākhā* possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 9 'one should feed⁸⁸⁷ in all (religious) acts brāhmaṇas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda' and asserts that no *smṛti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Gṛhyasūtra* nor *Kalpasūtra* contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmaṇas of the performer's own *śākhā*. He further says that in such texts as 'tripāciketastrimadhuḥ' (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmaṇas that have studied different *śākhās* and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same *śākhā* as the bride's father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other *śākhās*, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryāvarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different *śākhās* but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same *śākhā* of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections.⁸⁸⁸ As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. ह्युचिन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. घ. सू. II. 6. 15. 9, on which हरदत्त explains 'मन्त्रवतः अर्पितवेदान् । सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् गार्हपत्यं स्मार्तं च कर्मसु वैशेषिके पितृषु मातृषु च भोजयेत् ।'.

888. अत्र केचिद्यथा कन्या तथा हविरिति कन्यासाधर्म्येण हविषां स्वशास्त्रीयमतिपाद्यत्वं मन्यमानाः स्वशास्त्रीयमेव भोजयित्वा विष्णुविशिष्टं आन्त्रं नियोजयन्ति । तदसत् । स्मृतीतिहास-

noted that the author of the Bālabhāṭṭi recommends that 'Maharāṣṭra brāhmanas should not invite brāhmanas of other castes (of brāhmanas) and particularly the Koṅkanastha brāhmanas should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good qualities.

The Vas. Dh. S. provides ⁸⁸⁹ that the performer should invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not very old &c. The Kūrmapurāṇa states ⁸⁹⁰ 'that man whose offer-

(Continued from the last page)

पुराणग्रन्थकल्पवृक्षेषु कचिदपि रक्षास्त्रीयनियमाश्रयणात् । प्रत्युत स्वस्यादिषु विद्याचिकेत-
स्त्रिमधुस्त्रिमुपार्णो ज्येष्ठसामग इत्यादिभिर्नानाशास्त्रीयानां नानवेदाध्यायिनामेव विधिदर्शनाच्च
... किं च कन्यायामेव तत्रादिकशास्त्राध्यायिनियमः कुतोऽवगतो यद्बलेन हविष्यपि साध्यते । ...
आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशास्त्राध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः
सर्वतो विवाहसम्बन्धाः । अविज्ञातपरस्परराणामेकशास्त्राध्यायिनामपि नोपलभ्यन्ते । ... अतो न
कन्यादाने नापि हविष्वाने स्वशास्त्रीयविज्ञानियम इति सिद्धम् । हेमाद्रि (आद्र) pp. 380-381.
The words यथा कन्या तथा हविः occur in a verse of गर्ग 'नैकगोत्रे हविर्दद्याद्यथा
कन्या तथा हविः । अभावे ह्यन्यगोत्राणामेकगोत्रास्तु भोजयेत् ।' q. by आ. प्र. p. 75. हेमाद्रि
p. 450 reads it as नैक... दद्यात्समानपत्रे तथा । न चाज्ञातकुले दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा
हविः । ॥ ; आ. क. ल. p. 39 quotes this verse and the half verse अभावे... न भोजयेत्
also. The निर्णयसिन्धु III, p. 397 follows हेमाद्रि and relies on मनु III, 145-146.
एवमपि महाराष्ट्रविजातीयान् ग्राम्यारतत्रापि कोङ्कणस्थादयः सर्वथा न ग्राह्या इति आद्रविप-
कलिकादिषु मामाणिकनिबन्धेष्विति सर्वशिक्षसंमतम् । ... वज्र्याश्च द्विविधाः दोषवन्तः सजा-
तीयाः गुणवन्तोऽपि विजातीयाः सुतरां दोषवन्तः । तत्र सजातीयेषु अनिषिद्धलाभेऽभिज्ञास्तत्वा-
दिष्वलवहोपराहितो बुद्धेऽपि ग्राह्यः । विजातीयस्तु गुणवानपि तत्त्वादेव त्पात्रः किञ्चत दोषवान् । ...
केचला चिन्तयेज्जाति... । कन्यादानाविसम्बन्धयोग्यां जातिं यथा कन्या तथा हविरित्युक्तेस्तेन
तेपि सर्वथा हेया इति विद् । बालम्भट्टी on आचार p. 497.

889. पूर्वशुर्माङ्गान् संनिपात्य यतीन् गृहस्थास्तपून् पाणिनययोऽधिकर्मस्थाञ्
भोजयान् शिक्षानन्येवासिनः । वसिष्ठ XI.17, q. by हेमाद्रि p. 379 who explains
'यतयः प्रव्रजिताः तदसम्भवे गृहस्थान्' . The दोहरानन्द (आद्रसौख्य folio 37b)
arranges the persons to be invited at a आद्र in the following order: तद्वर्ग
संक्षेपः । आदौ त्रिविष्टयतिस्तदलाभे धानपश्वस्तदलाभे ब्रह्मचारी तदलाभे गृहस्थस्तत्रापि
पक्षिपावनावय उत्कृष्टस्तदलाभे यो ह्यसम्बन्धः सत्कर्मा च तदलाभे तत्सम्बन्धा अपि तदलाभे
सदाचारः शिष्योऽपि ।

890. प्रकृतेर्गुणतत्त्वज्ञो यस्याइनाति यतिर्हविः । फलं वेदान्तचित्तस्य (वेदविदां तस्य ।
सहस्रादतिरिच्यते ॥ तस्माद्यत्नेन योगीन्द्रमीश्वरज्ञानतत्परम् । भोजयेद्व्यपकग्रेषु अलाभादि-
तराभिरिजान् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 21, 17-18) q. by आ. प्र. p. 73, हेमाद्रि p. 413 (2nd
verse) and p. 417 (first verse).

ing (of food) is eaten by a *yati* that knows the truth about *prakṛti* (primordial matter) and the *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other *brāhmaṇas*). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent *yogin* who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.' Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in *Varāhapurāṇa* 14. 50, *Skanda* (VI, 217. 7 ff) and *Vāyupurāṇa*⁸⁹¹ chap. 71. 65-73, chap. 76. 28 &c. *Brhaspati* provides⁸⁹² a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a *śrāddha* more than one *brāhmaṇa*, then he should feed one who has studied the *Sāmaveda*, since in him all the three viz. *Rks*, the *Yajus* and *Sāmans* co-exist, that the father is pleased by *Rks* (i. e. by the feeding of a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the *Rgveda*), the grand-father by *Yajus*, the great-grand-father by a *Sāman* and a *chandoḡa* (a chanter of the whole of *Sāmaveda*) is superior. A verse of *Sātitapa* is⁸⁹³ quoted to the effect that if a student of the *Atharvaveda* is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the *smṛtis* were very strict in laying down the qualifications of *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at a *śrāddha*. *Anśanaśa* (chap. 4) asserts: 'that *brāhmaṇa*⁸⁹⁴ is called *duṣbrāhmaṇa* and should never be invited at a *śrāddha* in whose family *Veda* study and *Vedī* (i. e. the performance of *Śrauta* sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations'. The same

891. *गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च । ब्रह्मचारितहस्रेण योगी रैको विशेष्यते ॥ वायुपुराण 71.69 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 413, आ. प्र p. 73; it occurs also in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 9.70. यतिस्तु सर्वविघ्नां सर्वेषामग्रभवेत् । इतिहासपञ्चमान् वेदान् यः पठेत् द्विजोत्तमः ॥ अनन्तरं यतेः सोऽयं नियोक्त्यो विजानता । त्रिविदोऽनन्तरस्तस्माद् द्विवेदस्तदनन्तरः । एकवेदस्ततः पश्चाद्यायाध्यायी ततः परम् । वायुपुराण 79. 53-55 q. by हेमाद्रि (p. 419). The printed *वायु* reads सर्वेषामग्र्य उत्सवे; almost the same verses occur in *ब्रह्माण्ड* (उपोद्घातपाद 15.24-26).*

892. यद्येकं भोजयेच्छास्त्रे छन्दोगं तत्र भोजयेत् । ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि त्रयं तत्र तु विधत्ते ॥ ऋचा तु तृप्यति पिता ययुषा तु पितामहः । पितुः पितामहः सामना छन्दोगो ब्राह्मिकस्ततः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिश्रु. p. 765, कल्पतरु on आश्व. p. 58.

893. भोजयेद्यद्यर्षाणं देवे पैथे च कर्मणि । अनन्तमक्षयं चैव फलं तस्येति वै श्रुतिः ॥ शातातप q. by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिश्रु. p. 765, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 59.

894. यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिषुरुचम् । स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः आद्रादीन कदाचन ॥ औज्ञानसंस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 524). बी. श्रु. परिभाषासूत्र I. 10. 6 (which reads नाम यस्यैव वृषलीपातिः); q. by अपरार्क p. 286 and p. 449 and हेमाद्रि p. 357, as यमः's. Vide *त्रिकाण्डमण्डन* I. 134-135 for similar definitions.

author⁸⁹⁵ further says that six persons are merely *brahma-bandhus* (i. e. *brāhmaṇas* by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a *śūdra* or a king as a servant, who has a *śūdra* woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the *Mahābhāṣya*⁸⁹⁶ it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from *brāhmaṇa* parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a *brāhmaṇa* and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere *brāhmaṇa* by caste (but not a real *brāhmaṇa*). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if *brāhmaṇas* that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious *nakṣatra* or *tithi* or day or *muhūrta* and other auspicious matters, eat (*śrāddha*) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a *śrāddha* *brāhmaṇas* altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15. 15-18) contains long lists⁸⁹⁷ of over 50 kinds of *brāhmaṇas* that were not to be invited at a *śrāddha* dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut. adds that according to some only those beginning with '*duroḍḍa*' (Gaut. in 15. 18) were to be shunned at a *śrāddha* (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i. e. at least before 600 B. C.) are: a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

895. शुद्धमेवो सुतो राजा वृषली ग्रामयाजकः । वधवन्धोपजीवी च वहेते ब्रह्मबन्धवः ॥ औशनसः (Jiv. I.) p. 325, q. by अथर्वक p. 449. ब्रह्मबन्धु is a contemptuous term for one who is a *ब्राह्मण* in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896. तपः सुतः च योनिश्चेत्येवम् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःसुताभ्यां यो हीनो जतिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पाणिनि II. 2. 6 (ed. by Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 411). This appears to be a quotation. अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 is तपः... ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः सञ्जितो ततो भवति वै हिजः ॥ In the महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 44, vol. II. p. 220 ब्राह्मणाग्रज is defined as त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्रस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ; 'नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहान् शुद्धतांमङ्गलानि च । न भिक्षिर्गन्ति ये विमार्सैर्धुक् ह्यक्षयं भवेत् ॥' यम q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 390), कल्पतरु (आ. p. 62). निचमेव तपःशब्दः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1. हेमाद्रि p. 347 quotes a similar verse from वैधापन.

897. कुण्डाशि-सोमविकट्यगारदाहि-गरदावकीर्णि-गणप्रेष्यामम्यागतानि-विंश-परिवेत्ति-परिवेत् पयाहित-पर्याधातु-त्यकात्म-बुर्बाल-कुनक्षि-इवावदन्त-भित्रि-पोनर्भ-कितवाजप-राज-प्रेष्य-प्रातिरूपिक-शुद्धापति-निराकृति-किलासि-कुसीदि-वणिक्-शिखोपजीवि-ज्यावादित्रातल-द्वत्य-गीतशीलान् । ... बुर्बालादीन् आह एवैक । अकृताजन्माश्चैवम् । गौ. 15. 18, 31-32. Words joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a hyphen.

leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects *japa* (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śūdra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse ⁸⁹⁸ as follows: If a brāhmaṇa knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III. 189 and the Padmapurāṇa) persists that the *pitṛs* enter into and hover round the invited brāhmaṇas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the *pitṛs*.⁸⁹⁹ The Garuḍapurāṇa states that Yama allows the departed souls and the *pitṛs* to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 19-21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāṇa ⁹⁰⁰ provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S. prescribes ⁹⁰¹ that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

898. अथाप्युवाहरन्ति। अथ चेन्मन्त्रविद्युक्तः शारिरैः पक्षिदुषणैः। अदुष्यं तं यमः माह पक्षिपावन एव सः ॥ वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 20, q. by मेधातिथि on मनु III. 168. The verse is also अत्रि 350-51 and लघुसङ्ग 22.

899. निमन्त्रितांश्च पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुभूता निगच्छन्ति तथासीनावुपासते ॥ वक्रपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-86). Vide note 759 above. आद्रुकाले यमः प्रेतान् पितॄंश्चापि यमालयात्। विसर्जयति मातृगणे निरयस्थांश्च काश्यप ॥ वक्रपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड chap. X. 28-29.

900. वराहपुराणे। वृत्तकाष्ठं च विद्यजेद् ब्रह्मचारी क्षुत्त्रिभवेत्। q. by कल्पतरु (भा. p. 104), भा. प्र. p. 112.

901. आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात्। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.17.24.

Kūrma (uttarārdha 22. 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmaṇa and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmaṇa who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa ⁹⁰² provides that honouring gods, pitrs and men and feeding (brāhmaṇas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āsv. Gr. S. states ⁹⁰³ that at the Pārvana—śrāddha (performed on a *parvan* day i. e. on Amāvāsyā), the Ābhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekoddiṣṭa or Kūmya, the larger the number of brāhmaṇas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmaṇas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Śān. Gr. (IV. 1.2) and Kauṣītaki Gr. III. 14. 1-2 prescribe that one should ⁹⁰⁴ invite an uneven number of brāhmaṇas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut. requires ⁹⁰⁵ 'He shall feed an uneven number

902. पितृदेवमनुष्याणां पूजनं भोजनं तथा । नोत्तरीयं विना कार्यं कृतं श्यामिफलं यतः ॥ भविष्य I. 185.23.

903. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसम्पन्नानेकेन वा काले ज्ञापितान् स्नातान् कृतपञ्चीचानान् चान्ताशुद्धान् पितृवपुष्वेकैकभेकस्य द्वौ द्वौ त्रीन्त्रीन्वा वृद्धौ फलधूपसर्वं न त्वेकैकं सर्वेषाम् । काममनाद्ये । आश्व. गृ. सू. IV. 7. 2-3. पितृवत् is explained in two ways by नारायण 'पितृवदिति वचनं ममेति पितर इति मनसा ध्यायन्पुषेक्षयेदित्येवमर्थमित्येके ।' अग्रे तु पितृवृद्धं पितामहाय वृद्धतरं प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतममित्येवं यथावय उपवेशनार्थमिति । The words नत्वेकैकं सर्वेषाम् in आश्व. are opposed to मनु III. 125. नारायण gives several meanings of अनाद्ये, viz. आद्य refers to सपिण्डीकरण which is the first of the śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are invoked; आद्य may refer to पार्वण which is mentioned first by आश्व. गृ. सू.; or अनाद्य means अभोजन and so refers to आसम्नाद्य or हिरण्यम्नाद्य; or अनाद्ये means दुर्भिक्षे. The words एकैकभेकस्य ... त्रीन्त्रीन्वा contradict आश्व. गृ. II. 5. 11-12 'नवावरान् भोजयेत् । अयुजो वा.'

904. अथ मासि मासि पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ब्राह्मणाभ्येद्विद्वभ्योऽयुग्मान् उपवराध्वान् पितृवपुष्वेक्षयायुग्मानि तिलपात्राणि तिलैरवकीर्य ब्राह्मणानां पाणिषु निनयेत् । कौषीतकिय, III. 14. 1-2.

905. अमावास्यां पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ...नवावरान् भोजयेद्वयुजः । यथोत्साहं वा । भोजियान्त्वरूपवयःशीलसम्पन्नान् । ...एकैकं पितृवत् । गौ. घ. सू. 15.2, 7-9, 11. हरदत्त explains 'एकैकं मय्यन्ते पित्रायनुरूपं दानमिति । यथा पित्रे तद्वत्ताः पितामहाय वृद्धः प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतरा इति'. गौतम and others simply echo what is said in शतपथ-ब्रा. II. 4.2.7-8 about offering food to pitrs on amāvāsyā.

of brāhmanas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pitrs; if seven, then four for gods and three for pitrs and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8, 29), Yāj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13-14, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmanas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padma-purāṇa (Śrṣṭi 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmanas should be fed for gods and three for the pitrs. When only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30-31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa would have been seated, then served in a plate and the *viśve devāḥ* be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śāṅkhya⁹⁰⁶ 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmaṇa or can secure one only, then that brāhmaṇa is meant for the rite in honour of pitrs and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārḍha 22.28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five *desiderata*, viz. the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

906. भोजयेदथप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पङ्क्तिपावनम्। देवे कृत्वा तु नेत्रेण पश्चादङ्गीं तु तस्मिन् ॥ शाङ्ख 14.10. The आ. क. ल. p. 40 remarks 'एकब्राह्मणपक्षे विश्वेदेवस्थाने पात्रं प्रकल्प्य देवे निवेद्य तमेकं विषं पित्रादिषु मातामहादिषु च नियुजीत।' हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1523) explains Vas. XI.31 as 'अङ्गस्य प्रत्येकमेकदेशं समुद्रस्य देवतायतने वैश्वदेविकद्विजोपवेशनोचिते स्थाने पात्रमासाद्य तत्र परिवेद्य तत्रत्यासने च विश्वान् देवानावाह्य तान् पुरोवातिन इवानुध्याय...विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदमङ्गं स्वाहा ओं तत्सदित उक्त्वा' &c. The translation in S. B. E. vol. 14 of देवतायतने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong.

choice of) meritorious brāhmanas; therefore one should not desire a large company' ⁹⁰⁷. The Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārḍha 23.32) insists that an *atithi* must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smṛtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Brhaspati lays down: '(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas'. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves ⁹⁰⁸ of this and also quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13.3 'On the failure of a sapinda the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased' (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purāṇas such as the Vāyu ⁹⁰⁹ and Viṣṇu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess ⁹⁰⁹ (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāṇa appears to inculcate profuse

907. सक्रियां देशकाली च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः। पञ्चैतान् विस्तरं हन्ति तस्मात्ते हेतु विस्तरम्॥ मनु. III. 126.

908. धनार्जनस्य हि प्रयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यदृष्टार्थत्वं च, तत्रार्जकस्य तु सुतत्वाद्भने भोग्यत्वाभावेनादृष्टार्थत्वमेव शिष्टम्। अत एव बृहस्पतिः। ससुर्यकाद्भनादर्थं तदर्थं स्थापयेद्युधक्। मासषण्मासिके आद्धे वार्षिके च प्रयन्तः।। दायभाग XI.13. आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र II. 6.13.3 is: तदभावे आचार्य आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासी हृत्वा तदर्थं धर्मकृतयेषु योपयोजयेत्।।; हरदत्त explains 'ब्राह्मणात् स्वयं योपयोजित'.

908 a. वित्तज्ञात्वं न कुर्वति गयाआद्धे सदा नरः। वित्तज्ञात्वं तु कुर्वाणो न तीर्थफल-भागभवेत्॥ वायु 82.19. This is quoted from another Purāṇa by the रघुतिच. (आद्धे) p. 388, which adds 'अतो वित्तज्ञसारेण शारीरबलासारेण च गयायां आद्धे कार्यम्'.

909. सतिर्ल नामगोत्रेण दद्याच्छक्या च दक्षिणाम्॥ गोधूधिरण्यवासांसि भग्यानि शपनानि च। दद्याद्यद्विष्टं विषाणामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥ वित्तज्ञात्वेन रहितः पितृभ्यः पीति-साह्वनम्। पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिसंख्य 9. 179-181,

expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa ⁹¹⁰ (82, 26-28) further says that the brāhmanas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitrs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmanas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmanas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha; thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of Mokṣa. The Skandapurāṇa goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmanas even if they are depraved in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmanas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāṅgas. The Nirṇayasindhu (III, p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhaliṣetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Akṣayya Vata in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmanas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāṇa. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmanas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāṇa ⁹¹¹ it is said that two verses were sung by the pitrs viz. 'Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer piṇḍas (i. e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmanas with reference to us (i. e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?' Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended. Devala pro-

910. अमानुषतया विद्या (अमानुषा गयाविद्या?) ब्राह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिताः । तेषु तुष्टेषु सन्तुष्टाः पितृभिः सह देवताः ॥ न विचार्य कुलं शीलं विद्यां च तप एव च । पुत्रितैस्तेस्तु राजेन्द्र मुक्तिं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ ततः प्रवर्तयेच्छास्त्रं यथाशक्तिफलफलम् । कामान्स लभते दिव्यान्मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति ॥ वायु 82, 26-28. The first two verses are quoted from another (unnamed) पुराण by स्मृतिच (आ.) pp. 388-389; 'अथाचारपरिभ्रष्टाः ब्राह्मणा इव नागराः । बलीवर्दसमानोऽपि ज्ञातीयो यदि लभ्यते । किमन्यैर्बहुभिर्विधैर्देवाङ्गपारैः ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VI. 222. 23.

911. अपि धन्यः कुले जायावस्माकं मतिमान् नरः । अकुर्वन् वित्तशक्त्यं यः पिण्डाक्षो निर्वपिष्यति ॥ राजवल्लभमीयानं सर्वं तोयादिकं वसु । विभवे सति विभेयः अस्माद्वादिदय दारयति ॥ बराहपुराण 13. 50-51, विष्णुपुराण III, 14. 22-23 (reads यानमहाभोगादिकं वसु).

vides that on the days of *śrauta* sacrifices, of the celebration of charitable acts, of *śrāddhas* on the anniversary of death or on *amāvāsyā*, on lucky occasions (*vrddhi*), on *Aṣṭakā* days, one should never give a frugal or poor dinner to ^{911a} the worthy *brāhmanas* invited for dinner.

If no *brāhmaṇa* is available, then the *Śrāddhaviveka*, *Śrāddhatattva* and other digests say that effigies of *brāhmanas* made with seven or nine *darbhas* (except in the case of a performer following the *Sāmaveda* who is not restricted as to the number of *darbhas*) should be got ready and *śrāddha* should be performed and afterwards the fee and other materials may be given later on to other *brāhmanas* ⁹¹².

Rules were laid from very ancient times about the method of inviting *brāhmanas*. The *Āp. Dh. S.* states ^{912a} that the performer should make a request to the *brāhmanas* on the previous day, that on the day of the *śrāddha* he should request a second time (saying 'today is the *śrāddha* day') and then he should address them a third time (with the words 'food is ready, come'). *Haradatta* on the first of the three *sūtras* explains that the request should be 'tomorrow there is a *śrāddha*, you should do me the favour of being in the place of the *Āhavanīya* fire' i. e. you should partake of the food that will be prepared. *Manu* III. 187 also says that the invitation should be on the previous day or on the day of the *śrāddha*

911 a. हृष्टापूर्तमृतादिषु दर्शवृद्धयष्टकास्तु च । पात्रेभ्यस्तेषु कारिषु देयं नेत्र कुभोजनम् ॥ देवल q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 410.

912. ब्राह्मणासम्पत्तौ कुशमयब्राह्मणे आद्रमुक्तं आद्रविवेके । ... ब्राह्मणानामसम्पत्तौ कृत्वा दर्भमयान् द्विजान् । आद्रं कृत्वा विधानेन पश्चाद्विषु दापयत् । इति आद्रधृत्वाभाष्यकारसमुद्रकरधृतवचनाच्च । आद्रतत्र p. 194 and again at p. 199 'एवं ब्राह्मणानामसम्पत्तौ पक्षत्रयासनेषु दर्भचतुष्टयोपवेशनम्'. The three पक्ष are देव, पितृ and मातामह.

912 a. पूर्वेषुनिवेदनम् । अपरेषुद्वितीयम् । तृतीयमामन्त्रणम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17, 11-13; हरदत्त explains 'श्वः आद्रं भविता तत्र भवताहवनीयार्थं प्रसादः कर्तव्य इति ।'. The exact procedure would be पूर्वेषुनिवेदि ब्राह्मणमुद्रं गत्वा दर्भपाणिचतुष्टयः पातित-वक्षिणजायुरुपनीती प्रातुःस्वोपविष्टद्विजदक्षिणजायुं वक्षिणकरणेन स्पृशन् स्वो नः पितृकार्यं भविता तत्र विश्वेदेवस्थाने आहवनीयार्थं भवद्भिः क्षणः स्वीकर्तव्यः प्रसीदत ।' पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय (on आद्र) folio 55a. For पितृकब्राह्मणनिवेदन the difference will be पातितवामजायु-वक्षिणस्तुल्यः प्राचीनीयाती उवचन्त्य ब्राह्मणं &c.

itself. The Matsyapurāṇa⁹¹³ and Padma (Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 9.85-88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in an humble manner invite the brāhmaṇas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmaṇa to be invited) with the words 'you are given this invitation by me' and repeat in their hearing the following observance 'you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pīṭṛs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmaṇas.' The Brāhmanārādīya-purāṇa states that the invitation should be in the words 'O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.' It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smṛti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmaṇas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ &c.'⁹¹⁴ The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmaṇa as follows: 'my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the *vratā*' (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmaṇas representing pīṭṛs is to be given with the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvīṭa* form and to those for Vaiśvadevika in the *yajñopavīṭa* form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas were to be invited first or the brāhmaṇas for pīṭṛs were to be invited first

913. पूर्वद्युरपरेद्युर्वा विनीतात्मा निमन्त्रयेत् । निमन्त्रितान् हि पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान् । वायुभूता तु गच्छन्ति तथासीनाद्युपासते ॥ दक्षिणं जानुमालभ्य त्वं मया तु निमन्त्रितः । त्वं निमन्त्र्य नियमं आवयेत्पितृबान्धवान् ॥ अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैः सततं बह्मचारिभिः । भवितव्यं भवद्भिश्च मया च आद्वेष्टकारिणां ॥ मत्स्य 16. 17-20, q. by Śra. क्रि. को. p. 81, आद्वेष्टत्वं p. 194. The verse निमन्त्रितान् occurs in मनु III. 189 (which reads वायुवच्चानु-गच्छन्ति). हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 763) quotes the verse दक्षिणं जानुं (but reads आवयेत् पितृकान् बुधः) and स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 406 quotes both. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-88) has the same verses with some slight variations. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1258.

914. अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैरिति गाथाभुदीरयन् । सायमामन्त्रयेद्विधान् आद्वेष्टे देवे च कर्मणि ॥ प्रजापति 63. It is therefore likely that the Prajāpati-smṛti is much later than the Matsyapurāṇa or it is possible that the verse अक्रोधनैः is an ancient one and only repeated by the मत्स्य. Compare मनु III. 192 where we have the words 'अक्रोधनाः शौचपराः सततं बह्मचारिणः'. नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 20) puts the request as 'आद्वेष्टणस्तु कर्तव्यः पसाद्वेष्टेति सत्तम'. This supports the Mit. on Yāj. I. 225.

there is a conflict among *smṛtis* and the medieval digests propose an option (vide Hemādri on *śrāddha* pp. 1154-1157). Manu III. 205 appears to lay down that the *daiva brāhmaṇa* should be invited first (*daivādyantam tad-iheta*). Yama quoted by several digests ⁹¹⁵ says that the performer should request in the evening of the previous day *brāhmaṇas* with the words 'You should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and anger for the *śrāddha* in my house which is to be performed tomorrow,' that the *brāhmaṇas* should reply 'let it be so if the night passes happily and without any mishap to us.' The digests (e. g. *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* p. 81, *Śrāddhatattva* p. 194 and *Nirṇayasindhu* III. p. 804) say that the verse '*sarvāyāsa &c.*' may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day previous to the day of *śrāddha* and the verse '*akrodhanaiḥ*' when the invitation is given on the morning of the *śrāddha* day. The words of invitation differ according to different authorities. For example, according to the *Mit.* on *Yāj. I.* 225 the words are '*śrāddhe kṣaṇaḥ kriyatām.*' Vide *Śr. Pr.* p. 106 also. Manu III. 187 and 191 show that the words '*nimantrana*' and '*āmantrana*' are used as synonyms. In the *Śrāddhasūtra* ⁹¹⁶ of *Kātyāyana* the word '*āmantrana*' is used. But *Pāṇini* ⁹¹⁷ (III. 3. 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of the two words and the *Mahābhāṣya* explains that invitation is called '*nimantrana*' which if rejected (without proper cause) involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free to reject (without incurring blame) is called '*āmantrana*.' Therefore, it must be held that the few writers such as *Kātyāyana* who employ *āmantrana* use it in a secondary sense. The invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

915. प्रार्थयेत् प्रदीपान्ते शुक्लवाकं त्रयितान् द्विजान् ॥ सर्वायासाविनिर्मुक्तैः कामक्रोध-
दिवर्जितैः । भवद्भिर्भवितव्यं नः श्वोभूते आहूतकर्मणि ॥ ते तं तथेत्याविज्ञेन याति चेष्टजनी
सुखम् । यथाश्रुतं प्रतीक्षेरन् आहूतकालमतन्द्रिताः ॥ यम. p. by आ. कि. कौ. p. 80, आहू-
तत्त्व p. 194, मव. पा. 564 (from अत्रि).

916. अपरपक्षे आहूतं कुर्वीतोर्ध्वं वा चतुर्ध्यां यदहः सम्पद्यते तदहर्ब्राह्मणानामन्य
पूरेष्टुर्वा । आहूतसूत्र I (of कात्यायन).

917. विधिनिमन्त्रणानामन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् । पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The
महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 165) : याज्ञेयोगतः कर्तव्यं तन्निमन्त्रणम् ।
किं पुनस्तत् । हव्यं. कव्यं वा । ब्राह्मणेन सिद्धं शुज्यतामिच्छुक्तेऽधर्मः प्रत्याख्यातः । आमन्त्रणे
कामन्त्रारः । The आ. कि. कौ. p. 82, दोषरामन्द (आहूतसौख्य folio 51) and आहूतसूत्र
p. 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.

brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another *varṇa* ⁹¹⁸ or a woman or a child or person belonging to another *gotra* nor from a distance (Prajāpati 64). Pracetas provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a ksatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bhṛgu quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.⁹¹⁹

Uśanas ^{919a} provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha'. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Manu III. 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana ⁹²⁰ prescribes that a brāh-

918. अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्याहं क्षत्रियाद्यौ निमन्त्रितैः। स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मण्यंसी जायतामस्मिन् राज्ञे राजस्य इवस्यः शूरो महारथो जायतां वीरधी भेदुर्वेदिऽनङ्गानाङ्गः सतिः पुराभ्ययोषो जिष्णु रथेयः सभेयो युवाऽस्य पञ्चमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु कलिष्यो न ओषधयः पश्यन्तो योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 18, तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 13 (where this is explained), बाज. सं. 22. 22. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1159).

919 a. तत्रोक्तानः। गोमयेनोदकैश्च सुनिमार्जनं भाण्डशौचं कृत्वा श्वः कर्तास्मीति ब्राह्मणान् निमन्त्रयेत्। स्युत्तिच. (आ.) p. 409, आ. प्र. p. 108, हेमाद्रि on आ. p. 51; वज्रशौचादि कर्तव्यं श्वः कर्तास्मीति जानता। स्थानोपलेपनं चैव कृत्वा विमान् निमन्त्रयेत्। वराहपुराण q. by स्युत्तिच. (आ.) p. 403, आ. कि. कौ. p. 76, हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1150, आङ्गतरङ्ग p. 192. हेमाद्रि explains 'आविशद्वाश्च प्रकारवचनः। तेन आङ्गोपयोमिसम्भारसंपादनभाण्डमेलनसोपधनादि युज्यते'.

920. अनिन्धेनामन्त्रितो वापकमेहामन्त्रितो वाग्यद्वयं न प्रतिपृच्छीयात्। आङ्गद्वयं of कारपायन (I) q. by आङ्गतरङ्ग p. 189 (as गोभिल).

manu who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III. 190 and Kūrmapurāṇa provide that if a brāhmaṇa after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śāstra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog⁹²¹ (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smṛtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut. prescribes⁹²² that the brāhmaṇa who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (i. e. shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste he thereby makes his own *pitr*s stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas. XI. 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmaṇa and as regards wives of all *varṇas*. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of *pitr*s and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (i. e. chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except *japa*). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying 'they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts'. The Matsyapurāṇa⁹²³ prescribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

921. आमन्त्रितो ब्राह्मणो वै योऽयस्मिन् कुर्वते क्षणम् । स याति नरकं चोरं सुकरत्नं प्रयाति च ॥ कूर्म, उत्तरार्धे 22. 7 q. by आ. प्र. p. 110.

922. सद्यः आहूतिं शुद्धावर्णवस्त्रपुरीषे मासं नयति पितृन् । तस्मात्तद्वर्णवस्त्राचारो दयात् । गो. 15. 23-24; on आहूतिं हरदत्त explains "आहूतमनेन शुक्रमिति, अत इतिष्ठति". This is वा. V. 2. 85 'आहूतमनेन शुक्रमितिष्ठति'. This explains the two forms आहूतिन् and आहूति.

923. पुनर्भोजनमज्जानं यानमायासमैशुनम् । आहूतकृष्याहूतशुक्लैश्च सर्वमेतद्विषयैरेतम् ॥ स्वाध्यायं कलहं चैव विवाहस्य च सर्वदा । मत्प 16. 27-28 q. by आ. क्रि. की. p. 98 (which reads अतमायासः). These verses are also वा. (सुहृत्कण्ठ) 9. 123-124.

śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the śrāddha day. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 69. 2-4. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one's wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 1036-7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra⁹²⁴ of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmanas sip water (i. e. perform ācamana after śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmanas invited should observe the same rules. Anuśāsa (Jiv. vol. I, pp. 526-527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 106-108), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 31-33) and Anuśāsana 125.24 have identical verses⁹²⁵ and Vāyu 79. 60-61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śaṅkha 29, Laghu-Hārīta 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmanas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), tāmḃūla, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight. The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 12-13) and Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 94-95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided. Briefly put, the following were the observances for both inviter and invitee, viz. avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmḃūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāh-

924. तदहः क्षुचिरक्रोधनोऽत्वरितोऽयमसः सत्यवादी रयादृष्टमैथुनभ्रमस्याध्यायान्-
जयेद्वाहनादि वायत ओपस्पर्शनादामल्लिताश्चैव । आद्रुञ्च I of कार्यायन. पुनर्भाजन-
मध्वान् भाराध्ययनमैथुनम् । दानं प्रतिग्रहं होमं आद्रुञ्चत्वह वर्जयेत् ॥ लघुशङ्ख 29, q. by
मिता. on या. I. 249 (without name); compare. कूर्मपुराण (II. 22. 6) and नारदीय
(पूर्वार्ध 28. 4) for very similar verses.

925. आद्रुं दन्ता च भुक्त्वा च पुरुषो यः स्त्रियं व्रजेत् । पितरस्सत्यं तं मांसं तस्मिन्नेतासि
होरेते । अनुशासनपर्व 125. 24. Almost the same words occur in मार्कण्डेय 28. 32-33
and in अनुशासन 90. 12-13, वसिष्ठ 11. 37. The मिता. on या. I. 79 says 'एवं गच्छन्
ब्रह्मचार्येव भवति । अतो यत्र ब्रह्मचर्यं आद्रुवादी चोदितं तत्र गच्छतोऽपि न ब्रह्मचर्यखलन-
दोषोऽस्ति'.

manu invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalika folio 4b and 5a and Pitr-bhakti on śrāddha ⁹²⁶).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Ap. Dh. ⁹²⁷ S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māśas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pītṛs are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III 267 (= Vāyu 83. 3) is to the same effect as Ap. Dh. S. Yaj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (*haviṣya*) should be served. Manu III 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow's) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature *havis* (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (*havis*) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. ⁹²⁸ Other smṛtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 130 ff. The Mārkaṇḍeya (29. 14-15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a *patita* (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Sm. C. on

926. निमन्त्रितः आहूकर्ता च पुनर्भोजनं अन्नं हितां त्वरां यन्माहं भारोद्धनं दूरगमनं कलहं शङ्कमर्दनं च वर्जयेत् । शुद्धिः सत्यवादी क्षमी नृहृत्कारी च इयात् । पितृभक्तिं of अविदत्त.

927. तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषा व्रीहिषया आपो मूलफलाणि । स्नेहवति त्वेषां पितृणां प्रीतिर्वाथियांसं च कालम् । तथा धर्माद्वृत्तेन द्रव्येण तीर्थश्रुतिपणेन । आप. घ. सू. II. 7. 16. 22-24.

928. अरुभैक्षसत्कृपणपाकशकपयोद्धिपूतमूलफलोदकानि हवींस्तु सरोसरं प्रहस्तानि । नौ. 27. 11. On आप. घ. सू. I. 9. 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import 'पयो दधि यथागृह्य सपिरोद्धनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि दक्षेव तु ॥'.

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāṇa emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (*śuddhi*) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmaṇas.⁹²⁹ Manu III. 235 (= Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.^{929a} Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III. 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, *darbhas*, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmaṇas.

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmapaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as *śyāmūka*, wheat, *yava*, *mudga* and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pītras and food prepared from these should be offered to pītras. The Mārkaṇḍeya speaks of seven kinds of *grāmya* corn and seven kinds of wild (*āranya*) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. nivāra, māsa, mudga, wheat, paddy, yava, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

929. शरीरद्वयद्वाराभूमनोमन्त्रहिजन्मनाम्। शुद्धिः सप्तसु विज्ञेया आहुतकाले विशेषतः॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 205, 17.

929 a. त्रीणि आहुते पवित्राणि दौहित्रः कुतपस्तिताः। त्रीणि चात्र महांसन्ति शौचमक्रोधमत्नरात्॥ मनु. III. 235, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purāṇas as in विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 52, भगवद्गीता I. 185. 20, मार्कण्डेय 28. 64, स्कन्दपुराण (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 13). The पद्मपुराण (सुहृदखण्ड 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads आहुते त्रीणि...दौहित्रं and सत्यमक्रोधमत्नरा. It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दौहित्र means daughter's son. But in the स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 14 ff) several meanings of दौहित्र are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn on the nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word कुतप also has nine meanings acc. to a Smṛti text quoted by Aparārka p. 474 'माह्वजः कच्छलो नावः सूर्योऽग्निस्तिथिर्ये च। तिला वभान्श्च कालश्च नवैते कुतपाः स्मृताः॥'; vide note 847 for कुतप.

paddy, *mudga*, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* ⁹³⁰ mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for *śrāddha* food. The *Brahma-purāṇa* 220. 154-155, *Vāyu* 82. 3, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* III. 16. 5-6, *Viṣṇu*, Dh. S., ⁹³¹ *Brahmaṇḍa* II. 7. 143-152 and III. 14. contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in *śrāddhas*. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (80. 42-48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk. ⁹³²

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the *Matsya-purāṇa* and *Padina* (*Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, chap. 9. 62-66) ⁹³³ declare that *masūra*, linseed, *nispāva*, *rājamāsa*, *kusumbhika*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha*, *madhūka* and linseed are forbidden. *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. 79. 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called *rājamāsa*, *masūra*, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The *Ṣaṭ-trimśa-nmata* ⁹³⁴ forbids the use in *śrāddha* of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except *sesamum*, *mudga* and *māṣa*.

930. राजश्यामाकश्यामाकौ तद्वज्रेष मशान्तिकाः नीवाराः पौष्कराश्चैव वज्र्यानि पितृभूतये ॥ यवव्रीहिसर्गोधूमतिलमुद्गाः ससर्षपाः । मियङ्गवः कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चातिशोभनाः । वज्र्या मर्कटकाः आद्रे राजमाषास्तथाणवः । विमूषिका मसूराश्च आद्वकर्मणि गहिताः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29,9-11 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. pp. 542-43) and explained as मशान्तिकाः मधुवद्वेसे मसिद्धो धान्यविशेषः पौष्कराः पद्मबीजानि निष्पावाः वल्गाः. The last are called वाल in modern Marathi.

931. तिलेव्रीहियवैर्मर्षैरद्भिर्मूलफलैः शक्विः श्यामाकैः मियङ्गुभिर्नीवारैस्तुङ्गेणोधूमैश्च मांसं प्रीयन्ते । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 80.1.

932. वज्र्याणि संप्रवक्ष्यामि आद्रे वज्र्यानि यानि तु ॥ मसूरान्निष्पावराजमाषकुटुम्बिकाः ।... कोद्रवोद्धारचणकाः कपित्थं मधुकातसी ॥ मत्स्य 15.36-38 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp. 548-549 and आ. प्र. p. 40; पद्मपुराण (V. 9.64-67) q. by हेमाद्रि p. 548 has almost the same list. हेमाद्रि explains मधुक as उपेष्टीमधु and reads कोद्रवोद्धारचणक-कपित्थं in मत्स्य. चणक is चरी in Marathi.

933. राजमाषमसूर्यद्वेषितकृतलवणानि च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 79.18 ; राजमाषामसूराश्च कोद्रवाश्च कोरदूषकाः । लोहितान् वृक्षनिर्वासान् आद्वकर्मणि वर्जयेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.21 q. by हेमाद्रि on आद्व p. 548, who explains कोरदूषकः बनकोद्रवः.

934. बदन्निस्त्रयन्ते । कृष्णघान्यानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेच्च आद्वकर्मणि । न वर्जयेत्तिलांश्चैव मुद्गान्मर्षास्तथैव च । q. by हेमाद्रि (आद्व) p. 544, आ. प्र. p. 38. 'हविष्यं आद्व-हविष्यं श्रीहिंशालियन्गोधूममुद्गमाषमुन्यकालशाकमहाश्लेकलाङ्गुलीमरीचहिङ्गुशुद्धशर्करा-कपूरैरग्न्यवसानाभरणस्तनालिकेरकदलीचद्वरगण्ययोदधिपूतपायसमधुमांसमधुति स्सुत्यन्तर-प्रतिर्द्धं वेदितव्यम् । हविष्यमित्यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्सुत्यन्तरप्रतिवेद्वत्स्य कोद्रवमसूरचणककु-लित्यधुलाकनिष्पावराजमाषकुम्भाण्यवशात्कटुहृतीहयोपोदकीर्णशक्कुरपिप्लीवकास्तपुण्योचर-विडलवणमादिष्वचामरक्षीरदधिपूतपायसादीनां निवृत्तिः । मिता. on वा. I. 240.

From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 782-783. A few words are added here. Manu III. 271 and Yāj. I. 258 provide that if cow's milk or rice cooked therein (called *pāyasa*) is offered in śrāddha the pītṛs are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma⁹³⁵ 220.169, Mārkaṇḍeya 32.17-19, Viṣṇupurāṇa III.16.11 forbid the use in a śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camari or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572).

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa⁹³⁶ (29.15-17), Vāyu (78.16) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III.16.10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāṇa (220.156-158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, *bilva*, pomegranate, cocoanut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śāṅkha 14.22-23 also. Vāyu (78.11-15) states^{936a} that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

935 माहिषं चामरं मार्गमाविकैकशफोद्भवम् । जैणमौद्गमाविकं च (०द्गमजायीकं ?) वाचि क्षीरं घृतं त्यजेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220.169 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 573.

936. दुर्गन्धि केनिलं चाम्बु तथैवात्यतरोदकम् ॥ न लभेद्यत्र गौस्तुतिं नक्तं यच्चाप्युपा-
हृतम् । यत्र सर्षपास्तुष्टं यच्चाभोज्यनिषानजम् ॥ तद्वर्ज्यं सालिलं तात सदैव पितृकर्मणि ॥
मार्कण्डेय 29. 15-17. Vide also ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद 14. 26).

936 a. लहानं रुखं चैव पलाण्डुं पिण्डमूलकम् । कर्मभक्ष्यानि चान्यानि हिनानि
रसपन्थः ॥...अवेदोक्ताश्च निषांसा लवणाग्नीषराणि च । आहुकर्मणि वयानि याश्च नापा
रजस्वलाः ॥ बाहु 78.12 and 15 q. in हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 555) and स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 416.
The स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Sūśruta for ten
varieties of पलाण्डु.

and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and salt gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in śrāddha. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra⁹³⁷ (79.17) contains a long list of fruits, bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in śrāddha. The Rāmāyana states⁹³⁸ that Rāma when an exile in the Dandakā forest gratified his pitrs by offering the fruits of *inguda*, *badara*, and *bilva* trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smṛtis and purāṇas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 52-53, Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 43-47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saindhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Viṣṇudharmasūtra 79. 12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafoetida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (79. 5-6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Śaṅkha (14. 15-16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p. 684). Vāyu (75. 33-35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhaṇḍī, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kurantaka should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 162-165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasī, tagara, ketakī and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra includes *tulasī* among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

937. पिप्पली-सुकुण्डक-द्वस्तुण-शिथु-सर्षप-सुरसा-सर्जक-सुवर्बल-कुष्माण्ड-अलाधु-
वार्ताकु-पालङ्गुषा-उपोदकी-तण्डुलीयक-कुसुम्भ-पिण्डालुक-महिषीक्षीराणि वर्जयेत् । विष्णु-
धर्मसूत्र. 79. 17.

938. इक्षुवैर्भद्रेर्बिल्वे रामस्तर्पयते पितृन् । यद्वत् पुष्पो ह्येकं तद्वत्तास्तरस्य देवताः ॥
रामायण, अयोध्या 103.30, 104.15 q. by हेमाद्रि on आश्व p. 561, जेयातिथि on मनु V.
7, स्मृतिच. (जा.) p. 416. स्कन्द (नारदखण्ड) 220. 49 is 'यद्वत् पुष्पोऽस्माति तद्वत्ता-
स्तरस्य देवताः'.

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasī is based ^{938a}.

Kūśas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 657 for general remarks on kūśas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhas ⁹³⁹. Similarly, Āśv. Gr. III. 2.2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhas are the essence of waters and herbs (apām vā eṣa oṣadhīnām raso yad-darbhaḥ). Prajāpati (verse 98) ^{939a} provides that darbhas should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow's ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gr. (I. 5. 16-17) states 'the *barhis* consists of kūśa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers'. Dakṣa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (divided into eight parts) is the proper time for collecting fuelsticks, flowers and kūśas. The Gobhilaśmṛti (I. 20-21) says ⁹⁴⁰ that the darbhas used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pākayajñas should be yellowish, those in rites for the pitṛs must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

938 a. उपोद्धाती—तुलसी—कुण्यातसी शिष्यमहासर्षप-पत्रशाक-कुण्यसर्षप-पुतिगन्ध-शाकानि कुण्याद्वेपोद्धाकायाश्च (वर्ज्यानि)। स्मृत्यर्थस्तार p. 53; स्मृत्यर्थस्तारं तु तुलस्यपि वर्ज्यं युक्तं तत्र मूलं चित्तं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेधस्यादज्ञानात् । स्मृतिच. (आ) p. 435. The टोडरानन्द (आज्ञासौख्य) remarks: ग्रन्थागते तुलसीनिषेधस्तु शाकविषयः मेव आज्ञाविषयश्च । तत्र तुलसीवर्ज्यं भृङ्गवाजादि प्रज्ञस्तम् । (folio 47 b.).

939. The इतपथब्राह्मण has the following legend about darbha and derives the word from दुभ् 'अपश्च द्योता ओषधयश्च या वै वृत्राद् बीभर्तमाना आपो धत्तव हभस्य उदायंस्ते दुर्भा अभवन् यद्दुभस्य उदायंस्तस्माद्दुर्भाः । ता हेताः छुद्रा मेध्या आपो वृत्राभिप्रसरिता यद्दुर्भास्तेनौषधय उभयेनैवैनमेतद्वक्षेन मीणाति । VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. मन्त्रयुता हरिद्वर्णाः प्रातर्विषसमुद्धृताः । शोकर्णमात्रा दुर्भाः स्युः पवित्राः पुष्यभूमिजाः ॥ यज्ञापति 98. The उत्पादनमन्त्र is 'विरिञ्चिना सहोत्पन्न परमेष्ठिन् निःसर्गः ॥ छद्म पापानि सर्वाणि भव स्वस्तिकरो मम ॥ q. by. स्मृतिच. I. p. 107, अपराकं p. 458.

940. हरिता यज्ञिया दुर्भाः पीतकाः शाकयज्ञिकाः । समूलाः पितृदेवत्याः कल्माषा वेभदेविकाः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 109, अपराकं p. 458, आ. क्रि. को. p. 46 (which last explains: समूला मूलसमीपे लूना इत्यर्थः); हरिता वै सपिबूलाः छुद्राः रिनग्धाः सप्ताहिताः । एणिमात्राः प्रमाणेन पितृतीर्थेन संस्कृताः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 and ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्धातपाद 11. 74-75, quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपराकं p. 458, which explains 'बद्धसृष्टिः करो रणिः, संस्कृताः परासृष्टाः.' Vide बापुपुराण 75.38-39 for a similar verse.

greenish *darbhas* together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one *aratni* in length and touched with that part of the hand called *pitṛtīrtha* are pure. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 139.12 says that *tilas* and *darbhas* sprang from the perspiration and hair of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuḍa ⁹⁴¹ (Pretakhaṇḍa 2.21-22) states that all the three gods dwell in kuśa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Viṣṇu in the middle and Śaṅkara at the end and that brāhmaṇas, mantras, kuśas, fire, tulasī leaf—these do not become *nirmātya* (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila ⁹⁴² that those *darbhas* which are spread on the ground for placing pīṇḍas on them or that are used in *tarpaṇa* and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuśas are not available, kāśa grass or Dūrvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāṇa VII (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa) part 1.206.17 says that straight *darbhas* are used in giving gifts, at baths, in *japa*, *homa*, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for pitrs. The Skanda VII. 1. 205.16 provides that the top of *darbhas* is for divine rites, while *darbha* with the root and tip is meant for *patitṛka* rites. This is based on the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the *darbha* belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of *tila* (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jaiminigr̥hya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesamum grains scattered about in it. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.8 provides that when the invited brāhmaṇas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baud. gr. II. 11.64 provides that sesamum grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

941. विष्णु मन्त्रा कुशा वज्रिस्तुलसी च समेध्वर । नेत्रे निर्मालयतां पाप्मिन्निवर्तयन्तः
पुनः पुनः ॥ नवह (प्रेतखण्ड 2. 22).

942. विष्णुर्देवे स्तुता दूर्वाः स्तरणार्थे (दूर्वास्तर्पणार्थे?) तथैव च । धृतेः कृते च
विष्णुश्चेत्स्वामस्तेषां विधीयते ॥ मोघिलसंहति I, 22, q. by अवतारक p. 458, वेदवति p. 640,
आ. कि. को. p. 49.

water. The Prajāpatismṛti speaks⁹⁴³ of four kinds of *tilas* viz. white, black, very black and *jartilas* and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the *pīṭra* than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V. 4.3.2 refers to *jartilas* and Jai. X. 8.7 holds a discussion thereon. The Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārddha 28.36)⁹⁴⁴ provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter *tilas* in the midst of the brāhmaṇas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahatā' (may the *asuras* and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Vāj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by *asuras* becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 16.14) prescribes that by *tilas* scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna). The Garuḍapurāṇa⁹⁴⁵ (Pretakhaṇḍa 2. 16) makes Śrīkrṣṇa say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; *asuras*, *dānavas* and *daityas* run away on account of *tilas*.' The Anuśāsana-parva (90.22) says that *yātudhānas* and goblins snatch away the *havis* when the śrāddha is offered without *tilas*. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540) quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent *tilas*, who bathes with water in which *tilas* are mixed, offers *tilas* into fire, makes gifts of *tilas*, eats *tilas* and who grows *tilas*—these six never sink (i. e. are not unlucky nor in trouble).

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering *arghya* (water for honouring the invited brāhmaṇas and *piṇḍas*), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana⁹⁴⁶ provides that the *arghya* water

943. छल्लः कृष्णः कृष्णतरश्चतुर्थो जर्तिलस्तिलः । उत्तरोत्तरतः आद्धे पित्र्यां वृत्ति-
कारकाः ॥ प्रजापति 99. जर्तिलः are wild *tilas*. The तै. सं. V. 4.3.2 has this passage
'जर्तिलयथा वा जुह्याद्भीषिकयथा वा न शम्यान् पशून् विनस्ति नारण्यामथो स्वत्याहुर-
नाहुतिर्जर्तिलाश्च गवीषुकाश्चेत्यजक्षीरेण जुहोति'. शबर appears to quote काठकसंहिता
6. 3 also. The conclusion arrived at by Jai. X. 8.7 is that the passage about
जर्तिलः is an अर्घ्याद् for praising पयोहोम. The स्मृतिच. (आद्ध) p. 433 says
जर्तिलास्तु तिलाः प्रोक्ताः कृष्णवर्णा वने भवा इति सत्यव्रतेनाभिधानात्.

944. The मन्त्र is अपहता अहुरा रक्षसि वेदिषद्. । वाज. सं. II. 29.

945. श्रीकृष्ण उवाच । मम स्नेहसमुच्चतास्तिलास्तार्क्ष्यं पवित्रकाः । अमृता दानवा दैत्या
विद्वान्ति तिलैस्तथा ॥ गण्ड (पेतखण्ड) 2. 16; तिलोद्भूती तिलरन्ध्रायी तिलहोता तिलमयः ।
तिलभक्षी तिलावापी वृत्तिली नावसीदति ॥ q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 540.

946. यज्ञियवृक्षचर्मसेषु पवित्रान्नाहितेषु एकैकस्मिन्पत्रे आसिञ्चति शक्नो देवीरिति ।...
सौवर्णराजतैर्दुष्परत्नैश्चमणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विधन्ते पत्रपुत्रेषु वैकैकर्यकेन
वद्वाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु । आद्धहृत् (of कार्याचन) II.

should be taken in *camasas* (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as *palāśa*, *aśvattha*, *udumbara*) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (79. 14-15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* (31.65) and *Vāyu* (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) *pitṛs* milked *svadhā* and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by *pitṛs* and brings delight to them. *Yāj. I.* 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The *Vāyu* (74. 1-2), *Matsya* (17. 19-22), *Brahmāṇḍa* (*Upodghāta* 11. 1-2) and *Padma* (*Srṣṭikhanda* 9. 147-150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for *pitṛs*; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to *pitṛs* in heaven, that vessels to be used for *arghya*, for *pinḍa* and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. *Atri* (q. by *Sm. C.* II p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and *pitṛs*, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 79.22 and 24). The *Padma* provides⁹⁴⁷ that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of *palāśa* or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of *Śiva*, it is a great favourite with *pitṛs*. *Prajāpati* (111) provides that the three *pinḍas* should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow's flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the *brāhmaṇas* should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in *patrāvālī* (i. e. leaves stitched together); vide also *Matasya*

947. पात्रं वनस्पतिमिव तथा पर्णमिव पुनः॥ राजतं वा यजुर्वीतं तथा सागरसम्भवम् । सौवर्णं राजतं वात्रं पित्राणां पात्रमिष्यते । ...वार्ययि अद्भुता इत्यमकवार्ययकल्पते । अर्षार्यं पितृपिण्डेषु पित्राणां राजतं स्तुतम् । ...शिवनेत्रोद्भवं यस्माद्वत्सलपितृवृत्तम् । पद्म (दृष्टिकण्ड 9. 147-151); तथावर्षयिष्यन्मोषयादौ पित्राणां राजतं मवम् । शिवनेत्रो...वृत्तम् । अमङ्गलं तद्यत्नेन देवकार्येषु वज्रयेत् ॥ मत्स्य 17. 22-23.

17. 19-20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden^{947a} by some. Brāhmaṇas should not take ācamana from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpara, śukra, stone, clay, wood, fruit or iron. Ācamana should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Śr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of *phulgu* wood becomes inexhaustible.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 11 provides that for unguents (*anulepana*) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmaṇas, sandal-wood, saffron, camphor, *aguru*, *padma* may be used. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 165-166) mentions kuṣṭha, jaṭa-māṇsī, nutmeg, uśīra, mustā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413-14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāṇa⁹⁴⁸ states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow's milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitṛs for one month and that whatever food, whether cow's milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāṇa also (220. 182-184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are *āsua* (fit for *asuras*). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from *māṣa*

947 a. यत्वाङ्गिरसोक्तम् 'न जातिकुसुमानि न कवलीपत्रम्' इति कवलीपत्रमत्र भोजनमिति पात्रतया प्राप्तं निषिध्यते। स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 434. Others said that there is an option as to कवलीपत्र, as certain smṛtis (e. g. लक्ष्मणश्रौतान्न 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 21. 35-40) mentions that the leaves of पलाश, अम्बथ, उदुम्बर, विकङ्कत, काश्मर्य, खदिर, हल, न्यग्रोध, बिह्व may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards.

948. अर्घ्यं सद्यश्चिरं गोघृतं शर्करान्वितम्। मांसं प्रजाति वि सर्वाश्च विद्वन्निर्याह केशवः॥ ...यत्किञ्चिन्मधुसमिधं गोक्षीरं घृतपायसम्। वृक्षमक्षयमिर्याहः पितरः पूर्ववेवताः॥ मत्स्य 17. 30-36, the first being q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 431.

beans. The *Aśtanasa*⁹⁴⁹—smṛti pronounces the threat that the brāhmaṇa, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māṣa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The Sm. C. quotes a smṛti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māṣa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II. pp. 772-782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The Āp. Dh. S. prescribes⁹⁵⁰ that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesamum oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides⁹⁵¹ that the pītṛs are gratified for a year by the offering of cow's flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pītṛs extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pītṛs extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmaṇas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

949. यो नाश्नाति द्विजो मां नित्यं पितृकर्मणि । स प्रेत्य पशुतां याति सस्तत्तमेक-
विंशतिम् ॥ औशनसस्मृति (V.) p. 531 (Jiv. I.).

950. नैवमिदं तु ब्राह्मं स्नेहवदेव वृथात् । सर्पिर्मत्तमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तैलं
शाकमिति । आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 13-15.

951. संवत्सरं नश्येन प्रीतिः । भुर्यास्तमतो माहिदेव । एतेन श्राव्यारण्यानां पशूनां मांसं
मेधयं श्राव्यातम् । खट्वोपस्तरणे खट्वमांसेनानन्तर्यं कालम् । तथा क्षतचलेर्मत्स्यस्य मांसेन वार्ध्वा-
णस्य च । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 25—II. 7. 17. 3. वार्ध्वाणस or वार्ध्वाणिस is explained as
a red-coloured goat that is *tripība* (whose ears are so long that they touch the
water it drinks), that is old and the foremost of the herd. त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं
यूथस्याग्रचरं तथा । रक्तवर्णं तु राजेन्द्र क्षामं वार्ध्वाणसं विदुः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 141. 48 q. by
स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 431) The Mit. On या. I. 260 and मेधातिथि on मनु. III. 271 quote
a slightly different verse: त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं श्वेतं बुद्धमजापतिम् । वार्ध्वाणसं तु तं पाण्डुर्या-
जिनाः ब्राह्मकर्मणि ॥ and Mit. explains त्रिपिब as 'पिबतः कर्णौ जिह्वा च यस्य जलं स्पृशन्ति
स त्रिभिः पिबतीति त्रिपिबः'. अपरार्क p. 552 cites this verse as a नेगम. हेमाद्रि (आ.
p. 590) states that the 2nd verse is a various reading of the first. अपरार्क p. 553
quotes another verse according to which वार्ध्वाणस is a white-feathered bird
with red head and dark throat 'कुण्ठग्रीवो रक्तशिराः श्वेतपक्षो विहङ्गमः । स वै
वार्ध्वाणसः प्रोक्त इत्येषा नेगमी स्मृतिः ॥'. Several forms are met with in printed
works viz. वार्ध्वाणस or वार्ध्वाणस or वार्ध्वाणस. The दीपकलिका gives the two
explanations of वार्ध्वाणस (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white
goat and as a bird.

fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a *Vārddhrīṇasa*. Vas. XI 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitrs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids).' Even the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (I. 140. 49-50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell. Manu V. 35 and *Kūrma* II. 17.40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmaṇas at a śrāddha. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* II. 22.75 provides that the brāhmaṇa who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. Manu III. 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from *nivāra* grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarily required not to partake of flesh; but *Vasiṣṭha* insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III. 267-272, Yāj. I. 258-260, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 80. 1 ff, *Anuśāsanaparva* chap. 88, the *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* (kandikā. 7-8), *Kūrmapurāṇa* II. 20. 40-42, 29. 2-8, *Vāyu* 83. 3-9, *Matsya* 17. 31-35, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* III. 16.1-3, *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi 9. 158-164), *Brahmapurāṇa* 220.23-29, *Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 141.42-47 state at length the periods of time for which pitrs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at a śrāddha. The verses of Yāj. being the shortest in all these works are given below. Yāj.⁹⁵² states; Pitrs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c.) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (*pāṭhina*), of (red coloured) deer, of a ram, of a bird (such as a *tittiri*), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a *ruru* deer, of a wild boar, of a hare; the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called *Mahāśalka*, of

952. इतिष्यकोन वै मांसं पायसेन तु बल्लरम् । मांसवहारिण्यकौरभसाकुलच्छानपार्श्वतः ॥
ऐणरीरव्वाराहसासोमसैर्यथाक्रमम् । मांसवृद्धञ्चाभियुष्यन्ति द्वैरेहि पितामहाः । सङ्ग्रामिणं महा-
शल्कं मधु मुन्यक्रमेव वा । लोहामिणं महाशल्कं मांसं वार्धग्यसरय च ॥ यद्वदति नयारथश्च
सर्वमानस्यमहमुते । वा. I. 258-261. महाशल्कं is explained as कालशल्कं by the मिता-
करा, while the स्थितिच. (आ p. 431) frankly admits that it does not know
what कालशल्क is: 'कालशल्कं कीदृशमिति न विदः'.

honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as *nīvāra*), the flesh of a red goat, of *Mahāśaka* (i. e. *Kalāśaka*), and the flesh of *Vārđhrīṇasa*—these secure inexhaustible fruit. There is some divergence of views among the several works. For example, *Manu* III. 267 and 271, *Kātyāyana* (in *śrāddhasūtra* 7) appear to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn (such as rice, *māsa* & c.) or wild eatables (such as *nīvāra* or fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month and the flesh of *Vārđhrīṇasa* produces gratification for twelve years only (and not for all time). *Viṣṇu Dh.* S. 80.10 and *Manu* III. 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh as giving gratification for ten and eleven month respectively. *Hemādri* (on *śrāddha* p. 590)⁹⁵³ is careful to point out that these words about the duration of time are not to be taken literally but what is really intended is to convey greater and greater gratification of the *pitr̥s* according to the kind of flesh offered. *Pulastya* quoted by the *Mit.* and *Aparārka* p. 555 provides that a *brāhmaṇa* should generally or mainly offer at a *śrāddha* hermit's food, a *ksatriya* or a *vaiśya* should offer flesh, a *śūdra* should offer honey and all *varṇas* may offer anything else (except these three) which is not forbidden.⁹⁵⁴ Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a *śrāddha* dinner was to be a *brāhmaṇa* alone and so it follows that *brāhmaṇas* invited to a *śrāddha* by a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Kalpataru* written about 1100–1120 A. D. do not expressly say that in the *Kali* age flesh-eating at *śrāddha* is totally prohibited at least for *brāhmaṇas*. It has been shown already (*H. of Dh.* vol. III pp. 775–776) that even when animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the *Rgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* there was an undercurrent of thought that the offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heartfelt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

953. इह सर्वत्र श्रित्यतिशयो विवाहितः। न तु यथाश्रुत एव कालः। तथा सति द्वादश-
वर्षपर्यन्तं पित्रणां नृपत्वात् आह्वाकरणे प्राप्ते सति न 'प्रतिवर्षं यत्नात्कार्थम्' इत्येतद्वचनं
विद्यमानं इति हरिहरादयः। हेमाद्रि (भा. p. 590).

954. अत्र यथापि ह्यन्यथासाक्षादग्निं सर्ववर्णानां सामाग्येन आहुते योग्यानि दाज्ञी-
तानि तथापि पुलस्त्योका न्यवस्थावरणीया। अन्यथा ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः। मधु-
प्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत्। मिता. on या. I. 260; तथा च आहुत्यकरणे बृहन्नारदीये
यथाचारं पदेयं तु मधुमांसादिकं तथा—इति। तथा मांसादनं तथा आहुते इति कलिबर्ज्यनियमा-
नभिधाय वेदाचारः परिग्राह्यास्तद्वेदीयजैर्नरेः। अन्यथा पतितो ज्ञेयः सर्वधर्मव्यवहृतः—
इति तन्मैत्रायणब्राह्मिहतत्वात्। पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय on आहुते (folio 416) quoting नारदीय-
पुराण.

securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27-44 and V. 46-47) and Vasiṣṭha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778-780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddhas came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithipitr̥bhyaśca paśūpākaraṇakriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945-946 and p. 964). Now except among the brāhmaṇas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brāhmaṇa offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Bṛhannāradiya-purāṇa that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Pṛthvīcandrodaya.

Manu (V. 11-18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu (III. 4.24-30) and the Varāha (13.53-58) mercifully provide in identical⁹⁵⁵ verses that instead of entertaining brāhmaṇas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight *lakṣṇā* if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brāhmaṇa with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: 'I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitrs; may the pitrs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!' (lit. the path of the wind).

955. असमर्थोऽन्नदानस्य धान्यं मांसं स्वशक्तिः ।...सर्वाभावे वनं गत्वा कक्षमूलमदर्शकः ।
सूर्यादिलोकपालानामिदमुच्यते पठिष्यति ॥ न मेऽस्ति वित्तं न धनं न धान्यच्छ्राद्धस्य योग्यं
स्वपितृभक्तौऽस्मि । वृष्यन्तु भक्त्या पितरो मयैतौ भुजौ ततो वल्मीके मारुतस्य ॥ बराहपुराण. 13.
57-58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29-30, q. by मद्र. पा. pp. 515-16 from विष्णु and by
निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 467 from both. This passage explains the origin and the
present meaning of the Marathi phrase खाका वर करणें. बृहत्परादार (chap. 5 p. 152)
has similar provisions. The पुष्पी- (folio 56 b) notes 'धान्यं मांसमित्यत्र वन्यं
शकमिति बराहपुराणीयः पाठः'; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not धान्यं
मांसं, but the निर्णयसिन्धु had these words and it appears that the text
was tampered with in modern times.

It is now time to describe the procedure of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha⁹⁵⁵ which is the pattern or norm (prakṛti) of the other śrāddhas⁹⁵⁶ (even including the *Aṣṭakūś*). Here one meets with great divergences of views even from the times of the sūtras up to modern times. Though the main items and stages in the rite of śrāddha are generally the same, there is variation in the mantras, the details and sometimes in the order of the several items. Kātyāyana lays down that every man has to follow his own sūtra as to the use of the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', as to wearing the sacred thread in the yajñopavita or prācināvita way and as to the number of *āhūtis*⁹⁵⁷.

It would be very interesting first to find out the vestiges of the sacrifice to the fathers in the most ancient Vedic texts. The Tai. S. (I. 8 5. 1-2) deals⁹⁵⁸ with the Mahāpitṛyajña per-

955 a. Terms already explained such as 'Pārvaṇa' and 'Ekoddiṣṭa' are not explained again. Vide n. 855 above for those two words. Śrāddha on amāvāsya is obligatory (*nityā*) as laid down by Gaut. 13.1 q. in note 935 above, while the śrāddhas performed on the other tithis of the dark half of a month are *kāmya*.

956. The अनाकुल of हरदत्त on आप. गृ. 21.1 states 'पुनरपि पाकयज्ञानन्तरं पुरुषवयसं प्रधानकं तादृशानामष्टकादीनां प्रकृतिभूतं मासिकसंज्ञकं पित्र्यं कर्मापदिश्यते.'

957. तथा च कारत्यायनः। स्वाहा स्वधा नमः सव्यमपसव्यं तथैव च। आहुतीनां तु या संख्या सावगम्या स्वध्वजतः॥ q. by मङ्ग. पा. p. 592, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 458). हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 356) says 'एते देवादेविधयो यद्वीरेषु कल्पद्वयस्योक्त्यास्ते तद्वीरा एवेति व्यवस्थया बोद्धव्याः'.

958. सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं वदकपालं निर्वपति पितृगो बर्हिषद्वग्न्यो धानाः पितृगोऽग्निष्ठात्तेग्न्योऽभिवान्याये दुग्धे मन्थमेतत्ते तत ये च स्वामन्थे तत्ते पितामहः प्रपितामहः ये च स्वामन्थं पितरो यथामात्रं मन्दध्वं सुसंहरं त्वा बवं मयवम्मन्विषमिहि। य दूर्वं पूर्णबन्धुरः स्रुतो यासि वशः अश्रु। योजा त्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षणीमदन्त ह्यय मिया अधुवत। अस्तोवत ह्यभानवो विना नविष्टया मती। योजा त्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षन् पितरोऽमीमदन्त पितरोऽमीतृपन्त पितरोऽमीयुजन्त पितरः। परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्वैः। अथा पितृन् सुविद्वान् अपीत यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1-2. सायण explains: अभिवान्या सुतवत्सा धेनुः। क्षीरे यापितं प्रक्षिप्य मिश्रीकृतं द्रव्यं मन्थः। सायण quotes तै. आ. I. 6. 8 'अभिवान्याये दुग्धे भवति सा हि पितृदेवत्वं दुग्धे' and explains 'सुताः पुरुषाः पितरो भवन्ति। अभिवान्या च सुतवत्सेति सजातीयत्वात्तत्र तेषां प्रीतिः'। The milk of an अभिवान्या cow is kept in a vessel in which are put half-ground barley grains, then the milk is stirred once or thrice with a piece of sugarcane to which a string is tied. This preparation is called मन्थ. Vide मैत्रायणीसंहिता 1. 10. 17 (यदेव मन्थस्तेन पितृयज्ञोऽभिवान्याया गोदुग्धे स्यात्... हृक्षशलाकयोपमन्थति) and आप. श्रौ. 8.14.14. The Tai. Br. (I. 6. 8-9) expounds the above Tai. S. passage in its own way. The two verses सुसंहरं and अक्षणीमदन्त are वाज. सं. III. 52 and 51 and are the same as तै. सं. I. 10. 3. तै. आ. II. 6.16 brings together the mantras employed in पिण्डपितृयज्ञ as याज्या, पुरोडावाक्या or सामिधेनी verses.

formed in Sākamedha, the third of the four Cāturmāsyaś: "He offers to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pitṛs Barhiṣadaḥ (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) fried grains, for the pitṛs called Agnisvāta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i. e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pitṛs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (*pitaraḥ*) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pitṛs have eaten, the pitṛs have rejoiced, the pitṛs have been glad, the pitṛs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pitṛs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the *pitṛs* that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama."

In the Tai.⁹⁵⁹ Br. I. 2.10 the Pīṇapitṛyajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: "Therefore the rite (called pīṇapitṛyajña) is performed the day previous (to the Darśeṣṭi).

959. तस्मात्पितृभ्यः पूर्वेषु क्रियते...सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह ।...अग्रे कश्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह । य एव पितृणामग्निस्ते ग्रीणाति । तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिनिदधाति षट्सम्यगन्ते । बद्ध वा ऋतवः । ऋतून्नेव ग्रीणाति ।...ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः ।...सङ्कटाच्छिन्नं बहिर्भवाति । सङ्कटादिव हि पितरः । त्रिनिदधाति । तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः । तानेव ग्रीणाति । पराङ्मनवर्तते । ह्रीका हि पितरः । ओष्मणो व्यावृत उपास्ते । उष्मभागा हि पितरः ।...अवब्रेयमेव तन्नेव मांशितं नेवापांशितम् । वीरं वै पितरः प्रयन्तो हरन्ति । वीरं वा ब्रूति । इडां छिनत्ति । हरणभागा हि पितरः । पितृन्नेव निरवहयते । उत्तर आधुषे लोम छिन्दीत । पितृणामेतद् हि नदीयः । नमस्करोति । नमस्कारो हि पितृणाम् । नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरः छुप्माय । नमो वः पितरो जीवाय । नमो वः पितरः स्वधायै । नमो वः पितरो मन्त्रवे । नमो वः पितरो घोराय । पितरो नमो वः ।...एष वै मनुष्याणां यज्ञः । देवानां वा इतरे यज्ञाः । तै. ब्रा. I. 3, 10, 1-10. The words नमो वः पितरो रसाय to पितरो घोराय occur in वाज. स. II. 32 and तै. स. I, 10, 3 but in a slightly different order and वाज. स. reads रसाय for छुप्माय. It may be noted that though the तै. ब्रा. speaks of three ṛbhuṭis it mentions only two deities; the third is supplied by the सूत्रकार in the words यमापाक्षिरस्यते पितृमते स्वधा नमः । Vide note 781 above. On 'देवाः पितरः' सायण says 'द्विविधा हि पितरः देवात्मका मनुष्यात्मकाश्च । पितृलोकस्वामिनो देवात्मकाः । सुताः सन्तो भोगात्सौक्यं याता मनुष्यात्मकाः ।'. On वीरं...ब्रूति, सायण explains 'वैकल्ये पुत्रं मारयन्ति साकार्ये पुत्रं प्रवच्छन्ति । अत्र वैकल्यस्य पुत्रपरिहरत्वेन पुत्रप्रत्याग्राह्यत्वेन वक्राग्रमीय-सूत्रं छित्वा पिण्डेषु निदध्याह ।'.

He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitrs, *svadhā*! Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of *kavya*, *svadhā*! Adoration! (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitrs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three pinḍas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons. The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitrs.....The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitrs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the pinḍas). The pitrs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the pinḍas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the pinḍas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitrs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the pinḍas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitrs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i. e. over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a *daśū*). At that time he is nearer to the pitrs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (*namaskāra*) is dear to the pitrs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life; adoration to you, O fathers, for *svadhā*; adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (pinḍapitryajña) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i. e. sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods." In the Tai. Br. I. 4. 10 the Pitryajña performed in *sākamejha* is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that *Rtus* (seasons) are pitrs and they offered pitryajña to Prajāpati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digests that the *Rtus* are to be identified with pitrs and obeisance is to be made to them. %0

960. तस्मात्सकामेधैर्यजमानः इवावत्स्तीर्णः स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत । यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तदन्ववश्यति । 2...अथर्तवः पितरः प्रजापतिं पितरं पितृयज्ञेनायजन्तः । त एतं लोकमजयन् यस्मिन्नुतवः । यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते एतमेव लोकं जयति यस्मिन्नुतवः । अतुमानेव साधुरवहति । ते. ब्रा. I. 4.10.8. The word पितृयज्ञ here and in ते. ब्रा. III. 2.2.3, मे. ब्रा. I.10.17 (यदेव पितृयज्ञस्तेनैवायं पितरोऽभीष्टा गीता अयति) means a sacrifice

(Continued on the next page)

The Sat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters:—When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣiṇa fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣiṇa fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma ... He offers with the formula 'To Agni, the carrier of *kavya* (what is offered to the Manes), *svāhā!*', 'To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, *svāhā!*' (Vāj. S. II. 29). He then puts the pot-ladle (*mekṣaṇa*) on the fire, that being in lieu of the *Sviṣṭakṛt*. Thereafter he draws (with the *sphya*, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rākṣasas would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text 'whatsoever Asuras roam about being attracted by the *svadhā* (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj. S. II. 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer's) grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself

(Continued from the last page)

offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Rg X. 16. 10 the word *पितृवज्ज* means the same thing. But as the verse that immediately follows (Rg. X. 16.11) mentions *pitṛs* in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of *पितृवज्ज* being well known was used in a secondary sense in Rg. X. 16.10.

(naming) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers. Therefore they are cut off near the roots He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:— for the gods they offer thus: for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus. With 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather... He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share!' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the pīṇḍas), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the

pinḍas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire. ^{960a}

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvaṇa-śrāddha are very clearly brought out in the Śat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Dakṣiṇa fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavahana and to Soma Piṭṛmat, drawing a line or

960 a. अथैनं (प्रजापतिं) पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जाम्बाज्योपासीवृंस्तानववी-
मसि मासि बोहानं स्वधा वो मनो जवो वश्वम्भमा वो ज्योतिरिति। शतपथ II. 4. 2. 2...
मासि मास्येव पितृभ्यो ददतो यद्वैष्व न पुरस्ताच्च पश्चाद्दृष्टेऽथैभ्यो ददाति... (7) ... स वा
अपराह्णे ददाति पूर्वाह्णे वै देवानां मध्यन्तिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितॄणां तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति।
स जघनेन गार्हपत्यं प्राचीनावीती भूत्वा दक्षिणासीन एतं गृह्णाति। स तत एकोपोऽथाधोऽन्तर्या-
म्वार्यपचनं दक्षिणा तिष्ठन्नवहन्ति सकृत् फलीकरोति सकृदुष्टेव पराह्णः पितरस्तस्मात्सकृत्
फलीकरोति। (9) तं अपयति तस्मिन्नाधिभूत आज्यं प्रत्यानयति... (10) स उहाराश्रयो द्वे
आहुती जुहोति देवेभ्यः। ... अथेतत्पितृयज्ञेनेवाचारीत् ... स देवैः प्रसूतोऽथेतत्पितृभ्यो ददाति। ...
(11) स वाग्नये सोमाय च जुहोति... (12) स जुहोति। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय
पितृभ्ये स्वाहेत्यग्नौ मेक्षणमभ्यादधाति तस्मिन्लङ्काजानमथ दक्षिणेनाम्बाहार्यपचनं सकृदु-
ष्टिष्वति तद्वेदिभाजनम्... (13) अथ परस्तादुल्लुक्कं निदधाति। स यद्विधाधोऽल्लुक्कमथै-
तत्पितृभ्यो दद्यादसुररक्षसानि हेषामेतद्विमृशनीरन्... (14) स निदधाति। ये ह्यपाणि प्रति-
मुञ्चमाना अहुराः सन्तः स्वधया चरन्ति। परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्त्याग्निहोत्राकात्मणुद्वात्यस्मा-
दिति। ... (15) अथोदपात्रमादद्यावनेजयति। असाववनेनिक्षेप्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाव-
वनेनिक्षेपेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्षेपेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथाक्षिप्येतेऽभिषिञ्चेदेवं तत्। (16) अथ
सकृदाष्टिकाग्न्युपमूर्त्तं दिनानि भवन्ति अग्रमिव वै देवानां मध्यमिव मनुष्याणां मूलमिव पितॄणां
तस्मादुपमूर्त्तं दिनानि भवन्ति... (17) तानि दक्षिणोपरुष्याति। तत्र ददाति स वा इति
ददातीतीव वै देवेभ्यो जुहत्युत्तरान्ति मनुष्येभ्योऽथैवं पितॄणां तस्मादिति ददाति। (18) स
ददाति। असावनेतच्च इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्तिषु हैक आहुरतदु तथा न ब्रूयात्स्वयं
वै तेषां सह येषां सह। तस्मादु ब्रूयादसावनेतच्च इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रेऽसावनेतच्च इति पितामहा-
यासावनेतच्च इति प्रपितामहाय... (19) तत्र जपति। अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषा-
यध्वमिति यथाभागमभ्रीतेत्येवैतदाह। (20) अथ पराह्णं पर्यावर्तते। तिर इव वै पितरो मनुष्येभ्य-
स्तिर इवैतद्वर्तते स वा आतमितीरासीतेत्याहुरेतावान्महुरिति स वै सुहृतेर्मेवासिवा। (21)
अथोपपलुप्य जपति। अमीमदन्त पितरो यथाभागमावृषायिषतेति यथाभागमाक्षिपुर्नित्येवै-
तदाह। (22) अथोदपात्रमादद्यावनेजयति। असाववनेनिक्षेप्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववने-
निक्षेपेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्षेपेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथा जजुषेऽभिषिञ्चेदेवं तत्। (23) अथ नीवि-
सुद्वह्य नमस्करोति। पितृदेवत्यां वै नीविस्सस्माकांविशुद्वह्य नमस्करोति... षट्कृत्या नमस्करोति
षड्वा क्रतव क्रतवः पितरः... गृहाह्वः पितरो दत्तेति गृहाणां इ पितर ईशेति। एषो एतस्याक्षीः
कर्मणोऽथावजिप्रति मय्यवधाय पिण्डान् स यजमानभागोऽग्नौ सकृदाष्टिकाग्न्यभ्यादधाति
पुनरुत्सुकमपि सृजति। (24).

furrow to the south of the Daksīṇa fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (*avanejana*),⁶¹ darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the line or furrow and offering three piṇḍas to the three ancestors to regale themselves, turning away from the piṇḍas for a moment and then resuming his position and saying that the ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing (*pratayavanejana*), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are the principal matters even now in the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha performed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Sr. IV. 1. closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz. he folds his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II. 32 'namo vah pitaro rasāya' &c.) throwing three threads on each piṇḍa with the mantra 'etadvah' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or the woollen fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the piṇḍas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S. II. 34)⁶².

The other *samhitās* also contain identical mantras. For example, the Vāj. S. II. 29-34⁶³ are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on काय. श्री. सू. IV. 1. 10 says 'अपसव्यं यथा स्यात् हस्तय सव्यपदेशाद्वक्षिणपदेशेनोदकनिनयनं यथा स्यात्तथाङ्गुष्ठपदेशेन्योरन्तरालेनावनेजयति अवावेनैकात्र ह्युच्चीन् करोति पिण्डदानाय । असाविति सधुद्रवस्त-गोत्रनामादेशपूर्वकं, अनुकसगोत्र यजमानस्य पितरनुकसार्त्तवनेनेतिह ।'. Some other sūtra-kāras provide अनुकगोत्र for अनुकसगोत्र.

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n. 781 for the Tai. S. passage where those words are employed and also notes 1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the piṇḍa is to be offered to the Fathers it is done with the *pitṛiritha* (the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger). This is indicated by the teacher by means of a gesture. 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer (or *adhvaryu*) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the *daśā* or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or pulls out at this stage. It will have been noticed that the Śat. Br. in dealing with Piṇḍapitryajña employs Vāj. S. II. 29 (except 'apabātā asurā rakṣāmsi vedigadāh'), 30, 31.

963. अग्नये कम्बवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा । अपहता अहुरा रक्षांसि वेदिष्वः ॥ ये क्षपाणि ॥...मणुक्षात्यस्मात् ॥ अत्र पितरो मादयन्...वृषायेवत ॥ नमो वः पितरो रसाय...नमो वः पितरो मन्त्रवे नमो वः पितरः पितरो नमो नो वृषाजः पितरो वस सतो
(Continued on the next page)

employed in the Pīṇapitryajña in Śākamedha⁹⁴. Similarly, in the Maitrayaṇī Samhitā⁹⁵ I. 10.3. 10-21 these are mantras for the pitryajña employed in Śākamedha many of which are the same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I. 10. 3.11 is the same as Vāj. S. III. 52 and M. S. I. 10. 3. 17-20 are the same as Vāj. S. III. 51, 53-55. M. S. I. 10. 3. 13-14 greatly resemble Vāj. S. II. 32 and Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the procedure of *pārvaṇaśrāddha* as described in the Āśv. gr. IV. 7-8⁹⁶. It is stated by the Anākula on Āp. gr. 21.1 that the

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वः पितरो देवमैतहः पितरो वास आधत् ॥ आधत्...सत् ॥ ऊर्जं वदन्तीरसुतं वृतं पयः कीलालं परिलुतम् । स्वधा रथ तर्पयत मे पिबून् ॥ वाज. सं. II. 29-34. The verse ये रूपाणि and the mantras अन्न...द्वयायित are quoted above in n. 960a from the इतपथभा. For नमो वः पितरो, vide n. 959 and for आधत्...सत् n. 780. Both the commentators, Uvaṇa and Mahīdhara, of Vāj. S., hold that *rasa*, *śoṣa* and the other four are to be identified with the six seasons from spring (*madhu* etc.) and some of the digests provide for the worship of *ṛsatu*s in *śrāddha* in this way. The कात्या. श्रौ. सू. (V. 9.24-25) states that with this mantra (Vāj. S. II, 32) the performer folds his hands or makes six obeisances. Vide Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1459-60) who quotes the Vāj. S. (II. 32) and Tai. Br. and explains them,

964. अक्षक्षमीमदन्त...ते हरी ॥ सुसम्हृष्टं...ते हरी ॥ मनो व्याह्वामहे नाराज्ञीमेन स्तोमेन । पिबूणां च मग्मभिः ॥ आ न एतु मनः पुनः कृते वक्ष्याय जीवसे । ज्योक्तु च ह्यर्थं हृदो ॥ पुनर्नः पितरो मनो ददातु देव्यो जनः । जीवे ब्रातं सचेमहि ॥ वाज. सं. III. 51-55. वाज. सं. III. 51-52 are the same as Rg I. 82.2-3.

965. मै. सं. I. 10.3.13-14 are as follows: अमीमदन्त पितरो नमो वः पितर इवे, नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे, नमो वः पितरः छुष्माय, नमो वः पितरो रक्षाय, नमो वः पितरो यज्जीवं तस्मै, नमो वः पितरो यद्गोवं तस्मै, स्वधा वः पितरो नमो नमो वः पितरः । एषा पुष्पाकं पितर इमामस्माकं जीवा वो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम । Compare also अधर्ववेद 18.4. 81-85.

966. अथातः पार्वणे श्राद्धे काम्य आभ्युदयिक एकोद्विडे वा । बाह्याणाम् सुतशील... सर्वेषाम् । काममनाद्ये । पिण्डेष्वारूपातम् । अपः प्रदाय । दुर्भान् द्विगुणभुजानासनं प्रदाय । अपः प्रदाय । तैजसादममयमृण्मयेषु त्रिषु पात्रेष्वेकत्रय्येषु वा दुर्भान्तहितेष्वप आसिष्य काशो देवीरभिष्टय इत्यहमग्नितासु तिलानावपति तिलोऽसि सोमदेवत्यो गोसवे देवनिमित्तः । प्रत्यवद्विः प्रतः स्वधया पिबूनिर्मोहोकात् शीणयाहि नः स्वधा नम इति प्रसयेन । इत पाण्यज्ज्ञान्तरेणोपवीतित्वाद् वाक्षणेन वा सग्योपयुक्तीतेन पितरिष्वं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेष्वं ते अर्घ्यं प्रतिपामहेष्वं ते अर्घ्यमिति । अपूर्णम् । ताः प्रतिग्राहयिष्यन्सकृत्स्नकृत् स्वधा अर्घ्या इति । प्रवृष्टा अनुमन्त्रयेत पा दिव्या आपः पृथिवी सम्बभूवुर्या अन्तरिक्षा उत पाथेवीर्याः । हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आपः संस्पृश्या भवन्ति । संस्त्राप्सम्बवनीय ताभिरग्निः पुत्रकामो सुखमनक्ति । नोद्वरेत्तथर्म पात्रं पिबूणामर्घ्यपातितम् । अद्भुतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत् ॥ एतस्मिन्काले गन्धमात्यधूपवीपाच्छादनानां प्रधानम् । उद्धृत्य घृताकमममज्ज्ञापयत्यग्नौ कर्ष्ये करवे करवाणीति प्रत्यग्यजुज्ञा क्रियतां कुक्ष्य कुर्वति । अथाग्नौ जुहोति यथोक्तं गुरस्तात् । अग्न्यज्ज्ञायां पाणिष्वेव वा । अग्निमुखा वै देवाः पाणिमुखाः पितर इति हि बाह्याणम् । यदि पाणिष्वाक्षान्तेऽभ्युदयमनुदिशन्ति अन्नमजे । सृष्टं वतसृष्टुकमिति । तृताञ्ज्ञात्वा मधुमतीः भावयेदक्षक्षमीमदन्तेति च । सम्पकमिति पृष्ट्वा यद्यदक्षमुपशुक्तं तत्तत्स्थालीपाकेन सह पिण्डार्थमुद्धृत्य रूपं निवेदयेत् ।

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monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Aṣṭaka and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows: Now then at a Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken ācamana), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brāhmaṇas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers); or he may invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha⁹⁶⁷. By the exposition of the Pindapitṛyajña the rules for the pārvaṇa-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with darbha blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse 'śanno &c.' (Rg. X, 9.4)⁹⁶⁸ the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the mantra "Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava"⁹⁶⁹

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अभिमतोऽनुमते वा युक्तस्त्वनामान्तेषु पिण्डादिदध्यात् । आवाप्तेऽन्वेके । प्रकीर्णानुपपीयों स्वधोऽवतमिति निवृजेत् । अस्तु स्वधेति वा । आश्व. सू. सू. IV, 7-8. For the second and third sūtras vide n. 903. कृतपण्डोक्तान्-मनु IV, 76 states आवापदस्तु मुञ्जीत, which is almost the same as अनुज्ञासनपर्व 104.61-62. The first half of the verse वा दिव्या आपः occurs in तै. ब्रा. II, 7, 15, 4. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व reads प्रत्नमग्निः पूकः and प्रीणाहि (folio 78), and explains अग्निः पूकः जलेन मिश्रितः पितृन् लोकान् पितृपितामहा-दीन् प्रत्नं क्षिरकालं स्वधया स्वधोऽहारेण प्रीणाहि मीतात् सुखं. This yields a good sense. Different editions of the आश्व. सू. number the sūtras differently. Here the Nirṇ. edition of 1894 is relied upon.

967. Vide n. 903 above for the several meanings of 'anānye'.

968. The verse is इं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । इंपीरभि षवन्तु नः ॥ ऋ. X 9.4. This मन्त्र is recited only once.

969. For the गोसव sacrifice, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1213 n 2644. The mantra about sesamum is repeated over each of the three vessels.

sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the *svadhā* mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! *svadhā*! Adoration!" The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left⁷⁷⁰. With the part of the other hand (i. e. left) between the thumb⁷⁷¹ (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the Arghya water) to Fathers with the words 'Father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Great-grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee; after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

970. The rules about Pindapitryaūja have been set forth in Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. Nārāyaṇa notes (on Āśv. gr. IV. 7 2) that Āśvalāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pitrs and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to *daiva* or Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas at the time of strāddha. It is therefore possible that feeding *daiva* brāhmanas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224-28 and Vas. XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in 'Abhencult' p. 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding *daiva* brāhmanas spread from the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana to the other sūtras and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in Kandikā 2) prescribes that the *viśve devāḥ* should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsa āgata' and the performer should mutter the verse 'viśve devāḥ śrutemam' which are respectively Vāj. S. VII. 34 and XXXIII. 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Rg. (II. 41. 13 and VI 52.7) and the second occurs in Rg. VI. 52. 13, Tai. S. II. 4. 14. 5. They are not found only in the Vāj. S. as Dr. Caland seems to have thought. It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Rgveda or the Tai. S. It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only 'Viśve devāsa' and specifies that it is a ṛk (and not a mantra or yajus). So Yāj. at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971. The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called *पितृतीर्थं* and water is offered by that part of the hand for the pitrs; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 316 note 652. नारदः explains इतरपात्रमुद्रा in two ways as follows: 'येन पाणिना कर्म करोति हस्तिणेन वा सन्ध्येन वा तस्मिन्काले यज्ञोपवीते स्थिते प्राचीनावधीनी भवति ततोऽपस्मिन्काले स्थिते उपवीती नवति । अथ उपवीतित्वा प्राचीनावधीतित्वा तिस्रश्चर्यं सत्यपाणिपितृतीर्थेन कृतमस्मित्यर्थः । अथवा सत्यपाणेः शिङ्गणार्द्धित्वा हस्तिणेन पाणिं सन्ध्येन पाणिना मुहूर्त्वा हस्तिणेन पाणिनौपवीत्येवार्थं प्रकथ्यते ॥ The कल्पतरु. (on आ. p. 148) explains: यज्ञस्येन वामेन हस्तेन । तत्रापि न केवलं वामेनैव अपि तु इतर पात्रमुद्रात्परेण इतरस्य हस्तिणस्य पाणेः अङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण पितृतीर्थेन । तेनैतद्वत्कं भवति । वामहस्तेन अर्घ्यपात्रं धत्वा हस्तिणहस्तेन पितृतीर्थं संस्पृश्य च वा आङ्गुलहस्तेन कर्तुं भवति तथा वेदमिति । अर्घ्यं is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons.

manas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmaṇa or group of brāhmaṇas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmaṇa) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice—may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding arghya water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Śaunaka say' ⁹⁷². Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmaṇas). ⁹⁷³ Having taken some food (from the Sthālipaka prepared for Pindapitryajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmaṇas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmaṇas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before ⁹⁷⁴ or (if the brāhmaṇas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmaṇas; since the Brāhmaṇa text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brāh-

972. 'He should not remove etc.' नारायण gives two explanations of this verse of Saunaka 'तृतीयेन पात्रेण प्रथमपात्रस्वपापिधानमिच्छन्ति । अग्नये तु तत्रोत्तृतीयार्थे सप्तमी । अहर्षयतिर्तं मघर्नं पात्रं न्यग्विलं कुर्यात् तच्च नोद्धरेद्वा समासेरेति व्याचक्षुः ॥ आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 14.

973. Gifts of गन्ध etc.—नारायण notes on आश्व. सू. IV, 7. 10 that from अहर्षदान up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles गन्ध etc., the performer is यज्ञोपवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes प्राचीनापवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm).

974. यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्. The reference is to आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 12 which reads: प्राचीनापवीतीष्मदुपसमाधाय मेक्षणेनावायावदानसम्पदा जुहोति । सोमाय पितुनस्ते स्वाहा नमः अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा नम इति. The word अथ in आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 4 indicates that all the items of the विष्णुपितृयज्ञ upto होम (i. e. excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached. If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmaṇas the same mantras are employed. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 13 allows an option viz. the word स्वाहा may be used but then the order of गन्धसु will be अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितु-नस्ते स्वाहा and he will be यज्ञोपवीती.

manas⁹⁷⁵, then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmaṇas, since it is said 'what is abandoned and given to (brāhmaṇas)⁹⁷⁶ brings prosperity'. When he sees that the brāhmaṇas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmaṇas the verses containing the word 'madhu' (Rg. I. 90.⁹⁷⁷ 6-8) and also the verse 'they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Rg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmaṇas 'was the dinner perfect?' (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas together with the sthālipāka food in order⁹⁷⁸ to make lumps (piṇḍas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmaṇas. After the brāhmaṇas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps⁹⁷⁹ (piṇḍas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (piṇḍas are put down) after the brāhmaṇas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder⁹⁸⁰ he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving *dakṣiṇā* to the brāhmaṇas) bid adieu to the brāhmaṇas saying 'utter Om!

975. 'If in the hands.' मनु III. 212 provides that if a man has no Smārta fire, he should offer in the hand of the brāhmaṇa only. सुहृद् is explained by हरदत्त and नारायण as प्रभूतम्.

976. On IV. 8. 7. नारायण remarks: अर्धद्वयमत्र विधातुमिष्टमिति गम्यते । तत्राग्नी कृत्वा भोजनेषु भोजनार्थमप्यदक्षमनुविशति वृद्धात्येकोऽर्थः । यदि पाणिहोमः कृतस्तदाचान्तेषु अप्यदक्षं वृद्धातीत्यपरः ।

977. Rgveda I. 90. 6-8 (मधुवाता कृतायते etc.) are called मधुमती verses because each contains the word मधु several times.

978. On 'स्थालीपाकेन सह' नारायण observes 'स्थालीपाकेन सहति नात्रापूर्वः स्थालीपाकश्चोद्यते ।...तेन यत्र स्थालीपाको विहितस्तत्र तेन शुकशेषेण च पिण्डनिपरणं भवति । यत्र तु स्थालीपाकविधिर्नोस्ति तत्र शुकशेषेणैव केवलं निपरणं भवति ।'. In some *śāstra*s such as काम्यशास्त्र, आम्युदाधिक, अहनीशास्त्र and एकोद्विह there is no स्थालीपाक.

979. 'He should put down the lumps'. Here आञ्जलावन appears to differ from मनु III. 233, 260.

980. The word 'उपवीय' shows that till then the performer was प्राचीनापीयी.

'Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!').^{980a}

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the several grhyasūtras of the R̥gveda, of the Taittirīya śākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa), of the Vājasaneyi śākhā (such as Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Sāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādira) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kausika sūtra). A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gr. (21. 3-4)⁹⁸¹ states that (after the brāhmaṇas are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven *āhutis* are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yan me mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1-7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pitṛs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pitṛe' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 8-13). Thus the agnaukarāṇa in Āp. consists of two parts viz. *āhutis* of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv. it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'esa te tata madhumān' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16), he should make the brāhmaṇas touch the food served to each with the *Yajus* formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gr. prescribes the mantra, 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the pīṇdas, while Baud. gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east; (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidadhā &c.:' (3) nothing is said about *dakṣiṇā* or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The आप. पृ. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: शुक्रवतोमुत्तमं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य द्वेयं दक्षिणामान् दधामन् संस्तीर्ष्य तेदुत्तरैरपो हव्योत्तरैर्दक्षिणायवर्णां पिबन्तः हव्या पूर्ववदुत्तरैरपो हव्योत्तरैरपरथावोत्तरयोश्चाग्नेः त्रिः अक्षयं परित्विष्य म्युत्तमं पात्रायदुत्तरं चक्षुरनवान् अववत्त-
र्जमावर्तयित्वा मोक्ष्य पात्राणि हव्यमम्युत्तमं सर्वतः समववायोत्तरेण चक्षुषा शेषरसं प्रासा-
वराचर्ष्य आक्षणीयात् । The mantras referred to here occur in आप. न. पा. II. 19. 1 to II. 20. 26.

these sūtras which belong to the Taittiriya śākhā employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gr. (II. 10-13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gr. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19-20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1-3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Pīṇḍa-pitṛyajña 'pīṇḍapitṛyajña-vad-upacāraḥ' (first sūtra of the 2nd kaṇḍikā). Some details which it contains (and Yaj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras 'tilosi', 'yā divyā' (both of which occur in Aśv. gr.), 'prthivī to pātram' (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatrī and the Madhumatī verses the word 'madhu' should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatrī (once or thrice), the five Rākṣoghñī verses (Rg. IV. 4. 1-5, Vaj. S. XIII. 9-13, Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1-2), Puruṣasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13 = Vaj. S. 17. 33-34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1-4) and others. It expressly states that the *svadhūvācana* (Yaj. I. 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yaj. I. 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmaṇas are to pronounce two more viz. 'May the pitṛs be kind (lit. not dreadful) to us' and 'May our family prosper'. Dr. Caland in his learned work 'Altindischer Ahnencult' (pp. 150-152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Caland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śākhā. Jaimini's sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini's sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śrauta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana. Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Manu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208-265. But

as the procedure prescribed by the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti (I. 226-249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmaṇas come in the afternoon the performer having a *pavitra*⁹⁸² in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmaṇas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the *daiva* rite (i. e. the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvaṇa) śrāddha for the *pitṛs*; the brāhmaṇas should be seated in a pure (coudunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the *daiva* (part of pārvaṇa-śrāddha when Viśve-devāḥ are to be invoked) two brāhmaṇas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmaṇas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the *pitṛs* or only one may be seated for each (i. e. in *daiva* and in *pitṛya*). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously⁹⁸³. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmaṇas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāḥ) and having given kuśa blades for a seat⁹⁸⁴ (towards their right side on the seat already

982. For the meaning of *pavitra* see H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 notes 1553-54. It is a ring-like loop of *darbhas* to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mit. supplies that the invited brāhmaṇas also should have a *pavitra*. The गोभिलस्मृति I, 28 defines it and is quoted by अथर्वक pp. 43 and 480.

983. On Yāj. I. 228 'तन्त्रं वा', the मित्. remarks यदा तु द्वारेण ब्राह्मणौ लब्धौ तदा तु वैश्वदेवे पात्रं सकल्प्य उभयत्र एकैकं ब्राह्मणं नियुज्यात् । यथाह वसिष्ठः । Vide p. 403 above for Vas. II. 30-31 which the मित्. quotes. The विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 16 says: तथा मातामहं आर्द्धं वैश्वदेवसमाचिंत्य । कुर्वीत भक्तिसम्पन्नं तन्त्रं वा वैश्वदेविकम् ॥. तन्त्रं means उभयोद्देशेन सकृदुज्जानम् or as शबर on जे. XI. 1.1 explains 'यत् सकृत् कृतं बहुमाहुषकरोति तत् तन्त्रं यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृतः प्रदीपः'. Yāj. I. 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmaṇas. तन्त्रं वा-If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणस for पितृत्रय and two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणस for मातामहत्रय ; or only two ब्राह्मणस may do as वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणस for both पितृत्रय and मातामहत्रय. Or even one may do as वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for both.

984. For विह्वर (in या. I. 229), a seat made with 25 darbhas, vide H. of of Dh. vol. II. p. 543 n. 1259. The मित्. says that in addition to the vedic verse, a smṛta verse should be recited for invoking the विश्वेदेवाः viz. 'आगच्छन्तु महाभागा विश्वेदेवा महाबलाः । ये यत्र विहिताः आर्द्धे सावधाना भवन्तु ते ॥'. This verse is स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 217. 32-33 and गरुडपुराण I. 218.7. On p. 478 अपराक attributes this स्मार्तमन्त्र to बृहस्पति and to the बृहदपुराण on p. 481. The

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occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brāhmaṇas, invoke the *Viśvedevāḥ* with the verse 'O! all the gods come!' (Rg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34). Having scattered on the ground (near the brāhmaṇas representing *Viśve-devāḥ*) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal &c.) covered with a *pavitra* water with the verse 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra 'Yavosi' (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brāhmaṇas) the *arghya*⁹⁸⁵ water with the verse 'yā divyā' (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the *Vaiśva-deva* brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp⁹⁸⁶ and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder⁹⁸⁷ and

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कल्पतः (on आ. pp. 142, 151) also attributes it to both. हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1226) quotes it from the *जाह्नपुराण*, while the मद्र. पा. p. 574 quotes it as *बृहस्पतिः*. The मिता. notes that this and the following items up to (including) the gift of perfumes and four other things should be done by the performer being *यज्ञोपवीतः* and having his right side towards the brāhmaṇas "एतच्च यज्ञोपवीतिना प्रदक्षिणं च कार्यं 'अपसर्ग्य ततः कृत्वा पितृणामप्रदक्षिणम्' इति पित्र्ये विशेषस्मरणात् ।" अपसर्ग्य ततः कृत्वा—is या. I. 232 latter half. हेमाद्रि (on आ. pp. 1257-58) explains 'प्रदक्षिणादयमप्रदक्षिणम् । प्रदक्षिणं नामामिमुखपुष्पवामाङ्गोपलक्षितं प्रदक्षं प्रति कर्मणो निर्वहणं यथा पूर्वाभिमुखोपविष्टवैविकपङ्क्तिर्धूम्रद्विजादारभ्य तत् पङ्क्तिचरमद्विजापवर्गताः'.

985. 'Arghya water'—The मिता. states 'विश्वेदेवा इदं वो अर्घ्यमित्यर्घ्योदकं विनियोजयेत्.' The arghya is to be offered to each *जाह्नण* separately as required by गोभिलस्मृति III. 74 'अर्घ्यक्षय्योदके चैव पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने । तन्त्रस्य तु निश्चितिः स्यात्प्रधावाचन एव च ॥'. The printed मिता. reads the मन्त्र as यवोसि धार्यराजो वा, which is not found in the Vāj. S. or other *samhitās*. Similarly, the मिता. reads the मन्त्र 'वा दिवा आपः यवसा' for अर्घ्य, which is probably Rg. VII. 49.2 with the order of words changed. अपराक (p. 479) states that if there are two *वैश्वदेवजाह्नण*s then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the मन्त्र is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting यव and at each अर्घ्य. हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1229) defines; 'अर्घ्यो नामार्घ्योपायान्, पुरतः संमाननार्थः प्रशस्तमय्यप्रक्षेपः'.

986. 'दीपे च विशेषः साङ्केतिकः । पूतेन दीपो वातव्यास्तिलतैलेन वा पुनः । वसामेदोऽर्घं दीपं प्रयत्नेन विजजयेत्' मिता. on या. I. 231. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर has the verse पूतेन (I. 141.12).

987. या. I. 232—अपसर्ग्य ततः. The Mit. quotes बृहृशाततप that from hence the performer should face the south 'उत्तङ्मुखस्तु देवानां पितॄणां दक्षिणामुखः । मध्यात् पार्श्वे लब्धे द्वेपुर्वे विधानतः ॥. 'Double-folded kusās'—compare Āśv.

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under the left arm (i. e. being *prācināvīti*) the performer should offer to the pitṛs (i. e. to the three brāhmanas representing them) double-folded kuśas (with water) for a seat on the left (i. e. on the seats already occupied kuśas should be placed on the left side for a *viṣṭara*), he should then invoke⁹⁸⁸ the pitṛs after taking the permission of the brāhmanas with the ṛk 'usantas-tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (āyantu naḥ pitarah) 'may the pitṛs come to us' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmanas) with the mantra 'Apahata' (Vāj. S. II 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where *yavas* were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pitṛs as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the arghya water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmanas in one vessel (the pitṛ vessel), then turn it upside

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above (p. 434). The स्कन्दपुराण (VII. 1. 206. 17) provides 'दाने स्नाने जपे होमे भोजने देवतार्चने। देवानामुज्ज्वले वर्ध्नाः पितॄणां द्विगुणास्तथा॥' In offering each of the things in daiva or *pitṛya* rite in śrāddha water must be given before and after. The मिता. says that here the method called काण्डाहुतमय (and not पदार्थाहुतमय) has to be followed. These two are dealt with in Jai. V. 2.1-15. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 739-740. In this case if there are three brāhmanas, water, kuśas and water are all to be given to one, then the same three to the second and the same three to the third. This is काण्डाहुतमय. If water is given one after another to the three, then kuśas one after another to them, then water one after another to three, that would be पदार्थाहुतमय. काण्ड means पदार्थवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (on आ. pp. 759-766) has an exhaustive and lucid discussion on these two. He states that पदार्थाहुतमय is the rule but काण्डाहुतमय also has to be followed in certain cases. For example, on p. 764 he says 'चरणमक्षालना-चमनप्रदानासनोपवेशनानि पदार्थाहुतमयेन । आसनक्षणवाहनार्चनगृह्यपूर्वकीपाश्यादिनां पदार्थानां कृत्स्नं काण्डं वैश्वदेविकेषु द्विजेष्वपवर्त्य पितृकेश्वारभूषणीयम्' and relies on या. I. 229-234 to show that all items relating to वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण are first finished and those relating to पितृकब्राह्मण are then taken up i. e. there is काण्डाहुतमय as to वैश्वदेविक and पितृकब्राह्मण. Vide हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1215 also.

988. आवाह्य (या. I. 233). The मिता. remarks "अथ पितॄन् पितामहान् प्रपितामहा-नामाहविष्य इति ब्राह्मणान् वृद्धा आवाहयेति तैरुज्ज्ञातः उक्तस्तत्त्वा निर्धीमहि इत्यनयर्वा पित्रादीनामाह्य 'आयन्तु नः पितरः' इत्यादिना मन्त्रेणापत्तिरिति". It may be noted that in all cases where a question is to be put or permission is to be asked the performer addresses the chief among them or all of them as the आज्ञास्वयं of का. says—'सर्वेषु मन्त्रेषु पंक्तिपूर्वकं पृच्छति सर्वोऽथ (2nd कण्डिका of आज्ञास्वयं).'

down⁹⁸⁹ on the ground (over a bunch of kuśas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitrs.'⁹⁹⁰ Then, being about to perform 'agnaukarana' (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmanas (in the words 'I shall offer into the sacred fire') and when permitted by them with the words 'do so', he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a *mekṣaṇa*⁹⁹¹ according to the

989. The मिता. remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the pavitras covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmanas with the words 'वितरयं ते गन्धः' etc.

990. पूर्ववत्—The मिता. very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for वैश्वनाभ्यासः 'राजतादिषु पात्रेषु त्रिष्वप्युग्मकुशानिर्मिवक्त्रास्तहितेषु 'शं नो देवीः' इति मन्त्रेणापः क्षिप्त्वा 'तिलोसि सोमवेवत्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रेण तिलान् गन्धपुष्पाणि च क्षिप्त्वा स्वार्धयोः—इति ब्राह्मणानां पुरतोऽर्घ्यपात्राणि स्थापयित्वा या दिव्या इति मन्त्रान्ते वितरितुं ते अर्घ्यं पितानहेतुं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितानहेतुं ते अर्घ्यमिति ब्राह्मणानां हस्तेष्वर्घ्यं दद्यात्। Vide आश्व. सू. in note 966 above for शं नो देवीः, तिलोसि, या दिव्याः. The मन्त्र is 'अथ हता अहुरा रक्षांसि वैदिवदः' (वाज. सं. II. 29). The बहुवचनपरिनिष्ठ, अपराक्ष (p. 484) and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पाद्य, अर्घ्य, गन्ध etc. Therefore the अर्घ्य will be offered in the form 'अमुकगोत्र पितरमुकगोत्रमहेतुतेऽर्घ्यम्'. हलायुध (folio 18a on आङ्गसूत्र) notes that in the case of वाजसनेयस the last words are एष तेऽयंः.

991. मेक्षण is a rod of Aśvattha wood one *aratni* long having at one end a square board four *angulas* in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वधा नमः, सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः (वाज. सं. II. 29 where the same formula occurs with स्वाहा for स्वधा नमः). Acc. to Baud. Dh. S 'I. 8. 8-11 the offerings are three viz. to सोमाय पितृगीताय, यमायाद्विरस्वते पितृमते, अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्विष्टकृते. Acc. to मद्र. पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyānīyas. The बह्वपुराण q. by मद्र. पा. (p. 591) speaks of आहुतित्रय and so does Brahmanḍa (upodghāta, 11.93-94). If the performer is आहिताग्नि and has observed सर्वाधान method he offers into grhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śrauta or grhya fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmana. For the procedure of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ (which varies from one śākha and sūtra to another) vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085-1090 and मनु. III. 212 for पाणिहोम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pitrya brāhmanas invited the पाणिहोम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmanas acc. to the मद्र. पा. 585 and स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 462). both of which quote गोभिल II. 120 'पित्र्ये यः पक्विर्मूर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान्।

हुत्वा मन्त्रवद्व्येषां तूर्णं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्'। हलायुध holds that, since या. (I. 237 हुतशेषं प्रदद्यात् भाजनेषु समाहितः) employs the word भाजनेषु without any qualification, the remnants of the food for होम should be put in all plates including those for वैश्वनाभ्यास. The सौरपुराण (19.22) says: अग्नेरभाषाद्विष्य पाणौ होमो विधीयते। महादेवस्य पुरतो गोष्ठे वा अज्ययाम्बितः ॥

mission⁹⁹⁵ (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmaṇas for pitrs) the remaining food on (*darbhas* with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the mantra 'ye agnidagdāḥ', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i. e. portions from each food) with sesamum mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the piṇḍas near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmaṇas) according to the procedure of the piṇḍapitryajña. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the Viśve-devāḥ to offering piṇḍas). Then he should give water to the brāhmaṇas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmaṇas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmaṇas say 'svasti', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmaṇas dakṣiṇā (fee or presents)⁹⁹⁶ according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmaṇas "may I request you to repeat the word 'svadhā'" and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let svadhā be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i. e. the pitrs and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmaṇas should say 'let there be svadhā'. On the brāhmaṇas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' and when the brāhmaṇas have responded with 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' he should mutter the follow-

995. तदन्नं विकिरेन्नमो दद्याच्चापः सकृत् सकृत् । या. I. 241. The *Mitā*, comments: तदन्नं पित्रस्थानब्राह्मणस्य पुरस्तादग्निदहसंक्षिप्तो दक्षिणाग्रदधान्तरितायां भूमौ तिलोदकप्रक्षेपपूर्वकं 'ये अग्निदग्धा' इत्यनया ऋचा निक्षिप्य पुनस्तिलोदकं प्रक्षेपेत् । तदन्नस्य ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु गण्डुवार्यं सकृत्सकृद्वयो दद्यात् । ये अग्निदग्धा—this is Rg. X. 15. 14 translated above (p. 196). Sesamum grains and water were to be cast before as well as after placing the food on the ground. The *Mit.* speaks of the verse ये अग्निदग्धा as a *ṛk*, so it should be taken to be Rg. X. 15. 14; but later works like the *Āraḍṭas* (pp. 231–32) prescribe that the two verses quoted in the beginning of note 1007 below should be recited here. Vide ते. ब्रा. III. 1. 1. 7 for pitrs that were अग्निदग्ध and that were not so in another connection.

996. या. I. 244 दद्यात् त्व दक्षिणां सक्त्या—देवत prescribes that दक्षिणा was to be given to the पित्र्यब्राह्मण first and then to the वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण 'दक्षिणां पितृवैश्येयो दद्यात्पूर्वं ततो हव्योः' q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 483). मत्स्य 17. 50–52, वायु 75. 14–15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.

ing: 997 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitṛs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts' 998. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmaṇas, 999 having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38.8, Yāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 7.8.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmaṇas representing the pitṛs start first, 1000 (i. e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevāḥ). The vessel in which the drops of *arghya* water from the hands of the brāhmaṇas had been collected before should be turned face upwards 1001 and then the brāhmaṇas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmaṇas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

997. दातारो नो—या. I. 246. This very verse occurs in मनु III. 252, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.28, पद्मपुराण (सुष्टिलखण्ड 9.117), मत्स्य 16. 49-50, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.42.

998 The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.50, मत्स्य 16.50-51, पद्म (सुष्टि 9.118) add another verse to या. I. 246 viz. अर्णं त्व नो बहू भवेदतिथिंश्च लभेमहि । याचितारश्च नः सन्तु भा च पाप्मिण्यम कंचन ॥.

999. इत्युक्त्वोक्त्वा मिया दाक्षः—या. I. 247. अपरार्क p. 512 quotes from बृहस्पति two verses stating what should be said 'अद्य मे सफलं जन्म भवत्यादाभिवन्दनात् । अद्य मे वंशजाः सर्वे यतास्तेषुग्रहाद् दिवम् ॥ अत्र शाकादिपात्रेन क्लेशिता ये मयेदशाः । तः क्लेशजातं चित्तेन विस्मृत्य क्षन्तुमर्हथ ॥.'

1000. For पितृपूर्वं विसर्जनम् (या. I. 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III. 15.48 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.15 which say 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्विघ्नं तेषु रक्षा यतः स्थिता ॥'. The मित्ता. adds, following the मत्स्यपुराण 17.59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of a darbha 'वाजे वाजे इति जपन् कुशाग्रेण विसर्जयेत्'.

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination त्वा in कृत्वा indicates) first before the mantra 'vāje vāje' (Yāj. I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmaṇas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmaṇas start. Compare Jai. IV. 3.37 for कृत्वा denoting पूर्वकालता. संवत्स has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmaṇas when *arghya* water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the *arghya* vessels. अविशत in his पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ma. 152 of 1892-95) says 'संवत्सपदं ब्राह्मणहस्तकुतजलपरमिति निबन्धनाः । कर्कभावे तु अर्घपात्रस्थशेषीभूतजलं संवत्सपदमित्युक्तम् । युक्तं चेत् । शेषे मति-परोपेक्षितत्वात्' folio 25b.

house after) the brāhmaṇas representing the pitrs have partaken of it. He and the brāhmaṇas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day ¹⁰⁰².

Many of the Purāṇas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every *amāvāsyā*; for example, Matsya 17. 12-60 (closely resembling Yāj. 225-259), Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 15. 13-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 37-60, Kūrma (II. 22. 20-62), Padma (śrṣṭikhaṇḍa) 9. 140-186, Brahmaṇḍa (Upod-ghātapāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224. 3-51, Viṣṇudharmottara I 140. 6-44. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 163 verses 2-42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yāj. I. 227-270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gr. and Yāj. Similarly the Garuḍa-purāṇa contains numerous verses that are identical with Yājñavalkya's. For example, compare Yāj. I. 229-239 with Garuḍa I. 99. 11-19. The Purāṇas closely follow the Grhya-sūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāṇa 14.51, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purāṇas (*iyam sarva-purāṇeṣu sāmānyā paitriki kriyā*). For sample, a summary of the procedure in the Padma (śrṣṭi 9. 140-186) is set out here. The performer having honoured the Viśve-devāḥ (i. e. the brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a *pavitra* of darbhas. The water should be offered with the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with 'Yavosi'. They should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsaḥ' (Rg. II. 41.13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses 'Viśve devāsaḥ' (Rg. II. 41. 13-14) and he should scatter about *yava* grains with the verse 'thou art yava, the king of grains &c.' (quoted ¹⁰⁰³ below). After decking the brāhmaṇas with sandalwood paste and flowers

1002. या I. 249. मित्ता. adds that by reason of the word 'tu' in Yā. I. 249 the performer and the brāhmaṇas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

1003. यवोसि धान्यराजसु बहूणो मधुमिक्षितः। निर्णोदः सर्वपापानां पवित्रद्वयि-
संस्तुतम्॥ पद्म (वृद्धि) 9.144. बी. घ. वृ. III. 6.5 is almost identical. The मित्ता. on
या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'यवोसि धान्यराजो वा' which appears to be the
same. अपराक्ष p. 479 speaks of 'यवोसि' as a *yajus*.

he should honour them with water with the verse ¹⁰⁰⁴ 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas that have been honoured with *arghya* he should begin the pitṛ yajña. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place *paritras* on them and pour water in them with 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4), should cast sesamum grains in them with 'tilosi' and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147-152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmanas. He should then request brāhmanas with the words 'I shall invite the pitṛs' and when they reply 'let it be so' he should invoke the pitṛs with the two verses 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16.12) and 'ā yantu' (Vaj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered *arghya* to the brāhmanas (representing the pitṛs) with 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the *arghya* vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downwards with the words 'thou art a seat of the pitṛs'. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157-165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the pitṛs). While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns ¹⁰⁰⁵ referring to

1004. मित. on वा. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा'. The mantra in आश्व. वृ. IV. 7.13 'या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी' has been translated above, as also the mantra 'tilosi' from Āśv. gr. IV. 7.8. How the offering of *tila* water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse: एको मुनिस्ताम्रकरामहस्तो ह्यग्निषु मध्ये सलिलं ददाति। आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तुता एका क्रिया द्वयार्थकरी मसिद्धा॥ पक्ष (सुष्टिल्ल 11.77). वायु 111, 37, अग्नि 115. 40; compare महाभाष्य 'आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च मीणिताः' vol. I. p. 14.

1005. The verses of the पक्ष (सुष्टि 9. 165-169) about what is to be recited are quoted by अपरार्क p. 502, the first verse स्वाध्यायं etc. being मनु III. 232. Compare नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28.65-68) which among others mentions राक्षोघ्न, वैष्णव and पेंतृक (Rg X. 15.1-13) मन्त्रः, पुरुषसूक्त, त्रिमधु, त्रिसुपर्ण. The Sāntika chapter, acc. to हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1075, is वाज. सं. 36.10 ff. which begins ह्यो वातः पवताम्. The मधुब्राह्मण is what is called मधुविद्या contained in the बृह. उ. II 5 (beginning with इयं पृथिवी सर्वेषां धृतानां मधु) and छान्दोग्य III. 1 (beginning with अस्मि वा आदित्यो देवमधु). The मण्डलब्राह्मण is an उपनिषद् (vide Indische Studien III. p. 325). हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1075 says 'यदेतन्मण्डलं तपतीत्यादि मण्डलब्राह्मणम्.

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the Fathers, all the Purāṇas, various eulogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pāvamāni verses, the Sāmans called Brhat, Rathantara and Jyestha Sāman, the chapter on Śānti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrahmaṇa, the Maṇḍala Brāhmaṇa and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmaṇas and the performer; and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pītṛs. After the brāhmaṇas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread¹⁰⁰⁶ it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmaṇas and should say¹⁰⁰⁷ 'May those persons in our

(Continued from the last page)

These verses of the पञ्चपुराण about what it is to be repeated occur in मत्स्य-पुराण also (17.37-39). The राक्षोघ्नमन्त्रः are five verses (Rg. IV. 4.1-5=Vāj. S. XIII. 9-13=Tai S. V. I. 2.14). हेमाद्रि (भा. pp. 1069-1073) first sets out the texts mentioned by मनु, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र and the पुराण, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp. 1073-1074), then deals with the Saptārcis mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in गायत्रीजप.

1006. The verse सार्ववर्णिकमन्त्राय...विकिरन्मुवि in पद्म (सृष्टि 9. 170) is the same as Manu III. 244, मत्स्य 17.41 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.21.

1007. अग्निदग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यदग्धाः कुले मम। भूमौ दत्तेन वृष्यन्तु वृषा यान्तु परां गतिम्॥ येषां न माता न पिता न बन्धुर्न आन्यमिच्छं न तथाकामस्ति। तन्मृतयेऽहं धुवि दत्त-मेतत्प्रयान्तु योगाय यतो यतस्तत्॥ असंस्कृतप्रमोक्तानां श्यागिनां कुलयेषिताम्। उच्छिष्टभाग-धेयानां दुर्भेषु विकिरासन्म्॥ पद्म. (सृष्टि 9. 171-173). These verses occur in मत्स्य 17. 42-44 which presents some various and better readings (viz. प्रयाग्तु लोकेषु सुखाय तद्वत् and त्यक्तानां कुलयेषिताम्); बौ. य. सू. II. 10.42 (येऽग्निदग्धा जाता जीवा ये ये त्वदग्धाः...गतिम्॥) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असंस्कृतः is मनु III. 245, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.22, and Skandapurāṇa VI. 218, 10-11. कात्यायन as quoted by अपरार्क p. 505 reads 'ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा जीवा जाता कुले मम। भूमौ...गतिम्॥'. Halāyudha in his com. on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra holds that अदग्धाः is the proper reading and अनग्निदग्धाः is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāṇa (folio 26b). श्यागिनां कुलयेषितां in मनु III. 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean 'of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families' or 'of women who forsook their families' or 'of those who committed suicide and of childless women.' One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the pindaś, Manu III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors mentioned in the words रत्त-शोचजीवस्वधाक्षेरमन्त्रु named in वाङ्. सं. II. 32 'नमो वः पितरो रत्ताव...पितरो मन्त्रये.' Vide आश्वलायन pp. 241-242.

family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the saṃskāras (*caula*, *upanayana* and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their *gurus* and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmaṇas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmaṇa, should place on the ground smeared with cow's dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them pinḍas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in *Pinḍapitṛyajña* after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the pinḍas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (pinḍas). He should perambulate the pinḍas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the pinḍas. When the brāhmaṇas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmaṇas and flowers and *akṣatās* and then *akṣayyolaka* with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmaṇas) of cows,¹⁰⁰⁸ land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmaṇas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to say

1008. दद्यात् (सुटि 9. 180) is: गोधूमहिरण्यवासानि भक्ष्यानि क्षयनानि च। दद्याद्यदिह विप्रजासाम्भनः पितुरेव च॥ There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for gifts of land in śrāddhas. An inscription of Karnadeva, son of Gāṅgeyadeva of the Cedi year 793 (1042 A. D.) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha of Gāṅgeyadeva at Prayāga. Vide I. A. vol. 16 pp. 204-207 for the grant of a village by the Chandella king Devavarmadeva in *saivat* 1107 (1050-51 A. D.) on the anniversary of his mother's death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattesing Bhosle, prince of Akhalkot, to a learned brāhmaṇa of thirty *bighas* of land on the 10th day of his father's death (Bhārata-itihāsa-saṃśodhana-maṇḍala, vol. 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the Āśramavāsikaparva 14. 3-4 दुयिष्ठिर is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to जाह्नव in क्षात्र for जीवन, श्रौत, कुलोपन and others.

'svadhā' and they should do so. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east. They are 'May the pitrs be kind (not dreadful) to us'; the brāhmaṇas should say 'let it be so'; 'May our family increase!'; they should say 'so be it'; 'May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true!'; they should respond 'let it be so'. He should then remove the pipdas and request the brāhmaṇas to utter the word 'svasti' and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas remain (unremoved or unwiped) till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites *Vaiśvadeva*, *balihoma*¹⁰⁰⁹ &c. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse 'vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8, Vāj. S. IX. 18, Tai. S. I. 7. 8. 2) should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of kuśas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily *Vaiśvadeva* and *balihoma*. Then after *Vaiśvadeva* he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmaṇas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāṇa follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yājñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāṇa follows depends upon his learning and the sūtra that he studied. For example, the Viṣṇudharmottara I.140 appears to rely on the Āp. gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19-20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1., I. 140. 29-30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16, I. 140. 35 to Āp. M. P. II. 20. 1. Similarly, Skanda (VI. 224. 3-51) closely follows Āśv. gr and Yāj.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several gṛhyasūtras, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the gṛhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or whether he may perform it after the inclusion (*upasaṁhāra*) of

1009. पक्ष, बृहत्संहिता 9. 185-186 are the same as मनु III. 265. 246 and Matsya 17. 56-57.

the several items found in other sūtras and smṛtis though not included in the kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of his own Śākha. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748-759 and briefly by Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216, by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are for strictly following the details in one's own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one's own sūtra, the order of the details (*krama*) given in one's sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one's own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Viṣṇudharmottara which states 'He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.'¹⁰¹⁰ The smṛtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II. 4. 8-33 which is called 'sākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya' or 'sarvasākhāpratyayanāya'. The principal sūtra is Jai. II. 4. 9.¹⁰¹¹ It is established in this sūtra that the *prayō'ana* (purpose) or *phala* (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smṛtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smṛtis (vide notes 787-790 above); then the *dravya* (materials) and the deity are the same (in *Pūrvaṇa* śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

1010. यः श्रद्धामतिक्रम्य परशूत्रेण वर्तते । अपमानमुचिं कृत्वा सौप्त्यधर्मेण युज्यते ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 127. 148-149.

1011. एकं वा संयोग-रूप-चोदनाख्याविशेषात् । जै. II. 4. 9 (separate as चोदना + आख्या + अविशेषात्); on this ज्ञावर explains 'तदेव प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य तदेव विधीयमानं प्रत्यभिजातीयः । रूपमप्यस्य तदेव द्रव्यमेव तद् । पुत्रपुत्रयत्नस्तादृश एव चोद्यते । नामधेयं चाविक्षिप्तम् । तेन तदेव कर्म सर्वशाखास्त्विति श्रवणः ।' The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains 'संयोग इति साध्याभ्यात् कलसंयोगग्रहणम्... चोदनेति सर्वधात्वर्थभावनाविषयो विधिः ।' Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 870 for a brief explanation of this सर्वशाखामत्यपभ्यास. मेधा. on Manu XI. 216 puts the maxim very briefly as 'आप्यायस्य सं ते यपांसि-इति श्रुत्यन्तरोक्तो विधिरपेक्षितः । एकशाखात्वात्सर्वश्रुतीनामस्त्विति विरोधे तमग्रं योग्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः ।'.

viz. *kuśas*, *tilas*, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the *vidhi*) is the same and the name (*Pārvaṇāśrāddha*, *Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of these various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smṛtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varṇas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smṛtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smṛtis mainly deal with *upanayana*, the study of the Vedas, *agnihotra* and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smṛtis the *krama* and *kāla* prescribed in one's sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3. 5-7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841-848).¹⁰¹² The *śruti* says 'after getting ready a bundle of kuśa grass he prepares the *vedi* (altar)'. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuśas is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform *ūcamana*) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the *vedi*. So the objector says the *krama* will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (*krama*) is only a characteristic of the items in the *śruti* passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuśa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the *vedi* should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever detail is not in conflict with one's own *śākhā* or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one's own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana 'whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one's own gṛhyasūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one's *śākhā* (or sūtra) but is contained in another *śākhā* and is not in conflict with one's own *śākhā*, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अपि वा कारणब्रह्मे प्रयुक्तानि मतीयेरन् । जै. I. 3. 7. On this शारङ्ग observes: आचामनेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्यं ... इत्येवंलक्षणाभ्युदाहरणानि । किमेतानि कृतिविवक्षानि न कर्तव्यानि उताविवक्षानि कार्याणि चेत्पश्यसि तैरप्यनुष्ठेयमानैर्वैदिके किञ्चिद् कुर्याति तस्माद्विवक्षामीति । नेतदेवम् । शास्त्रपरिच्छिन्नं हि कर्म बाधेरन् । कथम् । वेदं कृत्वा वेदं कुर्यादितिमां कृतिमुपकम्पयादन्तरा वेदं वेदं चानुष्ठेयमानमाचमनादि । This *pūrvapakṣa* is refuted later on.

agnihotra and the like'.¹⁰¹³ The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Saṅgraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's grhya-sūtra, but where one's grhyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item.¹⁰¹⁴ It appears that even the ancient grhya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyāya e. g. Āśv. gr. (q. in n. 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Yā divyā,' which do not occur in the Rgveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all smṛtis and purāṇas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūrmapurāṇa¹⁰¹⁵ provides that the performer should before noon time is past bring to his house the invited brāhmaṇas

1013. अविकृद्धानि तु परशाखान्नातानि सर्वाण्यप्यङ्गान्युपसंहृत्य कर्मानुष्ठेयम् । तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे । यस्मात्स्नातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविरोधि यत् । विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा ॥ इति । हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 759. This verse is गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 (reads परोक्तमविरोधि and ° होत्रादिकमवत्). अपराङ्क p. 8 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 5 quote this verse as कार्त्तयायन's and also another of his 'बहत्पं वा स्वशृङ्गोक्तं यय कर्म प्रकीर्तितम् । तस्य तावति शाखार्थे कृते सर्वः कृतो भवेत् ॥'. हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 756 quotes this last verse as वैजपायन's. Both verses (बहत्पं and यस्मात्स्नातं) are quoted as from the परिशिष्ट by हलायुध in his com. on the आङ्गसूत्र of कार्त्तयायन (folio 30 a). The स्मृतिच. (I p. 5) adds another half verse of कार्त्तयायन viz. आत्मतन्त्रे तु यन्त्रोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्'. In आत्मतन्त्र, तन्त्र means सिद्धान्त (i. e. one's सूत्र). अग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा—This is explained by आङ्गसूत्र (टोडरानन्द folio 64a) as follows: 'यथा छन्दोगानामनुक्तोपि यजुर्वेदविहितोऽग्निहोत्राविधिः क्रियते'.

1014. यान्यत्र कालभेदेन कर्माणि मुनयो जगुः । स्वशृङ्गोक्तानुसारेण विकल्पस्तेषु युज्यते ॥ न गृह्यादिसंस्मृतिर्येषां आङ्गादाद्युपलभ्यते । कर्तुमर्हन्ति ते कृत्स्नं यस्य कस्य मुनेर्मतम् ॥ संग्रह q by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1434). The आ. क्रि. को. p. 125 briefly puts the position as follows 'आकांक्षितं परशाखोक्तमपि कर्तव्यमनाकांक्षितं तु न कर्तव्यमेव । उपपन्नोक्तं तु आकांक्षितमनाकांक्षितं वा सामान्यधर्मत्वात्सर्वैरेवानुष्ठेयम् । तत्रापि स्वशाखोक्ताविरोधिना कार्यमिति ॥'. The following verse quoted from Gobhila by the com. on Sāh. Sr. S. IV. 4. 10-15 takes a very strict view 'ऊनो वाच्यधिको वापि यः स्वशाखोत्थितो विधिः । तेन समनुयायज्ञं न कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्'.

1015. ततो निवृत्ते मध्याह्ने तु सरोमनस्नानं द्विजान् । अवगम्य (अभिगम्य?) यथामार्गं प्रयच्छेद्भक्तधावनम् । आसन्नमिति सञ्जल्पन्नासीरंस्ते पृथक् पृथक् । तैलमग्न्यञ्जनं स्नानं स्नानीयं च पृथग्विधम् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 22. 20-21). In H. I edition the order of verses is different. The first is quoted by हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1167 from देवल and कूर्म and by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 117) from देवल.

who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāṇa has added several details that were not provided for by the Āśv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yaj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purāṇas such as the Varāha 14. 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmanas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvana-śrāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmanas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purāṇas that two maṇḍalas should be made in front of the performer's residence for receiving the brāhmanas. For example, the Nārada-purāṇa states¹⁰¹⁶ 'the maṇḍala for a brāhmaṇa performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.' The maṇḍalas should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow's urine. Of the two maṇḍalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern maṇḍala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with akṣata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern maṇḍala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmaṇa or brāhmanas that represent the Viśvedevāḥ should be honoured in the northern maṇḍala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmanas representing the pitṛs should be then honoured in the southern maṇḍala with water for washing the feet (hence called *pādya*) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering *pādya* is 'śan

1016. आद्वार्य समनुज्ञातः कारयेन्मण्डलद्वयम् । चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च । वैश्यस्य वृत्तं शूद्रस्याशुक्षणं भवेत् ॥ नारदपुराण (पृथार्थ 28 32-33) ; सौरपुराण (19. 13-14) has almost the same verse as चतुरस्रं etc. Vide अपराक p. 475 for मण्डलः.

no devir' Rg. X. 9. 4).¹⁰¹⁷ After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and to the pitrya brāhmaṇas as noted below (in n. 1017). After the pādyā water is offered the brāhmaṇas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take *ūcamana*).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāḥ are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179-190) and purāṇas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevas and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas. They say:¹⁰¹⁸ "in śrāddha performed in an *iṣṭi* the Viśvedevas are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nādimukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Locana, in naimittika śrāddha Kāla and Kāma and in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha Purūravas and Ādrava'. According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (*āsana*) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

1017. कं नो देवीरिति मन्त्रं पठित्वा पुरुरवार्षवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवा इवं वः पाद्यमिति दद्यात् । एवं पित्रर्थं ब्रह्माणपादयोरपि शक्नो देवीति मन्त्रान्ते पितरमुक्तयोत्रासु कर्शमन् वसुरूप इवं ते पाद्यमिति दद्यात् । मव. पा. p. 567.

1018. ऋतुर्वक्षो बभूवः सत्यः कालः कामस्तथैव च । धुरिभारोचनश्चैव तथा चैव पुरुरवार्षाः । आर्क्षवश्च दक्षेते तु विश्वे देवाः प्रकीर्तिताः । बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 478, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142), स्मृतिच (आ. pp. 442-443); the words विश्वे देवाः are to be kept separate and not compounded. इष्टिआद्धे ऋतुर्वक्षः सत्यो नाङ्गीकृत्ये बभूवः । नैमित्तिके कालकामौ काम्ये च धुरिलोचनौ ॥ पुरुरवा अर्क्षवश्च पार्वणे सदुदाहृतौ । बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 478, आ. प्र. p. 23, मव. पा. (p. 573-574) which explains 'इष्टिआद्धमाधानादौ कियमाणं ... । नैमित्तिके मपिण्डीकरणे । कामनयाष्टपेगयामहालपादि आर्द्धं काम्यम् । इष्टिआद्ध is the कर्माङ्गआर्द्ध, 9th among the 12 आर्द्धs quoted above from विश्वामित्र (in n. 858). The आ. प्र. p. 23 notes the different readings of some of the names such as पुरुरवश्च and अर्क्षवश्च, some saying the first is पुरुरव and the second is माद्रव. The printed आर्द्धतरु p. 199 has माद्रव and so has टोडरानन्द (आर्द्धसौख्य folio 57 a). आर्द्धतरु explains इष्टिआर्द्ध as इच्छाआर्द्ध and नैमित्तिक as एकोद्दिष्ट. The आ. कि. को. (p. 56) reads पुरुरवाः and माद्रवाः. कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142) reads माद्रवश्च दक्षेते तु. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (III. 3, 30-31) enumerates the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently. It reads 'पुरुरवो माद्रवसौ रोचमानश्च'. The ब्रह्माण्ड (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born to विश्वा, one of the daughters of दक्ष. When they performed severe *tāpas* on a Himālaya peak Brahṃā gave them the boon they wanted (आर्द्धेस्माकं भवेदंशी षोड नः काक्षितो वरः) and the pitrs agreed. The pitrs said (verse 13) 'अये दत्त्वा तु पुष्पामकस्माकं वारयते ततः । विसर्जनमथास्माकं पूर्वं पश्चात्तु देवतम् ॥'. This legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at a आर्द्ध.

for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha are two viz. 'Viśvedevāsa āgata' (Rg. II. 41. 13) and 'āgacchantu mahābhāgā' (q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an additional mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrupata' (Rg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are to be seated facing the east and the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas facing the north (Yāj. I. 228, Varāha 14. 11), but there were at least five differing views about the directions which the brāhmaṇas were to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is further pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj. I. 247) that in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas have precedence except in the matter of washing the hand smeared with the remains of food and the final dismissal of the brāhmaṇas at the end of the śrāddha.¹⁰¹⁹ It may be noted that in southern and western India brāhmaṇas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made with darbhas (darbhabaṭu) that is worshipped as shown by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Catalogue of Mss. vol. III p. 406). The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 2b) of Raghunandana provides for the same: '*purūravā-mādravasor viśveṣām devānām pārvaṇa-śrāddham kuśamayabrāhmaṇe kariṣye iti pracheḥ.*'

In the Vāyupurāṇa¹⁰²⁰ it is stated that the following mantra should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a śrāddha and at the time of offering pinḍas; on repeating it the pitṛs come quickly to the śrāddha and rākṣasas run away and that the mantra saves the pitṛs in all the three worlds. The mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to pitṛs and to the great Yogins, to svadhā, to svāhā'. The Sm. C. (on śrāddha

1019. उच्छिष्टावलिप्तहस्तभालनं विसर्जनं च वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषां आर्क्षीयपद्मार्चनां वैश्वदेविकपूर्वकत्वात् । हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1196. This is supported by विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 'वैश्वदेविष्टानां चरनं हस्तपावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्वर्धितं तेषु रक्षा यतः स्थिता ॥.'

1020. मन्त्रं वक्ष्याम्यहं तस्मादप्युतं ब्रह्मनिर्मितम् । देवताम्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च । नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत । आद्यावसाने आर्क्षयन् निरावर्तं जपेत्सदा । पिण्डनिर्वापणे चैव जपेदेतत्समाहितः । पितरः क्षिप्रमायान्ति राक्षसाः प्रव्रजन्ति च । पित्रुस्तस्मिन्नु लोकेषु मन्त्रोऽयं तारयत्युत ॥ वायुपुराण 74. 15-18. These verses are स्कन्ध VII. I. 206. 114-116, ब्रह्मसूत्र III. 11. 17-18, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 68-72 (with slight variations). The मन्त्र occurs in वरहपुराण (आचारखण्ड) 218. 6. कल्प-तर्क (आ.) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purāṇas the मन्त्र ends 'नित्यमेव नमो नमः'. हेमाद्रि (on आर्क्ष pp. 1079 and 1208) calls it सप्तचित् and notes that it occurs in seven purāṇas. It is stated in some works that the reading भवन्त्युत is for followers of सामवेद. अत्र सम्बन्धनामयोग्यज्ञानां नानाक्रमदर्शनाद्विकल्पः । स वैश्वदेवः कालाभिदेव वा व्यवस्थितः । आ. प. p. 29.

p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmanas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmanas. This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāṇa 220. 143, Brahmandā (Upodghātapāda 11. 22), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 68-70 and is styled 'saptārcis' by the last two and is said to be equal to Āsvamedha.

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and *arghya* is laid down by Brhaspati,¹⁰²¹ some of the purāṇas and the digests. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Brhaspati says: 'when giving a seat, when offering *arghya*, or pinḍas, in offering ablutions of water on pinḍas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and *gotras* of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz. as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor's name in offering a seat (to the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa) and *akṣayyodaka*, the objective in invoking the pitṛs, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take *ācamana* (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmanas, in worshipping them, in making the *vikira*, in offering pinḍas and at the end of the śrāddha.¹⁰²²

1021. आसने चाव्यहने च पिण्डदानेऽग्नेजेने। सम्बन्धनामगोत्राणि यथार्हमनु-
कीर्तयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1257). The word आसन is only illustra-
tive and is meant to include आवाहन and other पित्र्य items. अक्षर्यासनयोः
बही द्वितीयावाहने तथा। अन्नदाने चतुर्थी स्याच्छेषाः सम्बुद्धयः स्मृताः ॥ सम्बन्धं प्रथमं
ब्रूयात् नामगोत्रं तथैव च। एवाद्रूपं विजानीयात् क्रम एव सनातनः ॥ आङ्गलिका folio
6b and 7a, आङ्गसंग्रह q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 442 and p. 449. The verse
अक्षर्यासनः is found in नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 38) also. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 50)
quotes it as from श्लोकसंग्रहकारस्मृति. The formula may be 'ओं अमुकगोत्राणाम-
नुकृशर्मणामस्मिपितॄणां सपरत्नीकानां वसुरूपाणामिदमासनम्'; then in place of पितॄणां
पितामहानां and प्रपितामहानां and in place of वसुरूपाणां, रुद्ररूपाणां and आदित्य-
रूपाणां will have to be respectively employed. The words may also be
employed in the singular as the स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 449) says 'एतासु च वृद्धादि-
विभक्तिषु सर्वत्रैकवचनमष्टवचनयोर्विकल्प एव स्मृतिपुराणद्वयादिषु पितृपितामहादिशब्दानां
कश्चिदेकवचनान्तया कश्चिद्वचनान्तया च प्रयोगदर्शनात्' 17.

1022. स्मृत्यन्तरे। आह्वारम्येऽसने च पादौ च द्विजार्चने। विकिरे पिण्डदाने च
वद्गु चाचमनं चरेत् ॥ q. by वृद्धीचन्द्र (on आ.) folio 62a.

An important question which exercised the minds of many medieval writers was 'who was the real recipient (*sampradāna*)¹⁰²³ of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brāhmanas or the pitṛs'. Relying on the words of the Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmin kāle ... dānam) and passages of the purāṇas such as the Varāha (13. 51) 'vibhave sati viprebhyo asmān uddiśya dāsyati', the Mahārṇayaprakāśa, Harihara and some others held that brāhmanas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by *śruti* passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (*akṣan pitarah amimadanta pitarah*) and such formulas as 'ptar-etai te arghyam' or 'etadvah pitaro vāśah,' held that the real recipients intended were the pitṛs, but, as the pitṛs had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandalwood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brāhmanas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pitṛs.^{1023a} Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447-449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30-31 for a discussion of these two viewpoints. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brāhmanas and the *dakṣiṇā* given to them were only meant for the brāhmanas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that *dakṣiṇā* to brāhmanas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (*āvāhana*) of the pitṛs there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1254-56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that *āvāhana* should come before giving darbhas as *āsana* on the left side of the seats of the *pitṛya* brāhmanas or after giving such darbhas or after *agnaukarana*. As regards the former (viz. the mantras), Yāj. (I. 232-233), the Brahmandapurāṇa and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uśantas-tva' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1) and after the *āvāhana* the performer should perform *japa* of the verse 'a yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra¹⁰²⁴ (73. 10-12) states 'The performer after having received

1023. For the meaning of संप्रदान, vide पा. I. 4. 32 'कर्मणा वनभिदेति स संप्रदानम्'.

1023 a. Vide n. 911 for the विष्णुपुराण passage (III. 14. 22-23) which means 'that will give jewels &c to brāhmanas for our benefit'.

1024. सतो ब्राह्मणाद्युक्ताः पित्रोर्वावाहयेत् । अपवस्वसुरा इति हार्षां तिलैर्वास्तुधानानां चित्तार्जं कृत्वा । एत पितरः सर्वस्ताम्र आ मे वन्तेतद्वाः पितर इत्यवाहर्न कृत्वा ... । विष्णु.

(Continued on the next page)

permission from the brāhmaṇas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with 'may the Asuras go away') he should invite the Manes with the four mantras 'come near, ye Manes!', 'conduct them here, O Agni!', 'May my (ancestors) come near', 'this is your (share), O Manes'. Hemādri (*śrāddha* pp. 1260-1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about *agnaukarana* mentioned in Yaj. I. 236-237. The Mit. points out that if a man has kept śrauta fires by the *sarvādhāna* method then in the pārvana-śrāddha that he offers after pindapitṛyajña he offers homa in the Dakṣiṇāgni, as he has no *aupāsana* (i. e. gṛhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.¹⁰²⁵ But if a man consecrates the śrauta fires by the *ardhādhāna*¹⁰²⁶ method, then he has to offer pārvana homa in the *aupāsana* fire and one who is without śrauta fires and has kept up only *aupāsana* fire has to offer homa in that fire. One who has neither the śrauta fires nor the gṛhya fire offers it in the brāhmaṇa's hand only. The Mit. relies on Manu III. 212 and on two verses from a gṛhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrauta fires performs homa in dakṣiṇa fire in the case of Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, the śrāddha on the day previous to Aṣṭakā, the śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

धर्मसूत्र 73. 10-12. The commentator notes that here it is the काठकीय-आज्य-प्रयोग that is set out. Compare काठक्युक्त 63. 2-4, 10 for all these mantras except one 'पितृनामहविषयामीत्युक्त्वा । अपयस्त्वसुरा इति द्वाग्धा तिलैः सर्वतोऽवकीर्य । एत पितर आगच्छत पितर आ मे यस्त्वस्तर्द्धे पर्वतेरिति जापित्वा । ये मामकाः पितर एतद्वः पितरोऽयं यज्ञ इति तिसृभिः कल्पिताक्षमभिसृजति ।' Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काठकसंहिता. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 140. 9-10) corresponds with the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र completely as to the mantras. अस्तर्द्धे पर्वतेः—Is आप. न. पा. II. 19. 4.

1025. यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । आहिताग्निस्तु जुहुयादक्षिणाग्नौ समाहितः । अनाहिताग्निस्तथैव सवे अग्नयभावे द्विजेच्छ वा ॥ मिता. on या. I. 236. This is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says 'तत्रैववाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयः' (आ. p. 1330).

1026. For सर्वधान and अर्धाधान, vide above n. 991. यतः आज्याहुनाग्नौकरण-होमो लोकिनाग्नौ न युक्तः किंतु दक्षिणाग्नौ च न ह्यहो एव भवति । अतो ह्यहो विना नाग्नि-होधिणः आज्यम् । शौडरानन्द (on आज्य folio 24a). न ह्यहो विना आज्यमाहिताग्ने-द्विजस्मनः ॥ मनु III. 282, which कुल्लुक explains as 'आहिताग्नेर्द्विजस्य नामावास्याभ्यति-रेकेण कुल्लुकको दक्षिणाग्नौ आज्यं विधीयते.'

performed in the dark half of each month on some day from the 5th and in the case of pārvana-śrāddha, but he performs, in the case of *kāmya*, ābhyudayika, Ekoddista and Aṣṭaka śrāddhas, *homa* only on the pitṛya brāhmaṇa's hand; while for one who has kept no sacred fire the *homa* is to be made only in the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa's hand. Vide Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1328-1344), Bālabhaṭṭi (on ācāra p. 518). The Tadarānanda (śrāddha-saukhyā) following Manu III. 282 states that one who is an Agnihotrin cannot perform a pārvana-śrāddha on any day except on *darśa* (i. e. on amāvāsya).

Another important question on which there is great divergence concerns the number of āhutis to be offered in *agnau-karaṇa*, the deities to whom the *homa* was to be offered, the order in which the deities were to be named and the form of words to be used. On these matters there appears to have been divergent views from very ancient times. According to the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 12-13 the āhutis were only ¹⁰²⁷ two, they were offered to Agni and Soma in that order and the word *svāhā* was used at the end. According to the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 2-3 ¹⁰²⁸ the āhutis were three, they were to be offered to Soma, Agni and to Yama in that order and the formula ended with 'svadhā namaḥ' (and not with 'svāhā'). It is therefore that a verse of Kātyāyana ¹⁰²⁹ says "whether to employ the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', whether and when to wear the sacred chord in the yajñopavīta form or prācināvīta form and what was to be the number of āhutis—all these have to be understood from one's own sūtra." The difference of views which is noticed as far back as the Brāhmaṇas persists in the sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and is briefly indicated here. The Āp. Gr. S. (quoted above in n. 981) speaks of thirteen āhutis, seven with food and

1027. स जुहोति । अग्नये कण्वाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यप्यग्नौ भेषज-मभ्याह्वयति तत्स्विष्टकृत्वाजन्म । शतपथब्रा. II. 4. 2. 13. The words अग्नये... पितृमते स्वाहा are वाज. सं. II. 29.

1028. सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याहुः । ... अग्नये कण्वाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याहुः य एव पितृणामग्निस्तं पीणाति । तिस्र आहुती जुहोति । तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 10. 2-3, on which सायण explains 'शास्त्रान्तरगतेन यमायाङ्क्विरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति मन्त्रेणैका-माहुतिनाग्निमेव त्रित्वं विदधाति'. Vide अथर्व. 18. 4. 71-74 also. आप. औ. (I. 8. 3-4 and 6) says 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इति वक्षिणाग्नौ जुहोति । यमायाङ्क्विरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति द्वितीयाहुः । अग्नये कण्वाहनाय स्वधा नम इति तृतीयाहुः । न यमाय जुहोतीत्येके ।'

1029. स्वाहा स्वधाभ्यः सत्यमपेक्षस्यं तथैव च । आहुतीनां तु या संख्या साधनकथा स्वद्वैतः ॥ कारवायन व. by ह्युतिच. (आ. p. 458).

six with clarified butter. Two āhutis only are mentioned by Āsv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āsv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śaṅkha-Likhita,¹⁰³⁰ Kāthaka-grhya, Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28. 48) and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa. Three āhutis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purāṇas, such as Baud. Dh. S. II. 14. 7,¹⁰³¹ Śaṅ. Śrauta IV. 3 and grhya IV. 1. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāhapurāṇa¹⁰³² (14. 21-22), Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 93-94), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā' occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as 'Soma accompanied by the pitrs, Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Yama Angiras;' while others give it as 'Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Soma accompanied by the pitrs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.' It is further provided that the āhuti to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).¹⁰³³

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brāhmanas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. C. (p. 465-470), Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1367-1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116-123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brāhmanas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

1030. धूपगन्धमात्यैरलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मणास्तपुतमक्षमनुज्ञाप्य दूर्ध्वक्षिणाग्रैरग्निं परिस्तीर्य जुहुयादग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितुमते स्वाहेति । शाङ्गलिखितौ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1354), मव. पा. p. 589; अग्नौ करवाणीत्युक्त्वा । अग्निं परिस्तीर्य सोमाय पितुमते स्वधा नमोऽग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्यग्नौ हुत्वा । काठकण्ड 63. 89; उपासनाग्निमाधाय स्वयमुक्तविधानतः । सोमाय च पितुमते स्वधा नम इतीरयेत् ॥ अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इतीह वा । स्वाहान्तेनापि वा माज्ञो जुहुयात्पितृयज्ञवत् ॥ नारद (पूर्वार्धे 28. 48-49).

1031. अक्षरयेव तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति । सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितुमते स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्विष्टकृते स्वधा नमः स्वाहेति । तच्छेषेणाक्षमभिधायार्प्यकुर्यात् एव तिस्रो जुहुयात् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 8-12. It should be noted that बौ. employs both स्वधा नमः and स्वाहा. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितुमते स्वाहा यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितुमते स्वाहेति । शाङ्करपनश्रौत. IV. 4. 1.

1032. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहेति प्रथमाहुतिः । सोमाय वै पितुमते दातव्या तदनन्तरम् ॥ वैवस्वताय चैवाग्न्या मृतीया दीयते हुतिः ॥ ब्राह्मण. 14. 21-22; सोमायावौ पितुमते कव्यवाहनाय चाग्नये । यमाय चैवाङ्गिरसे हुत्वा प्रयतमानसः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 19-20; मार्कण्डेय (28. 47-48) prescribes the आहुति as अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितुमते स्वाहा, यमाय प्रेतपतये स्वाहा ।

1033. दक्षिणतोऽग्नये नित्यं सोमागोत्तरतस्तथा । पतयोरन्तरे नित्यं जुहुयाद्वै विवस्वते ॥ q. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 169).

of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire (either śrauta or smārta) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmaṇas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmaṇas.¹⁰³⁴ The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāṇa say that the homa should be in the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇa and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukarāṇa was effected should be kept aside for making piṇḍas (Mārkaṇḍeya and Garuḍa). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the *yajñopavīta* form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu (III. 224-229, 231-233, 236-238) contains several rules.^{1034a} 'Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmaṇas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmaṇas without (the containing vessel being held in) both hands, is snatched away by wicked *asuras*. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind (only on the serving of food) should place the vessels containing the

1034. चित्रे यः पाङ्क्तिर्धर्मस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान् । हुत्वा मन्त्रवद्वेषां त्वर्णीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् । गोभिल II. 120 q. by स्मृतिक. II. p. 462.

1034 a. मनु III. 225 is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 8, 22 and Vas. XI. 25. मनु III. 224 is पाणिभ्यां तृपसंगृह्य स्वयमकार्यं वर्धितम् । विप्राप्तिके पितृ-
नृपायश्च ज्ञानकैरपनिक्षिपेत्॥ अकार्य is to be taken as अग्नेन and पितरं is to be under-
stood after वर्धितम्. The आहृतस्व (p. 229) explains: 'पाकस्थालया आहुतय प्रथमं
भोजनपात्रे न द्वेयं किन्तु स्वादपादिकं पाणिभ्यां पात्रसमीपे भूमौ संस्थाप्य पश्चाद्भुभ्यां पाणिभ्यां
पात्रान्तरिताभ्यां आहुते परिवेशयेत्' and relies on मत्स्य 17. 28 'उभयाभ्यामपि हस्ताभ्या-
माहुतय परिवेशयेत्', ब्रह्मोद्याध-मनु III. 231. ब्रह्मोद्याध are such riddles, ques-
tions and answers as are found in Tal. S. VII. 4. 18, वाज्र सं. 23. 9-12 (कः
स्विदेकाकी चरति etc.) and 23. 45-62; Ait. Br. (अथ ब्रह्मोद्याधं वदस्व परिगृह्य पतिरिति
इह आहुः). Or ब्रह्मोद्याध may mean, as explained by मेधाः (ब्रह्मणि वेदे या
उपनिषदो कथ्यन्ते ता ब्रह्मोद्याः), the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the
slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्रह्मोद्याः कथाः may mean
' talks relating to the exposition of Brahma ' (the cause of the world), as
Kullūka explains. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81. 19 is हविर्मुक्ता वाङ्मना ह्युदीना पृष्टाः. This is
like Manu III. 236. मनु III. 237 is the same as बसिष्ठ XI. 32, Viṣṇu Dh. S.
81. 20, Āṅgiras verse 133, Brhad-Yama III. 27, Laghu-Sātātapa 103,
Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be
recited by the performer (being upavītin) while the brāhmaṇas are dining,
vide above p. 445 and notes 994 and 994a. जमदग्नि says 'अपसव्येन कर्तव्यं सर्वं
आहुतं यथाविधि । सूक्तस्तोत्रजपं हुत्वा विमानां च विसर्जनम् ।' q. by आहृत्य of पृथ्वीच.
folio 101a,

side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, *pāyasa*), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmapas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying 'this is sweet, this is sour' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmapas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pitṛs. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmapas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmapas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmapas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmapas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmaṇa (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c) or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers). As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmapas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are: The Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 57-62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or

step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodice, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmanas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and then in those of the *pitrya* brāhmanas (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 13-14), but once the brāhmanas have begun to eat there is no such precedence; whatever each brāhmana may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manu III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmanas (including *pitrya*) wears his sacred thread in the upavita form. Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured¹⁰³⁵ drinks (as Śāṅkha XIV.13 and Skandapurāṇa say). As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like *laḍḍus*. No salt was to be directly served (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 12). In Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided¹⁰³⁶ "The food that remains after *agnaukaraṇa* should be served in the plates of the *pitrya* brāhmanas and the performer should touch

1035. उष्णमर्कं द्विजातिभ्यः अद्भ्या विनिवेशयेत् ॥ अथवा फलपुष्पेभ्यः पानकेभ्यश्च पण्डितः ॥ हस्ते दद्यात् तु वे स्नेहोत्प्लवणव्यञ्जनाभि च । आयतेन च पात्रेण तद्वै रक्षसि शुजते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII. 206. 37-39; हाङ्ग (14. 12-13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also कूर्म II. 22. 64; हाङ्गितः प्रकर्षेद् शुणसंस्कारविधिरक्षय । गो. 15. 6.

1036. पिण्डपितृयज्ञवज्रुत्वा वृत्ततोर्वै दद्यात् पात्रमालम्ब्य जपति धृषिषी ते पात्रं क्षीरपिधानं आश्रायस्य हस्ते अदत्तं शुद्धोमि स्वाहेति वैष्णव्यर्चा यजुषा वाङ्मुहमन्त्रेऽग्नौवापहता इति तिलाद् प्रकीर्षोर्णं सिद्धमर्कं दद्याच्छाक्यया वा । कात्यायः आद्भ्याम् 3 quoted and explained by Hemādri on Anu p. 1374. The वैष्णवी *ṛk* is 'हृद् विष्णुविचक्षणो' (म. I. 22.17) and वैष्णवी *yajus* is 'विष्णो हृदये रक्षस्य' (तै. सं. I. 1. 3. 1. वाज. सं. I. 4), अपहता—*is* वाज. सं. II. 29.

each plate for those brāhmaṇas after repeating the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmaṇa's nectar-like mouth; svāhā'. Then the performer plunges the (right) thumb of the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the ṛk or yajus addressed to Viṣṇu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra 'the asuras and rākṣasas) are struck and driven away' he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmaṇas)". Yāj. I. 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8. 15-16). The Kālika-purāṇa prescribes¹⁰³⁷ that the thumb of the brāhmaṇa should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel &c.' because Viṣṇu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Piṭṛmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇa in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food.¹⁰³⁸ Vasiṣṭha provides that the brāhmaṇas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śaṅkha-Likhita provide¹⁰³⁹ that brāhmaṇas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say 'there is plenty of food and drink (and so do not serve more food),

1037. भूत्वाङ्गुष्ठं द्विजानां तु अत्रर्प्याज्यमधुप्लुते । पृथिवी त इति मन्त्रेण हव्यकरये च रक्षयेत् ॥ विष्णुर्हङ्गुष्ठरूपेण तस्य चाक्षस्य रक्षिता । कालिकापुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1378) अथैतानि ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपनिक्षिप्य ब्राह्मणस्याङ्गुष्ठेनानखेनाङ्गुष्ठेनिति-अमुष्मा उप-लित्तु-इति । बी. पितृमेधसूत्र II. 9. 19 (Mysore ed.).

1038. तस्मादङ्गुल्य (रथं?) हस्तेन कुर्यादक्षमुपागतम् । भोजनं (भाजनं?) वा समालभ्य तिष्ठेत्तच्छेषणे शुभे (०ताच्छेषणाद् द्विजः?) ॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 26 explained by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1024 as 'तस्माद्यदैवाक्षमुपागतं भवति ततः प्रभृत्योच्छेषणात् शुक्रशिष्टाक्षस्य भाजनादिति-करणपर्यन्तं वामहस्तेन भाजनं विधृत्य तिष्ठेत् । कण्डूयनाद्यर्थं वामहस्तव्यापारसमये तु दाक्षिण-हस्तेन भाजनं समालभ्य वर्तेतेति तात्पर्यार्थः' । आ. p. 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039. शङ्खलिखितौ । ब्राह्मणा अक्षयुष्णं द्वायं नाभिवदेयुर्गार्हपत्यं ह्युरग्योऽन्यं न प्रक्षि-युरक्षयानं न प्रभूतमिति ह्युरग्यत्र हस्तसंज्ञायाः । q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1019, आ. p. p. 118, which says पात्रे प्रभूतमक्षमस्ति, अग्न्यत्र परिवेषयमिति भोक्तुर्भिर्न वक्तव्यं किंतु हस्तसंज्ञेतेन सूचनीयमित्यर्थः ।

except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmaṇa's hand (by way of agnaukarana) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemādri quotes passages from the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāṇa setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e. g. the Skandapurāṇa says that *pāyasa* should be served with the verse 'namo vaṣṭ pitaro' (Vaj. S. II. 32, Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra 'Tejosi sukram', curds with the mantra 'dadhikrāvno' (Rg. IV. 39. 6, Vaj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 4). Ap. Dh. S. (II. 8. 18. 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmaṇas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālasūtra Hell.

The Matsyapurāṇa and some other works provide that the brāhmaṇas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and *akṣata* grains. The performer prays 'May our Fathers be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us.' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so'. The performer prays 'May our family grow', 'May donors increase in our family and also food', 'May these blessings turn out to be true'. To all these the brāhmaṇas reply after each one of the prayers¹⁰⁴⁰ 'May it be so'. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmaṇas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away. Vas. (XI. 21-22) and the Kūrmapurāṇa provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III. 265 (which is the same as Matsya 17.56 and Padma, Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed and depart.

1040. ततः स्वधावाचनिकं विधेदेवेषु षोडशकम् ॥ वत्साशीः प्रतिगृहीयाद् द्विजेभ्यः प्राञ्जसो बुधः । अघोराः पितरः सन्तु सन्त्वित्युक्तः पुनर्द्विजैः ॥ गोत्रं तथा वर्धतां नस्तथेत्युक्तश्च तेः पुनः । दातारो नोऽभिवर्धन्तामिति चैवमुदीरयेत् ॥ एताः सत्याशिषः सन्त्वित्युक्तश्च तेः पुनः । स्वस्तिवाचनिकं कुर्यात्पिण्डाञ्जुदृत्य भक्तितः ॥ मत्स्य 17. 52-55 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1482), समुत्तिष्ठः (आ.) p. 482, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 220). Compare अप. श्रौ. I. 10. 4 यद्वाचः पितरो दत्तं सदी वा पितरो देवम् । Yāj. I. 246 (दातारो नो etc.) is the same as भविष्य I. 185. 28.

Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)¹⁰⁴¹ therefore provides that if the performer has another house the leavings may not be removed till sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after the brāhmanas have gone away (vide Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 17.56). It is further provided by Brhaspati¹⁰⁴² that the plates should not be removed before the brāhmanas pronounce the word 'svasti', and Jātukarṇya¹⁰⁴³ and the Skandapurāṇa say that the plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child nor by one who is not of the same caste. Manu III. 258 provides that, after the brāhmanas have left, the performer should look at the south and pray to the pitrs for certain blessings contained in Manu III. 259 which are the same as Yāj. I. 246 translated above (vide p. 447), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 28, Matsya 16. 49-50. The Āp. gr. 20.9 (q. in note 981), Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 16, Manu III. 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting (according to Haradatta) the Yajusa mantra (Āp. M. P. II. 20.26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The Āp. gr. and Āp. Dh. S. provide¹⁰⁴⁴ that the performer must eat at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmanas. Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa by recommending that the performer should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

1041. आद्रे नोद्वासनीयानि उच्छिष्टान्या दिनक्षयात् । अच्योतन्ते हि सुधाधारतराः पिषन्त्यकृतोदकाः ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 21; नोद्वासयेत्तदुच्छिष्टं यावत्कास्तमितो रविः । कूर्मपुराण II. 22. 85. कल्पतरु (आ. p. 227) remarks 'नोद्वासनीयान्युच्छिष्टानीति भूमिष्ठोच्छिष्टविषयम् । उच्छिष्टं न प्रमुञ्चयात्-इति भूमिगतोच्छिष्टप्राविषयम्' ।

1042. भाजनेषु च तिष्ठतु स्वस्ति कुर्वन्ति ये द्विजाः । तद्धतमसुरैर्भुक्तं निराशैः पितृभिर्गतेः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 482), हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1485).

1043. पात्राणि चालयेच्छ्राद्धे स्वयं शिष्योऽथवा पुत्रः । न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नासजाऽथवा कथंचन ॥ जातुकर्ण्य q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 482), हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1486; न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नाभ्येनैव च केनचित् । आद्रे पिण्डं च पात्रं च स्वयमेव प्रचालयेत् ॥ स्कन्द (नागर खण्ड) q. by हेमाद्रि (आद्रे) p. 1486.

1044. सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य आसावराध्वं प्राक्षीयाद्यथोक्तम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 16. यथोक्तं refers to आप. गृ. 20. 9 The यजुस् referred to in the latter is प्राजे निविष्टोऽभूतं जुष्टोमे ब्रह्मणि मे आत्माभूतस्त्वाय । आप. म. पा. II. 20. 26. This मन्त्र occurs also in तै. आ. X. 33.

Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1519-1521) for the discussion. Hemādri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the *devatās* in the form of pīṇḍas. The brāhmaṇas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony.¹⁰⁴⁵ The brāhmaṇas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.¹⁰⁴⁶

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of pīṇḍas were to be made. According to Śāṅ. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12,¹⁰⁴⁷ Śāṅkha 14.11, Manu III. 260-261, Yaj. I. 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmaṇas have finished eating their dinner. The pīṇḍas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhas on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from¹⁰⁴⁸ the plates in which the brāhmaṇas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that pīṇḍas were to be offered before the brāhmaṇas sip water (perform *ūcamana*) after dinner (e. g. Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12-13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, kāṇḍika 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas have rinsed their mouth and taken *ūcamana*. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śāṅ. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that pīṇḍas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmaṇas or after agnaukarana and then the brāhmaṇas were to partake of the dinner. The

1045. आद्रावसाने कर्तव्या हिजैरक्षुणस्तुतिः। इन्द्रसिद्ध q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1019).

1046. तद्वाहोऽनाः। भोजनं तु न विःशेषं कुर्यात्पात्रः कथंचन। अथवा दध्नः क्षीराद्वा क्षौद्रात्सकम् एव च॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1026). Acc. to मनु III. 245-46, विष्णु 81. 22-23, मत्स्य 17. 56-57, the leavings of food in the plates of ब्राह्मण्य and the विकिर were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. 'पात्रगतमुच्छिष्टमसंस्कृतप्रमीलानां भूमिगतं दासवर्गस्य' इत्यादि on कात्यायन's आद्राव (folio 30a). Vide n. 1007 above for मनु III. 245.

1047. अभिमतेष्टमते वा मुक्तवत्त्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डाक्षिदव्यात्। आचान्तेष्वेके। आश्व. गृ. IV. 8. 12-13.

1048. सति तेन तलोकेन पिण्डान् सर्वेण पुत्रक। पिण्डाक्षिद्वयं वर्धेयु कथादुच्छिष्टसंक्षिपी मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 55. अरति is the hand from the wrist to the small finger,

Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa¹⁰⁴⁹ emphatically asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Bṛhaspati. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73 15-24) provides that the pinḍas are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmanas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gr. 24.9, Hir. gr. (II. 12.2-3) which state that the performer¹⁰⁵⁰ should, after the brāhmanas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer pinḍas. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smṛti) and the Madanapārijāta (p. 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākha.¹⁰⁵¹ Hemādri adds that those in whose gṛhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for pinḍadāna should follow the view that pinḍas are to be offered after the brāhmanas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view.¹⁰⁵² The pinḍas were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each pinḍa. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception pinḍas were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmanas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana's word 'ucchistasannidhau' says that where the performer is an *ālitāgni* the pinḍas were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires pinḍas were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmanas ate the śrāddha food. The Śrāddhasāra (p. 163) quotes Atri to the effect that pinḍas should be offered at a distance of three *arudnis* from where the brāhmanas ate the śrāddha dinner and that in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before pinḍadāna and that it is to be performed after

1049. पूजनं चैव विमानं पूर्वमेवेह नित्यशः ॥ तद्धि धर्मार्थकुशलौ नेत्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ।
पूर्वं निवेदयेत् पिण्डान् पश्चाद्विमानं भोजयेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण, उपोद्घात 12. 24-26. These
verses are quoted from ब्रह्मपुराण by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 221). The सौरपुराण
19. 23 says 'पिण्डनिर्घणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणान् चैव भोजयेत् । केचिदप्येवमिच्छन्ति नैव भानोर्मतं
विजाः ॥'

1050. शुक्रवतीऽशुभप्रलय शेषमनुज्ञाप्योदकुम्भं दर्भसुखं चादाय दक्षिणपूर्वमन्तर-
पेशं गत्वा दक्षिणाग्रान्दर्भान् संसरीष्यं तेषवाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणाग्रवर्णाङ्गिनुदकाञ्जलिं निनयति
मार्जयन्तां पितरः सोऽप्यासः मार्जयन्तां पितामहाः सोऽप्यासः मार्जयन्तां मपितामहाः सोऽप्यास-
इति । अस्माकमेवित्वासावनेर्जितेति वा । तेषवाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणाग्रवर्णाङ्गं पिण्डान्ददाति । द्विष्य.
सू. II. 12. 2-3. For आप. सू. vide n. 981.

1051. तथा च स्मृतिः । सुनिर्भित्तिकालेषु पिण्डदानं तु यत्सुतम् । तत् स्वशास्त्रान्तं
यत्र तत्र कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ॥ हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1408), who adds 'उपलक्षणं चैतत् स्व-
शास्त्रानुसृतैः ।'

1052. येषां तु सुखादौ पिण्डदानकालो नीकस्तेषां सौकर्यादाच्चाप्तेष्वित्येव पक्षो
धातु इति बहवः । आ. म. p. 247.

piṇḍadāna in Samvatsarika śrāddha, Mahālaya and the like (p. 164).

There is another conflict of views as regards the ancestors to whom piṇḍas are to be offered at the śrāddha on amāvāsyā. Most of the ancient Vedic works refer only to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatās* of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha and not to any other relatives. The three paternal ancestors are separately the *devatās* of śrāddha and not cumulatively, as indicated by the Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 15 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 13-14. The important questions are whether the wives of the paternal ancestors, viz. the mother, the grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother were associated with their husbands in ancient times and secondly, whether the three paternal ancestors of one's mother viz. the maternal grandfather, the maternal great-grandfather and the maternal great-great-grandfather were invoked together with their wives in the Pārvaṇa. The answer to both these questions so far as the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas are concerned is in the negative. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5.1, Tai. Br. I 3. 10, II 6. 16, Vāj. Ś. 19. 36-37, Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 16, in all of which the only persons expressly named are the pitṛs and three paternal ancestors. It may be noted, however, that in Vāj. S. 9. 19 (which is cited by Kātyāyana at the end of Śrāddhasūtra 3 as the mantra to be recited when following the brāhmaṇas that are dismissed) there is a clear reference to paternal ancestors and also to mothers. Almost all sūtras also are silent as regards the invocation of the maternal ancestors in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha along with paternal ones. Vide ¹⁰⁵³ Āśv. Śr.; Sudarśana on Āp. gr. VIII. 21. 2 states that the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra did not speak of Mātāmahaśrāddha as it is not obligatory for a daughter's son to offer it. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana ¹⁰⁵⁴ speaks of three piṇḍas being made for the paternal ancestors and three for the mother's paternal

1053. तस्यां पिण्डान् मिष्टूणीयात्पराक्षीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय अपितामहायैतसेऽसौ ये च तानमन्त्रति । आश्व. औ. II. 6. 15 on which गार्ग्यनारारण्य explains 'निरर्ण पित्रेणैव तीर्थेन । पाणेरक्षानत्वमजहदेव विप्र्येण तीर्थेन यदा कुर्वात् तदा पराक्षीनपाणिर्भवति । असावित्यस्य स्थाने सम्बद्धवन्तानि पित्रादीनां नामानि गृहीयात्'। तस्यां refers to लेखायां.

1054. सर्वमन्त्रमेकतोऽदुत्योऽष्टसमीपे हर्षेणु श्रीक्षीन् पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यादाद्यान्ते-
वित्ययेके । ... वाचस्पतमित्युक्तातः पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः अपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः यमाता-
महेभ्यो ब्रह्मयमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोऽप्यताम् । ... वाजे वाजेऽनेति विदुष्य आ मा वाजस्यपेनुत्रय
प्रक्षिणीकुर्योपविशेत् । कात्यायनः आह ब्रह्म III. The मन्त्र reads 'आ मा वाजस्य
भसवो जगत्यादेने द्यावापृथिवी विम्बक्ये । आ मा गन्तां पितरा मातरा च्वा मा सोमो अहृतत्वेन
भम्सत् । वाज. सं. 9. 19.

ancestors. The Gobhilaśmṛti provides¹⁰⁵⁵ that six piṇḍas should be offered except in the Anvaṣṭakāśrāddha, the first śrāddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śrāddhas and the yearly śrāddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya¹⁰⁵⁶ prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Viṣṇupurāṇa,¹⁰⁵⁷ the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa say that some hold that a śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śrāddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Brhaspati (q. by Kalpataru on śrāddha p. 204) prescribes¹⁰⁵⁸ that one should offer piṇḍas made from all food cooked for the śrāddha and mixed with honey and sesamum grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's gr̥hyasūtra. The Varāhapurāṇa (14. 40-41) says that *pitṛya* brāhmanas should be dismissed first and then the *daiva* brāhmanas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate piṇḍas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (14.37). Some held the view that the offering of piṇḍas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the *putrikā-putra*¹⁰⁵⁹ (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

1055. कर्तुमस्मिन्तं सुक्त्वा तथायथाद्वापोदशम् । पत्यान्विकं तु गोपेषु पिण्डाः स्युः
बहिर्नि स्थितिः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 73. कर्तुमस्मिन्तं is explained by निर्णयसिन्धु (III. p. 395) and हेमाद्रि as सपिण्डीकरण and by आ. कि. की. p. 93 as अष्टकाभाद्वा.

1056. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा ध्रुवम् । अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषाक्षरकं ब्रजेत् ॥
धौम्य q. by आ. प्र. p. 14; स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 337) quotes it as स्मृत्यन्तर; the
स्मृत्यन्तर p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and आ. कि. की. p. 93
quotes it from योनियाज्ञवल्क्य.

1057. पृथक्तयोः केचिदाहुः आद्वयं करणं द्वयम् । एकत्रैकेन पाकेन वदन्त्यग्रे महर्षयः ॥
विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 17; पृथक्कृतामहानां तु केचिदिच्छन्ति मानवाः । त्रीन् पिण्डानानुपूष्येण
साङ्गुडान् पुष्टिवर्धनान् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 11. 61. The verse पृथक्तयोः is
also ब्रह्मपुराण 14. 12.

1058. सर्वस्म्यप्यकृतादवात् पिण्डान् मधुतिलान्वितान् । पितृमातामहादीनां दद्याद्भुक्ष-
विधानतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 479), हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1428. It may
be noted that या. (I. 242) does not mention honey.

1059. Vide मनु IX. 132 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647 and 657 (for
प्रविकापुत्र).

daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The *pitūmahī* is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the *sūtra* period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II. 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly *śrāddha* performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II. 11.34 not only associates in the *Aṣṭakā śrāddha* the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P.¹⁰⁶⁰ has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śān. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of *piṇḍas* and the commentator explains that *darbhās* are placed between the two sets. The Kausika *sūtra* (88.12) also provides for the offering of *piṇḍas* to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the *piṇḍas* for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II. 5. 4-5), while speaking of the *Anvaṣṭakya* rite, refers to *piṇḍas* to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The *Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra* IV. 7 (after describing the *Piṇḍa-pitryajña* in IV. 5-6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly *śrāddha* is that in the latter *piṇḍas* are offered to the wives of the *pitṛs*¹⁰⁶¹. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom *piṇḍas* were to be offered was made by taking over from *Anvaṣṭakya* ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The *Aṣṭakā* rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of *piṇḍas* to women ancestors were borrowed from the *Anvaṣṭakya*

1060. मार्ययन्तां मम पितरो मार्ययन्तां मम पितामहा मार्ययन्तां मम प्रपितामहाः ॥ मार्ययन्तां मम मातरौ मार्ययन्तां मम पितामहौ मार्ययन्तां मम प्रपितामहः । आप. न. पा. II. 19. 2-7.

1061. अथ आहुं मासि मादयपरपक्षेऽन्यतमेह्यजन्मर्क्षे आहुणमिमन्त्रणादि सर्वमह-
कावत् । तथाज्यन्तकं हुत्वाहं पिण्डार्थं पात्रे समवहाय आहुणाभोजयित्वा नमो वः पितरो
रसायेति पिण्डं मन्त्रं पितृभ्यो नमो वः पितरः सोम्यास इति द्वितीयतृतीयौ पितामहप्रपितामहा-
भ्याम् । पितृभ्यस्तत्पत्नीभ्यः पिण्डानर्पयतीति विशेषः । देवसानसप्तह्य IV. 7.

this item would have figured in all *sūtras* just as *Aṣṭakā śrāddha* does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the *smṛtis* emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* offerings. *Śātaṭapa* states¹⁰⁶²: 'In what is offered to the *pitṛs* after *Sapindikarāṇa*, the mother is a participant everywhere. A *śrāddha* may be separately offered to the mother in the *Anvaṣṭakā* rites, in *Vṛddhi-śrāddha*, at *Gayā* and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by *Bṛhaspati* that the mother partakes of the *śrāddha* food along with her husband (i. e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother¹⁰⁶³. The *Kalpataṛu*¹⁰⁶⁴ and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not *devatās* in the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the *pitṛs*, while *Hemādri* and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the *devatās* of *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but not the step-mother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (*sapatnīs*) of these. *Hemādri* (on *śrāddha* pp. 97-104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the step-mother, the co-wife of the *pitāmahi* and the co-wife of the *prapitāmahi* would be included in

1062. सपिण्डीकरणानुर्ध्वं यात्येतुषः प्रदीयते। सर्वत्रांशहरा माता इति धर्मेणु निश्चयः ॥
अन्वष्टकात् पुत्री च गयायां च कथ्येहनि। मातुः आर्द्धं पृथक् कुर्याद्व्यञ्ज पतिना सह ॥
शातातप q. by आ. प्र. p. 9, स्मृतिसं. (आ.) p. 369 as स्मृत्यन्तर.

1063. स्वेन भर्त्रा सह आर्द्धं माता युक्ते स्वधामयत्। पितामही च स्वेनैव तथैव प्रपिता-
मही ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिसं. (आ.), p. 369, हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 99, आ. प्र. p. 9.

1064. न सपत्नीकानां देवतात्वमिति कल्पतत्प्रभृतयः। हेमाद्रिप्रभृतयो दक्षिणाग्यास्तु...
एकस्यामेव आर्द्धाग्नौ पितृन् तद्योचितं देवतात्वेनोद्दिशेदिति विधीयते। आ. प्र. pp. 9-10.
The argument of those who hold the former view is 'सपत्नीकपितरस्तु कर्मान्तर-
रक्षणे पितुरेव देवतात्वं भवेत् तत् विशेषणीयतायाः पर्यायः—इति।' डोडरानन्द (आर्द्धसौख्य)
folio 3a. The आर्द्धतत्त्व p. 190 similarly says 'उक्तश्रुत्यादिषु पित्रादीनां प्रत्येक-
निर्देशात्, अत्र पितरो देवता इत्यापस्तम्बस्यैव देवता इति बहुवचननिर्देशात्, न योषिद्वय
इत्यादिबन्धानां पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकेन पत्नीनिरपेक्षेण च देवतात्वम्।' Vide n. 783 for the
आप. ध. सू. passage. न योषिद्वयः—is apparently गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 'न योषिद्वयः
पृथग्पृथग्देवसानविनाहते। स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राच्च तृतिरासां यतः स्मृता ॥'. The कल्पतत्
(आर्द्धकाण्ड p. 4) says: नापि पित्रादेः सपत्नीकरय देवतात्वं तथात्वे प्रमाणभावात्। प्रत्युत
न योषिद्वयः पृथग्पृथग्देवसानविनाहते। स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राग्यास्तृतिरासां यतः स्मृता ॥ इति
शातातपयचने भर्तृसम्बन्धि पिण्डभागस्यैव पत्नीतृतिहेतुत्वेनाभिधानाद् विपरीतमेव प्रमाणमस्ति।
कल्पतत्, आ. p. 260.

the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayāśrāddha or a śrāddha at Gayā. ¹⁰⁶⁵

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the piṇḍas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The piṇḍa ¹⁰⁶⁶ is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the piṇḍa is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Tai. S. I. 8.5 1, in the Āp. M. P. II. 20.13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvām-anu). ¹⁰⁶⁷ In the Gobhila-grhya IV. 3.6 and Khādiragrhya the formula is still longer 'This piṇḍa is thine, O father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest. ¹⁰⁶⁸ To thee, Svadhā!'. The Bhāradvaja ¹⁰⁶⁹ gr. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (n. 781) how the Śat. Br. disapproves of

1065. तदेवमेतानिपूर्वं यद्वपुस्तीकापित्रादिदेवत्यामावास्याविसाधारणकालिकआहु-
प्रयोगे अस्मत्पितर्यज्ञदत्तशर्मन् वासिष्ठगोत्राहुकाहुकनामिकाभिर्वासिष्ठगोत्राभिः पत्नीभिः
सहैतुल्यमकामित्यादिभिः श्रीपुंसोदेशोपलक्षितैर्वापैरनुष्ठानं कर्तव्यमिति । This is the
पूर्वपक्ष view. हेमाद्रि replies 'अत्र सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते । तत्र तावन्मुख्ये पार्षणे जननी-
व्यतिरिक्तानां पितृपत्नीनां न सहोदेशः कार्यः । नापि पितृजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितामहपत्नीनां
नापि पितामहजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रपितामहपत्नीनाम् । हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 100. हेमाद्रि
adds (p. 102) 'यदा तु नानापितृपुत्रिकामनया विशिष्टे महालयादिकालविशेषे गयादि-
तीर्थविशेषे वा आहुं कुर्यात्तदा पुत्रवतीनामपुत्राणां वा मातृसपत्नीनामपि आहुं कुर्यात्'.

1066. अर्घदानेऽथ सङ्कल्पे पिण्डदाने तथा क्षये । गोत्रसम्बन्धनामानि यथावत्प्रतिपाद-
येत् ॥ पारस्कर q. by अपराकं p. 506, हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1434), आ. म. p. 258 which
explains 'सङ्कल्पे अक्षतवाने'. The form of the address will be 'अहुकगोत्रास्म-
त्पितरमुकशर्मन् एतत्तेऽहं (or एष ते पिण्डः) इत्यादि नम इदमहुकगोत्रायास्मत्पित्रे अहुकशर्मणे
न ममेति' हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1436). It should be noted that this formula is to be
employed only by the Vājasaneyins.

1067. एतत्ते ततासी ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते पितामहासी ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते प्रपितामह ये
च त्वामनु । आय. म. पा. II. 20. 13. Vide note 781 for तै. सं. passages and
n. 1053 for आश्व. श्रौ. passage.

1068. असाववनेनिक्ष ये चात्र त्वामनु यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति । गोभिलग्रन्थ III.
3, 6 and खादिरग्रन्थ III. 5. 17. The टोबरानन्द (आहुसौख्य folio 77a) gives the
formulas for followers of यजुर्वेद and सामवेद as follows: अहुकगोत्रपितरमुकशर्मन्
तत्तेऽहं स्वधेति यजुर्वेदिनाहुस्वर्गवाक्यम् । अहुकसगोत्र पितरमुकदेवशर्मन्तत्तेऽहं ये चात्र त्वामनु
यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति छन्दोगानाम् ; compare आहुतत्त्व p. 237 and आ. क्रि. कौ.
p. 70 for similar formulas.

1069. यांश्च त्वमन्वाप्सि ये च त्वामनु । भारद्वाजग्रन्थ II. 12.

the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being¹⁰⁷⁰ that when the son offers a pinḍa to his father and employs the formula 'this is thine and of those that follow thee', he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a pinḍa to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-grhya¹⁰⁷¹ that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first pinḍa with the Formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling on the earth', (he should put down) the 2nd pinḍa with the formula 'svadhā to the fathers dwelling in the air', the third with the formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling in heaven' and should recite in a low voice the words 'Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part.' Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first pinḍa should be offered to the father with the expression 'prthivī', the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra 'dyaus darvi'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73.17-19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being 'prthivī darvirakṣitā', 'antarikṣam darvirakṣitā', 'dyaus-darvirakṣitā'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 194 says (following Āśv. Śr. and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say 'O Father, Grandfather' &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kāśyapa.¹⁰⁷²

Certain matters pertaining to pinḍas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

1070. तदेतदमङ्गल्यमभिधानं भवति । यतोऽयं पिण्डदानं कुर्वाणः पुत्रादिः ये च त्वामनु इति मन्त्रेण येषां प्रमोतानां सहेत्याह तेषां पश्चाद्भूतः स्वयमेव सह भवति । अतश्चासौ स्वस्मा एव पिण्डदानं करोतीति प्रतिभाति । हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामानि न विन्द्यात् स्वधा पितृभ्यः पृथिवीष्वभ्य इति प्रथमं पिण्डं निदध्यात् । स्वधा पितृभ्योऽन्तरिक्षस्य इति द्वितीयं स्वधा पितृभ्यो दिव्येष्वभ्य इति तृतीयं निधाय जपति अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति । गोभिलगृह्य IV. 3, 10-11 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 1443 and आ. प्र. 260. Compare तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1 एतत्ते तत् ... प्रपितामह ये च त्वामन्वञ्च पितरो यथाभागं मन्वदध्वम् and वाज. सं. II. 31 'अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वम्'. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 24 says 'नामान्यविद्वान्स्ततःपितामह-प्रपितामहेति'.

1072. गोत्राज्ञानेऽप्याह व्याघ्रपादः—गोत्रनाशे तु कश्यपः—इति । गोत्राज्ञाने कश्यप-गोत्रग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । कश्यपसगोत्रस्य सर्वसाधारणत्वात् । तथा च स्मृतिः । तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति । स्मृतिश्च. (आ. p. 481); vide आ. प्र. p. 260 for a similar provision. The शुद्धकमलाकर p. 49 says: यद्यपि तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति ज्ञापयथ्युक्तेः ... कश्यपं गोत्रमस्ति तथापि आहु एव तत् । 'सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्यः'—These words occur in ज्ञापयथमङ्गल VII. 5. 1. 5.

size of the pīṇḍas. Marici (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvana-śrāddha the pīṇḍa should be of the size of undried *āmalaka* fruit, of the size of a *bilva* fruit in Ekoddiśṭa, in navaśrāddhas the pīṇḍa should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāṇa says that pīṇḍas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth.¹⁰⁷³ Āṅgīras (q. by Sm. C. p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the pīṇḍas may be of the size of *kapittha* or *bilva* fruit or of the size of a hen's egg or of an *āmalaka* or *badara* fruit. In the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra¹⁰⁷⁴ it is said that the pīṇḍa for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three pīṇḍas), that the pīṇḍa for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the pīṇḍas were to be made. If pīṇḍas were offered before *agnaukarāṇa* they were to be made from the boiled rice (*caru*) prepared for *agnaukarāṇa*. If made after *agnaukarāṇa*, the pīṇḍas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after *agnaukarāṇa*) mixed with sesamum (vide Yaj. I. 242). If pīṇḍas were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas took their dinner, the pīṇḍas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmaṇas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for *agnaukarāṇa* as stated in Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra.¹⁰⁷⁵ The pīṇḍas were to be placed according to the Matsya¹⁰⁷⁶ on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow's dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāṇa and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmaṇas were to eat and thereon *darbhas*

1073. द्विहावनस्य वत्सरस्य विज्ञान्यत्स्यं यथासुखम् । तथा कुर्यात्पमाणेन पिण्डान् व्यासेन भाषितम् ॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 41 q. by स्वतिस्र. (आ. p. 475) and हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1429 as व्यास's.

1074. इयोर्योद्धृत्योद्धृतेषु पिण्डाजिवधाति पितृर्नाम्नाऽसावेतत्ते ये चात्र त्वाहु तरसै तेष्टव्य स्वधेति प्रथमं, पितामहश्च नाम्ना स्ववीर्यासं मध्यमं, प्रपितामहनाम्ना स्वविष्टं दक्षिणं द्वयोः परयोर्नामनी शुद्धं मूलवेगे लेपं निर्माष्टि । मैत्रायणीयसूत्र q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1430, आ. म. p. 257.

1075. पुनः स्म इत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमन्त्रमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमन्त्रमेकतोद्धृत्योच्छिद्यसमीये वर्धेत् श्रीक्रीन्पिण्डानवनेष्ट्य दद्यात् । आह्वय of कार्या. III.

1076. उपलिप्ते महीपृष्ठे गोशकुन्धुश्च शरिणा । निधाय वर्धाम् विधिबह्विणिनाम्नाम्वत्नतः । सर्ववर्जं चाजेन पिण्डांस्तु पितृयज्ञवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16. 45-46.

were to be placed and then piṇḍas. The Vāyupurāṇa provides that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the root of a *darbha* to the accompaniment of the following mantras viz. ¹⁰⁷⁷ 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all *asuras*, *dānavas*, *rākṣasas*, *yakṣas*, *piśācas* (goblins), *guhnyakas* and *yātudhānas*' and the mantra 'struck down (are the *asuras* and *rākṣasas* sitting on the Vēdi)'. In Āp. Śr. I. 10.2, Manu III. 217, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73.17-19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440), the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahārṇavaprakāśa (q. by Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440-42) and Śr. P. pp. 266-267 reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the obeisance (*namaskāra*) to the pitṛs in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32) ¹⁰⁷⁸ and the repetition of three mantras when each of the three piṇḍas is offered, some holding that the seasons were to be deemed as identified with '*rasa*', '*śoṣa*' and four other words (in Vāj. S. II. 32), while others held that the adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the *namaskāras* to the pitṛs. In the Śaunakātharvaṇaśrāddha-kalpa, the piṇḍas are offered in the reverse order i. e. first to the great-grandfather, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I. 9. 4 refers to this method in 'pitāmahaprabhṛtin vā'.

1077. निहन्मि सर्वं यदमेध्यवद्भवेद्धताश्च सर्वेऽसुरदानवा मया । रक्षोसि यक्षाश्च पिशाच-
सङ्घा इता मया वायुधानाश्च सर्वे ॥ अनेन मन्त्रेण हुंसंयतात्मा वेदीं च सर्वां सकृदुल्लिखेच्च ॥
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 214, 216, आ. प्र. p. 251. This is cited as
from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपरार्क p. 478 (which reads 'हुंसंयतात्मा तिलान् क्षिपेद्विष्णु
तथा विदिषु'). The verses are वायुपुराण 75. 45-46 and are mentioned as from
वायुपुराण in आहृत्य p. 235. Both अपरार्क and आ. प्र. add the vedic mantra
'अपहताः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पूर्वपिण्डं प्रयच्छेत् पितॄं च पृथिवीं च । पितामहाय स्वपरमन्तरिक्षे च वाय-
वेत् ॥ प्रपितामहाय च तत्स्वृतीयं तु निवेदयेत् ॥ द्यौर्दक्षिरिति मन्त्रेण क्षुतिरेषा समातनी ॥
यम q. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 203), हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1440). उच्छिष्टसंनिधौ दक्षिणाग्रेषु
द्वभेदु पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षिता इत्येकं पिण्डं पित्रे निवेदयात् । अन्तरिक्षं दक्षिरक्षिता इति द्वितीयं
पितामहाय । द्यौर्दक्षिरक्षिता इति तृतीयं प्रपितामहाय । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73. 17-19. आचम्यो-
क्त्वा परावृत्त्य त्रिरागम्य ज्ञानैरक्षुः । बह्वृत्तं नमस्कुर्व्यात् पितृनेव च मन्त्रावित् ॥ मनु III. 217.
The मन्त्र is: पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षिता इति: स्वधानुपवस्ता तां पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षितां तृतिं स्वधामनु-
पवस्तामाग्नेरिव पृथिवीमुपजीवासी ये चात्र स्वामन्वेवा ते स्वधा. In the other two
mantras in honour of पितामह and प्रपितामह substitute अन्तरिक्षं and द्यौः for
पृथिवी, वायुः and द्युयः for अग्निः wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the
earth is a ladle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकण्ठ
(63. 14) provides 'पृथिवी दक्षिरिति निपरणं कुर्यात्' and the कौशिकसूत्र (88. 8-10)
also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three
piṇḍas (viz. पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षिता, अन्तरिक्षं दक्षिरक्षिता, द्यौ दक्षिरक्षिता). Compare
काठकसंहिता IX. 23.

About the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of the *piṇḍas* several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vāj. S. and several sūtras provided that the middle one of the three *piṇḍas* for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrāddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that the *dharmaṇi* (i. e. a wife of the same varṇa and married before any other wife) should eat the middle *piṇḍa* with the mantra 'ādhata pitaro garbham' (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyana 23.83, the Kūrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vāyu 76.31, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 171 8, 220, 149, Padma (śrṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.121) and other purāṇas. As regards *piṇḍas* in general, the Āśv. Śr. (II. 7. 14-17) says that the other two *piṇḍas* (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brāhmaṇa who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gr. (IV. 3. 31-34) provides that the *piṇḍas* should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brāhmaṇa or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260-261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds. Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52-53, and Padma¹⁰⁷⁹ mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāha-purāṇa¹⁰⁸⁰ (190.121) says that the performer may eat the first *piṇḍa* himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125.25.26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle *piṇḍa* should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Bṛhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079. पिण्डाश्च गोजवियग्यो दद्यादग्नौ जलेपि वा । वयान्ते वाच विकिरहापोभिरथ वाहयेत् ॥ पद्म (चुट्टि 9. 120): अपराकं p. 550 and हेमाद्रि read विमान्ते and वयोभिरथ वाहयेत्! (p. 1504). That birds should be allowed to eat the *piṇḍas* is natural since it was believed as stated above (p. 339) that the *pitṛs* wander about in the form of birds. Vide कूर्म II. 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080. भक्षयेत् प्रथमं पिण्डं पत्न्यै देवं तु मध्यमम् । तृतीयमुदके दद्याद्वाह्ने एवं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ वराहपुराण 190.121.

place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle piṇḍa (quoted by Sm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr. p. 224). The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 141. 8) prescribes that when a śrāddha is performed at a *tīrtha*, the piṇḍas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anuśāsanaparva 125. 38-40 and some of the purāṇas such as Vāyu (76.32-34) and Brahma (220.150-152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of piṇḍas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving piṇḍas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmāṇḍa (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31-35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows. In this connection it should be noted that piṇḍas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śrāddhas. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86-89) has a long discussion about the śrāddhas in which the offering of piṇḍas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śrāddhas performed on the two *ayana* days, on the two equinoctial days, on any sankrānti, no piṇḍas are to be offered, so also in śrāddhas on Ekadaśī, Trayodaśī, on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śrāddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,¹⁰⁸¹ hold that feeding of brāhmaṇas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III. 129 which says 'One may feed even a single learned brāhmaṇa in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward'. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmaṇa. There is a maxim¹⁰⁸² of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that 'whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (*aṅga*) to what is declared to have a reward.' Besides, there is no piṇḍadāna in certain śrāddhas such as āmaśrāddha, śrāddha on the Yugaḍi days.¹⁰⁸³

1081. पुष्कलं फलमाप्नोतीत्यभिधानात् ब्राह्मणस्य भोजनमत्र प्रधानं पिण्डदानादि तदङ्गमित्यवसीयते । गोविन्दराज on मनु III. 129 (Mandlik's ed.). कुल्लूक on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The *व्यास* is फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम् mentioned by शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19 and by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 14. Vide जै. IV. 4. 29-38.

1083. तथा च पुलस्त्यः । अयनादितये आर्जं विषुवद्दितये तथा । युगादिविषु च सर्वान् पिण्डानिर्वपणादृते ॥ इति । कर्तव्यमिति शेषः । रघुतिच. (आ.) p. 369 ; vide हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp. 334-336.

Others like Karka hold the view that piṇḍadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of piṇḍas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 52-53, and 85. 65-66) and in several Purāṇas such as the Varāha (13.50), Viṣṇu (III. 14.22-23), Brahma (220.31-32), Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 145.3-4) the pitrs are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them piṇḍas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c. (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good sūdra the feeding of brāhmaṇas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmaṇas and the offering of piṇḍas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smṛiti, after stating¹⁰⁸⁴ the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmaṇa feeding nor piṇḍadāna as in Daiva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (*gauna*). Vide Hemādri (śrāddha) pp. 157-160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i. e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of piṇḍas is principal, among the followers of the R̥gveda the feeding of brāhmaṇas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmaveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz. it is a *yāga* (sacrifice) and also¹⁰⁸⁵ a gift (dāna). Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardī and others appear to hold that all three (bhojana piṇḍadāna and agnaukarāṇa) are principal. Vide Saṃskāra-ratnānālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāṇa says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grand-father of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wipings of the articles of food (sticking to

1084. प्राधान्यं पिण्डदानस्य केचिदाहुर्मनीषिणः । ययावौ पिण्डमात्रं तु दीयमान-
निर्दोषात् ॥ भोजनस्य प्रधानत्वं वदन्त्यस्यै महर्षयः । आहुतानां परीक्षायां महापद्मे पदार्थात् ।
आमआहुविधानस्य विना पिण्डैः क्रियाविधिः । तद्गतस्याप्यनप्यायविधानस्येवावपि ॥
विद्वन्मतस्तुपादाय ममाप्येतद्धृदि स्थितम् । प्राधान्यमुभयोर्यस्मात्समावेक्ष्य समुच्चयः ॥ गोभिल-
स्मृति III. 160-163.

1085. धर्मपदीपेति । यजुषां पिण्डदानं तु बहुचानां द्विजार्चनम् । आहुतान्वाभिधेयं
स्यादुभयं सामवेदिनाम् ॥ तच्च पितृभ्यजेत पितृभ्यो दद्याद्विदुभयप्रयोगदर्शनाद्यागदानोभया-
त्मकम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III. उत्तरार्धे p. 372.

the hand of the performer of *śrāddha*); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the *piṇḍa*; the offerer of the *piṇḍa* is the 7th; thus *sapīṇḍa* relationship extends to seven generations¹⁰⁸⁶. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grandfather of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers *piṇḍas*).¹⁰⁸⁷ The *Brahma-purāṇa* (220. 84-86) has similar verses. *Manu* provided¹⁰⁸⁸ that the performer should place three *piṇḍas* on *darbhas* and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the *darbhas* (on which the *piṇḍas* were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called 'lepabhāgin' (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 73.22, *Varāhapurāṇa* 14.36, *Garuḍapurāṇa* (*Ācārakāṇḍa* 218.24), *Kūrma II* 22.52. *Medhātithi* on *Manu III*, 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the *darbhas* on which the first *piṇḍa* was placed. A special rule was provided by *Devala* quoted in *Śrāddhakalpapatā* (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a *mleccha* (by forcible or voluntary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no *śrāddha* should be offered and when offering the three *piṇḍas* in place of the father the name of *Viṣṇu* should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily *Vaiśvadeva* should be performed before starting the *śrāddha* ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for pīṭra deserve pre-eminence over those for the

1086. लेपभाजश्चतुर्थाद्याः पित्राद्याः पिण्डभागिनः। पिण्डदः सप्तमस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषम्॥ मत्स्य 18.29. These very verses occur in *वल्गुपुराण* (सृष्टिलेखण्ड 10, 34-35), which reads सपिण्ड्याः सप्त पुरुषाः. They are quoted from *मत्स्यपुराण* by *अथर्षाक्ष* p. 507. मत्स्य 16.38 is तेषु त्रिभेदेषु तं हस्तं निमुञ्ज्यालेपभागिनाम्।

1087. लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामहापितामहात्। यश्चतुर्लोकव्यस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः। हृत्वेवं ह्यग्निभिः प्रोक्तः सम्बन्धः साप्तपौरुषः। मार्कण्डेय 28. 4-5 q. by *दायभाग XI*. 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death). The printed *दायभाग* reads पिण्डलेपमुजश्चान्ये.

1088. मृत्पत्रं पिण्डांस्तत्तांस्तु प्रयतो विधिपूर्वकम्। तेषु त्रिभेदेषु तं हस्तं निमुञ्ज्यालेप-भागिनाम्॥ मनु III. 216. The latter half occurs in *मत्स्य* 16.38.

gods¹⁰⁸⁹. Manu (III. 265) states¹⁰⁹⁰ that after the brāhmanas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic *bali* offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word 'bali' is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāṇa¹⁰⁹¹ 17.61, the Varāha-purāṇa (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266. 101-102, Devala, Kāṇḍikā and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058-1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions. In the case of an *āhitāgni* (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after *agnaukarana* or after the *vikāra* (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the *samskāras* being performed for them), or after the brāhmanas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p. 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether *sāgnika* or *anagnika*, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Paithīnasi¹⁰⁹² that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śrāddha without first offering the food to the brāhmanas invited for śrāddha dinner i. e. Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used

1089. देवकार्याद् द्विजातीनां पितृकार्यं विशिष्यते । मनु III. 203, ब्रह्माण्ड (उपो-
द्घातपाद 10. 104), मत्स्यपुराण 15. 40, वायु 73. 55.

1090. ततो गृहर्वालिं कुर्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥ मनु III. 265. मेधातिथि remarks
'ततो गृहर्वालिं निष्पक्षे आहुकर्मण्यनन्तरं वैश्वदेवहोमान्वाहिकातिथ्यादिभोजनं कर्तव्यम् ।
बलिशब्दस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वात् ॥'.

1091. निवृत्य प्रणिपत्यैष पर्युक्ष्याग्निं समञ्जसम् । वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत तेत्यकं बलिमेव च ॥
मत्स्य 17. 61; निवर्तेताम्यनुज्ञात आह्वारान्तमनुब्रजेत् । ततस्तु वैश्वदेवाकुर्यात् कुर्यान्नित्यक्रिया
ततः ॥ वराह 14. 43; पितृपाकात् समुद्भूत्य वैश्वदेवं तु होमयेत् । देवल q. by हलायुध in
his com. on कार्यायन's आहुत्यूच (folio 31a). The verse निवृत्य प्रणिपत्यैष
occurs in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिलेख 9. 190) also.

1092. पित्राणामनिवेद्य तस्माद्वज्राह्वैश्वदेवादिकमपि न कार्यम् । तथा च वैदीनसिः ।
पितृपाकात्समुद्भूत्य वैश्वदेवं करोति यः । आहुरं तद्भवेच्छ्राद्धं पित्राणां नोपतिष्ठते ॥ स्मृतिचं.
(आ.) p. 410, बौद्धराज्य (folio 75b).

for the former. The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 459) states that as most smṛtis place the performance of Vaiśvadeva after śrāddha and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as Medhātithi and Smṛtiratnāvali do the same all should perform Vaiśvadeva after finishing śrāddha.

It is now necessary to illustrate how *pārvaṇa* śrāddha is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha was very simple in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and most of the sūtras. There was then no express mention of the worship of Viśvedevāḥ in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti there was special invocation of the Viśvedevāḥ. But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the smṛti period groups of Viśvedevāḥ came to be assigned to different kinds of śrāddhas (vide p. 457 note 1018). The Purāṇas prescribed several Paurāṇic mantras for being recited during the śrāddha rite, such as the verse 'āgacchantu' (note 984) and the verse 'devatābhyaḥ pitṛbhyaśca' (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that all rites described in the different śākhās and sūtras constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another śākhā or sūtra details described therein, which are not opposed to one's own śākhā or sūtra (vide pp. 453-55 notes 1011-1013). This principle tended to make the śrāddha rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In Mithilā villages even among poor men eleven brāhmaṇas are invited for pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate. In such a case where a *mahāpātra* or a *pātra* brāhmaṇa is not available the śrāddha is called *apātraka-pārvaṇaśrāddha* (for which really there is no *śāstric* authority) and is distinguished from the *sapātraka* pārvaṇa-śrāddha in several matters, two of which in the case of the

Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (āt the end of *kaṇḍikā* III) that the brāhmanas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmanas with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śiṣṭas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called 'apātraka-pārvaṇa-śrāddha' in these days. In Rudradhara's Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 138-146) the 'apātraka-pārvaṇa-śrāddha-prayoga' is set out at length.

In mediæval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Sāmavedins, Yajurvedins and Rgvedins follow the procedure of pārvaṇa-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or *paddhatis*) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunandana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvediśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Pīṭbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Sāmavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmipati (between 1500 to 1640 A. D.) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Maithilas (Maithilā-sāṃpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Prati-hastaka for Chandogas and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Vaiṣṇava brāhmanas follow special treatises on *Pūrva* and *Apara kriyās* of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Hārīta Venkaṭācārya or Tolappār and Smārta brāhmanas follow the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidikasārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the saṅkalpa and at the end. It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvaṇaśrāddha rite as performed by Rgvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite. The Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha¹⁰⁹³ rite for Rgvedins in

1093. The *darśaśrāddha* differs only very slightly from the above. The summary here is taken from the 'Rgvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya' published by the Nirṇayaśāgara Press in Bombay in Poṭhi size, folios 98-108 (ed. of 1936, *śaka* 1856).

Western India may be set out as follows :—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i. e. it follows the Āsv. Śr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the *smṛtis* and *purāṇas*). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of *kutas* or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a *pavitra* on the finger next to the small finger with Rg. IX. 83.1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with *kuśas*, and ties three *kuśa* blades with *tilas* on the left of the *dhōti* worn by him. Then he performs *prāṇāyāma* and declares the resolve (*saṅkalpa*)¹⁰⁹⁴ to perform (the *Sāṁvatsarika*) *śrāddha* after referring to the time and place and together with *agnaukarana*, *piṇḍadāna* &c. The invited *brāhmaṇas* reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gange' (Rg. X. 75. 5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuṇa is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Rg. X. 97.15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiranyarūpaḥ' (Rg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes *prācīnāvīti*)¹⁰⁹⁵ and puts sesamum grains in the water

1094. The सङ्कल्प will be श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीये पार्वे...भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे दण्डकारण्ये देशे शालिवाहनशके असुकनाम संचरन्ते गोदावर्या दक्षिणे तीरे (उत्तरे तीरे वा) ... असुकतिथौ असुकवासरे ... पुरुषा-द्वयसंज्ञकानां विद्मेषां देवानां अस्मत्पितृपितामहपितामहानामसुकशर्मणां असुकसंगोत्राणां बसुकव्राद्धिस्वरूपाणां एतेषां श्रेयार्थं मोक्षार्थं मम पितृणां प्रतिसांवत्सरिकआहुतं सदैवं सपिण्डं सायीकरणं पार्षणेन विधिना अस्मेन हविषा सद्यः करिष्ये. The performer becomes *prācīnāvīti* when repeating the words *अस्मत्पितृ...*स्वरूपाणां and reverts to *उपवीति* form when saying *एतेषां* etc. Among the *Mādhvas* the सङ्कल्प contains the words 'पित्रस्तर्पामिणो विद्मिदेवास्तर्पामिणोऽनिरुद्ध-प्रद्युम्न-सङ्कर्षण वासुदेव-चतुर्मूर्त्यत्मक-आहुतस्वामि-श्रीमध्वजनार्दनस्य समाराधनं करिष्ये ।'

1095. The terms *prācīnāvīti*, *yajñopavīti* or *उपवीति*, *सव्यं* and *अपसव्यं* occur almost at every step in the *आहुतयोग*. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the *prayoga* set out hereafter. Gobhila gr. I. 2.2-3, Khādīrgr I. 1. 4-6 and Manu II. 63 define *yajñopavītin* or *upavītin* as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and *prācīnāvītin* as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder. *Savya* means left, Acc. to लघुशाब्दलायन I. 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be '*savyam*' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is *अपसव्यम्*.

(in another vessel) with the mantra 'Tilosi' (quoted in note 966), Bhr̥ṅgarāja leaf with the mantra 'mā kākam' (Rg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Puruṣa-sūkta ¹⁰⁹⁶ (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 128.1-9, IX. 58. 1-4, Rg. X. 126. 1-8, Rg. IV. 40.5, Rg. VII. 89. 5, the sacred Gāyatrī with *om* and the three Vyāhrtis, Rg. VII. 56. 12, Rg. VIII. 44. 21, 17, Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9. Then after repeating the well-known verse 'apavitraḥ pavitro vā' ¹⁰⁹⁷ (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣṇu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests 'May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure'. The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūśas goes round (pradakṣiṇā) the brāhmaṇas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmaṇas and a Vedic passage from Tai. Ā. II. 15 ¹⁰⁹⁸ 'All the devatās reside in a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmaṇas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these devatās.' After making obeisance (to the brāhmaṇas) twice he should be prācināvitī, repeat the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ' (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmaṇas 'may you be pleased to say that I have complete *adhikāra* to perform the sāmvasarikaśrāddha of my pitṛs this day.' The brāhmaṇas should reply 'let there be this *adhikāra* for the performance of śrāddha.' Then being *upavītin* the performer requests 'may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered.' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmaṇas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmaṇa and says 'you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ādrava in this pratisāmvasarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'yes, be it so.' Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa (ācārakāṇḍa) chap. 216.1-2

1098. यावत्तीर्थं देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्वन्भ्यो द्विषे द्विषे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाम्नीलं कीर्तयेद्देता एव देवताः क्षिणाति । तै. अ. II. 15 (at end).

same way (if two brāhmaṇas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvīta* way should touch the left knee of the brāhmaṇa (*pitrya*) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this *pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha*.' The brāhmaṇa should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'I shall do so.' Then he should make *maṇḍalas*¹⁰⁹⁹ for the *daiva* and *pitrya* brāhmaṇas. Then *śanyam*. The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (*upacāras*) of showing honour be complete by means of *yava* grains.' Then *apasanyam*. He offers *āsana* (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the *upacāras* be completed by means of *sesamum* grains.' Then *śanyam*. He offers welcome to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is *pādya* for you, O *Viśve devas* called *Purūrava* and *Ārdrava*! *Bhūr-bhuvah-svah* to the (*daiva*) brāhmaṇa'; the response is 'supādyam'. He should wash the feet of (the *daiva*) brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Rg X. 9.4, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the *apasanya* way and offers welcome to the *pitrya* brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas representing the three male ancestors¹¹⁰⁰ and offers to give *pādya* to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyam'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devīr' as in the case of *daiva* brāhmaṇas.

Then the performer casts away the *pavitra* worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs *ācamana* and wears two *pavitras*. Then *śanyam*. He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats'; they respond by saying 'susamāsmāhe' (we have well occupied them). Then *apasanyam*. He addresses similar words to *pitrya* brāhmaṇas who respond in a similar way. Then *śanyam*. He seeks permission in the words 'I

1099. For *maṇḍalas* vide above pp. 456-457.

1100. The *paśya* would be offered in the words 'पितः, असुकरामन् असुकगोत्र वसु रूप ब्रह्मणे द्युर्धुवः स्वः, इहं ते पाद्यम्'. In the case of the *पितामह* and *प्रपितामह* the words *वसु रूप* and *आदित्य रूप* would respectively be substituted for *वसु रूप*. We have to construe as *ब्रह्मणे ते पाद्यम्* (अस्तु) and *द्युर्धुवः स्वः* as the mantra accompanying the *पाद्य*.

shall perform the Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs that has been begun'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then *apasavyam*. The following texts are repeated viz. Rg. X. 9.4, Rg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rākṣasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Rg. X. 87.1 There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas. Let there be protection given by Viṣṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmaṇas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then *savyam*. He sprinkles drops of water with darbhas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Rg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26-28 and with the three Vyāhrtis and the Gāyatri. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'āgacchantu mahābhāgāḥ' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmaṇas reply 'we are careful (or attentive).' Then *apasavyam*. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pitrs in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (rite) proceeds'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do proceed.' Then *savyam*. He gives water on the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbhas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhrtis (Bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) 'this is the seat for the brāhmaṇa representing the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādrava'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second *daiva* brāhmaṇa. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmaṇa's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being *daiva* brāhmaṇa in the Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the *arghya* water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (*daiva*) brāhmaṇas with water, spreads two darbhas (in front of each *daiva* brāhmaṇa) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gāyatri mantra, raises the vessels up (i. e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two

vessels) two kūroas ¹¹⁰¹ with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two *arghya* vessels for daiva brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Yavosi dhānyarājo vā' (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says 'May all the upacāras be completed by means of yavas; the two *arghya* vessels for daiva brāhmaṇas are fully ready'. The response is 'susampanne'. He says 'svāhā, these are *arghya* waters'. The response is 'let there be *arghya* waters'. Placing his left hand in which he holds kuśas and yava grains on the right knee of the daiva brāhmaṇa and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says 'I shall invoke the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava to be present in you'. They respond 'do invoke'. He invokes the Viśve-devas with the mantra 'viśve devāsa' (Rg. II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each daiva brāhmaṇa. He says, 'I invoke the Viśve devas with the mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrputemām' (Rg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked Viśve devas he casts the remaining yava-grains on the ground near the feet of the daiva brāhmaṇas. Then he gives water to them (daiva brāhmaṇas) and he puts in their hands the darbhas placed over the *arghya* vessels; he says 'O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! this is *arghya* water for you; svāhā, adoration'. They respond 'let there be *arghya*'. Repeating the mantra 'yā divyā apāḥ' (vide Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says 'this *arghya* has been offered, it is no longer mine.' They respond 'let it be so offered'. The same process is followed as to the second daiva brāhmaṇa. Then he offers fragrant ¹¹⁰² substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, *gopīcandana* for unguent, sacred chord and two kuśa blades for pavitra with the words 'O Viśve devāḥ, called Purūrava and Ārdrava! these are fragrant substances for you according

1101. कूर्च is a bundle of fifteen darbhas one cubit long having tops of four āṅgulas in length and having a knot two āṅgulas from the bottom part. पञ्चदशदर्भैर्मयितं चतुरङ्गुलार्धं द्व्यङ्गुलमग्निं हस्तमात्रं प्रोक्षणकूर्चम् । वैखानसस्मार्त-सूत्र I. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the brāhmaṇas with 'su' prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this 'युक्त्वा देवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवाः यथा भागशः अमी वो मग्धाः स्वाहा नमः । सुगग्धाः । युक्त्वा... विश्वेदेवा यथा भागशः एष वो दीपः स्वाहा नमः हृदीपः' and so on.

to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuvā suvāsāḥ' (Rg. III. 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. *gandha*, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete. Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmanas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyuta by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in *tapas* (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmanas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitrs'. They reply 'do offer.' Then *apasavyam*. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Āditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesamum grains to the pitrya brāhmanas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmanas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmanas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tilosi somadevatyaḥ' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namaḥ' the words 'svadhā namaḥ' are employed, and instead of *tulasi* leaf *bhṛngarāja* leaf is employed. In *āvāhana* the performer places his left hand holding kuśas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmaṇa and the verse repeated is 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmaṇa and he should honour the pitrs by repeating one mantra 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). He offers *arghya*¹¹⁰³ water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the *samsravas*¹¹⁰⁴ in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water if he desires a son. The brāhmanas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अपो इत्या पात्रोपरित्यक्तान् विप्रहस्ते इत्या अस्मत्पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या इत्या आपः पुषिषीः। पित्रे इदमर्घ्यं कृतं न मम। अस्तु कृतम्। सव्यम्। पितामहेदं तेऽर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या इत्या०। पितामहाये-इमर्घ्यं कृतं न मम। and so on for यपितामहः.

1104. For संस्रव, vide note 1001.

He places the vessel containing *samsravas* with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitṛs.' Then *gandha*, flowers with *tulasi* and *bhṛngarāja* leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, *gopīcandana*, sacred chord, betelnut, kuśas for pavitra are offered to the pitṛs and he repeats the verse 'idam pitṛbhyah' (Rg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat smṛtyā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare maṇḍalas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmanas are to be placed a four-cornered maṇḍala beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitṛya brāhmanas the maṇḍala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those maṇḍalas. Then taking holy ashes (*apasavyam*) he draws a line round the plates for pitṛya brāhmanas with the mantra 'piśaṅga-bhṛīṣṭim' (Rg. I. 133. 5). Then *savyam*. Then round the plates of the daiva brāhmanas he draws lines with the mantras 'rakṣaṃ no' (Rg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Rg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurāṇic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Viṣṇu protects the worlds. Just as Viṣṇu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a maṇḍala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmanas is done, beginning with the pitṛya brāhmaṇa first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform *agnaukarāṇa* with your permission in the hand¹¹⁰⁵ of the (pitṛya) brāhmaṇa.' The reply is 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitṛs, this for Agni, the carrier of *kavya*' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for *avadānas* ¹¹⁰⁶

1105. If there are three brāhmanas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the hands of the brāhmanas'. The *Nirṇayasindhu* (III. Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs *agnaukarāṇa* in the hand of the daiva brāhmaṇa.

1106. As laid down in *Āśv. gr* I. 7. 10-12 the अवदानधर्मः are उपस्तरणं द्विजिह्वादानं हविषदानयोश्च प्रत्यभिचारणम्.

and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words 'To Soma accompanied by pitrs, *svadhā* and adoration; this for Soma with the pitrs and it is not (now) mine' and 'to Agni the bearer of *Kavya*, *svadhā* and adoration; this is for Agni *Kavyavāhana* and not mine.' This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called 'samsthā-japa' and occurs in *Āśv. Śr. I. 11.15*) 'Om ca me...te namaḥ'. Obolsance to Agni. *Śrauti*. Then he prays 'O *Kavyavāhana*! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.' He says 'offering has been made on the hand'. The response is 'suhutam'. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats 'mūrdhānam divaḥ' (*Rg. VI. 7. 1*). Then the brāhmanas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter *Trisuparna*, ¹¹⁰⁷ the hymns to *anna* (*Rg. I. 187. 1-11* and several others) and other hymns. Then certain *paurāṇic* verses should be repeated, viz. 'Devatā-bhyaḥ' (note 1020), the verse 'one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz *Kurukṣetra*, *Gayā*, *Gangā*, *Prabhāsa* and *Puṣkara*', the two verses ¹¹⁰⁸ 'saptavyādā' (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pitrs and the other two praying to *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* for favours. Then *sanyam*. Then he sprinkles water (*prokṣaṇa*) on the food with the *Gāyatrī* mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel ^{1108a}, the heaven is the lid. I sacrifice thee in the brāhmana's mouth. I sacrifice thee in the *Prāṇa* (breath) and *Apāna* (breath) of learned brāhmapas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.' Then he repeats 'ato devā' (*Rg. I. 22. 16*) and 'O *Viṣṇu*, guard the sacrificial food'. With the hand

1107. For *Trisuparna*, vide p. 364 note 862a. The *अनुष्टुप्* are *Rg. I. 187. 1-11*, *IV. 31.1-3* and several others which the brāhmanas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. *सप्तव्यादः* has been stated above on p. 445.

1108 a. For 'Pṛthivī te pātram' vide note 992.

turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmaṇa turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devās called Purūrava and Ādrava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmaṇa serves as āhavanīya fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmaṇa diner is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Akṣayyavata (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādrava till this brāhmaṇa is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. *Om Tat Sat*. May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Rg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmaṇas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'prthivī te pātram...loka' (vide p. 444 note 992) and the verse 'idam Viṣṇur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Viṣṇu! guard the *kavya* food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (pitrya) brāhmaṇa in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grand-father are *devatā*, this food is of the nature of *kavya*, the brāhmaṇa is in place of the āhavanīya fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmaṇa is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Akṣayyavata (at Gayā), svadha to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Āditya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is *kavya* up till this brāhmaṇa is satiated. Adoration! It is not mine. *Tat sat*. May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible. May Gadādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Rg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food

intended for the *pitṛs* please them'. Then *savyam*.¹¹⁰⁹ Then *naivedya* is offered with the verse 'brahmārpanam' (Gīta 4. 24) and with three more verses in which Hari is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both natures viz. those of *pitṛs* and *devas* and ultimately he winds up by saying 'tat sat brahmārpanamastu'. Then *apasavyam*. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods, in which even remembrance of Gayā-kṣetra is highly eulogised. Adoration to Kāśī Viśveśvara! adoration to Viṣṇu and Gadādhara at Gayā! Then *savyam*. Then he says 'I shall repeat in your hearing the *madhumatī* verses beginning with 'madhu vāta' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8). Then he repeats the word 'madhu' thrice. The brāhmanas respond 'sumadhu, all food is sweet.' Then *apasavyam*. Then a verse in praise of Viṣṇu (eko Viṣṇur &c.) 'there is one great Being viz. Viṣṇu &c.' is recited and the performer says 'May Janārdana Viṣṇu who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of brāhmanas at the pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The response is 'may he be so pleased'. *Tat sat brahmārpanamastu*. Then having given water to the brāhmanas for *apōṣana* ^{1109a} (then *savyam*) he says 'partake of (the food) at your pleasure' and 'though art the first layer of nectar'. Then he repeats the mantra ¹¹¹⁰ 'fixing myself in faith and in Prāṇa I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. Svāhā to Prāṇa'. This is repeated as to Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, Samāna with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up 'my soul is in Brahma for the sake of immortality' and then 'svāhā to Brahma'. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the Gāyatrī verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to Śrāddhā (Rg.

1109. The printed text is विदुष्यः सङ्कल्पितः शीयन्ताम्. This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is विदुन् सङ्कल्पितमन्नं शीयन्तु or पितरः सङ्कल्पितेन (अजेन) शीयन्ताम्.

1109a. 'Apoṣana' literally means 'taking or drinking water'. It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words 'amṛtopastaranamasi' and after the eating is finished with the words 'amṛtāpidbhānamasi'. Vide Tai. Ā. X. 32, Āp. M. P. II.10.3-4, Āśv. gr. I.24.12, Yāj. I.31 and 106.

1110. The mantras are अद्वायां प्राणे निविष्टोऽद्युतं जुहोमि शिषो माविस्वायदाहाय । प्राणाय स्वाहा । अद्वायामपाने निविष्टोः and so on. प्राणे निविष्टोऽद्युतं जुहोमि अद्वायि न आत्माद्युतत्वाय—is आप. स. पा. II. 20.26. The whole passage from प्राणे निविष्टो to अद्युतत्वाय occurs in तै. आ. X. 34.

X. 151. 1-5). Then the performer requests 'you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like. You should eat at ease'. They respond 'we partake (of the food)'. He says 'I shall recite the hymns called Rākṣoghna ¹¹¹¹ as far as I can.' They respond 'repeat'. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says 'everything is perfect. Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked'. They respond 'we have had enough'. He says 'I shall recite the Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6-8) in your hearing'. They respond 'recite them'. Then *apasavyam*. He recites Rg. I. 82.2 ^{1111a} and should say 'The śrāddha called so and so is completed'. They should respond '*susampannam*'. Then *savyam*. He asks 'Ye Viśvedevāḥ! are you satisfied?' They reply 'we are satisfied'. Then *apasavyam*. He asks 'Ye (brāhmaṇas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?'. They reply 'We are satisfied'. He asks 'what is to be done with the food that remains?'. They reply 'it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)'. Then *savyam*.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddha *pindapradāna* (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply 'do so'. 'Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmaṇa diners'. The performer says ¹¹¹² 'May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer's household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground'. (Then he offers water to the brāhmaṇas with the words) 'thou art the nectarial lid' (or covering). He says 'May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृष्णव पाजः (Rg. IV. 4. 1-15) is called राक्षोघ्न. The first five verses of it are पाज. सं. 13. 9-13. All fifteen verses occur in तै. सं. 1. 2. 14. 1-6. So also are Rg. X. 87 (beginning with रक्षोघ्नं वाजिनमाजिषमि), Rg. VII. 104 (beginning with इन्द्रासोमा तपतं रक्ष उज्जतं), Rg. X. 118, Rg. X. 162.

1111 a. अक्षमीमद्वन्त द्यव पिषा अपुषत...हरी॥ This is सं. I. 82.2. पाज. सं. III. 51, तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 2.

1112. Compare मनु III. 246, which is the same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.23, मत्स्य 17.57, पद्मपुराण (सुत्रिकण्ड 9. 186).

Raurava (hells) full of pus reach them inexhaustibly'. Then *apasavyam*. He repeats the mantra ¹¹¹³ 'The asuras and rākṣasas that sit on the altar are struck and driven away' (Vāj. S. II. 29). Sprinkling the ground with water and strewing thereon darbhas cut with one stroke that have their tips turned towards the south-east he says ¹¹¹⁴ 'May the Fathers wash themselves, may the grandfathers wash themselves, may the great-grandfathers wash themselves'. In the same way he should sprinkle on the kuśa grass water mixed with sesamum grains for the mothers and the rest. Then he says 'This (food) is for thee, my father named so and so, of such and such gotra, who is (to be contemplated) as Vasu and for those who come here after thee; this is the pinda for thee ¹¹¹⁵, svāhā! This pinda occupying the position of a pinda offered at Gayā is presented to my father named so and so and of such and such gotra and who is in the place of Vasu, it is (now) not mine'. Similar formulas are repeated for the pinda offered to the grandfather (who is styled 'Rudrarūpa' instead of 'Vasurūpa') and to the great-grandfather (who is styled 'Ādityarūpa'). Then he utters 'Tat sat.' 'May whatever is offered in Gayā at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada be inexhaustible'. Then he wipes off on the roots of ¹¹¹⁶ the darbhas on which the pindas are placed the particles (of rice, ghee and water) sticking to his hand for the gratification of those that are entitled to the wipings. Having uttered ¹¹¹⁷ once over the pindas the mantra 'O fathers; regale yourselves here, come as bulls each to his share', he should turn towards the north with the left side of his body,

1113. He draws with the roots of darbhas as many lines (as the number of pindas offered, 3 or 6) repeating this mantra at each line (Vāj. S. II. 29).

1114. This is taken from आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 14-15 'मेतन्नेनानुग्रहस्य प्राचीनादीन् लेखां त्रिदशकेनोपनयेत् क्षुब्धन्तां पितरः ... प्रपितामहा इति । तस्यां पिण्डान् निवृणीयात् पराञ्चनिपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्सेऽसौ ये च स्वामन्त्राभ्यति ।'. Compare आप. न. पा. II. 20. 4-7 माज्यन्तां मम पितरो etc. q. in note 1060 above; vide n 1053 for पराञ्चनिपाणिः.

1115. With the food that remains after अग्नीकरण mixed with honey, sesamum grains and ghee pindas are made by the performer or are got made by his wife and are offered by the पितृतीर्थ. Vide note 962.

1116. For लेपभाजः vide n. 1086 above.

1117. Vide n. 960a for अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं... यध्वम् and अमीमद्वन्त पितरो... पीबन्त. The words in the text are taken from आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6.16-21 on पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञ 'निवृत्ताननुग्रहेतात्र पितरो माद... यध्वमिति । सत्यावुद्वन्तवर्ष यथाशक्त्यमाण-जासित्वाभियर्षावृत्त्यामीम... पीबन्तेति । चरोः प्राणमक्षं भक्षयेत्'.

and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words 'the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share' and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which pīṇḍas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the pīṇḍas (on the darbhas) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say 'my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance'; with these words he should anoint the pīṇḍas by means of darbhas with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the pīṇḍas with the words 'O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra apply collyrium'. He should put on the pīṇḍas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,¹¹¹⁸ the last being the fringe of a garment or a tuft of wool with the words 'O fathers! this is the garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than this'. Then *sanyam*. He then says 'I shall offer worship to the pīṇḍas for the prosperity of my family'. He then offers to the pīṭrs present in the pīṇḍas *pāḍya*, *arghya*, water or *ācamana*, bath, *gandha*, flowers, *bhr̥ngarāja* leaf, incense, *amṛt* and *naivedya* of *apūpa* (cakes) and *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), *tāmbūla* and *dakṣiṇā*, using the word 'svadhā' after each of them. Then he should worship¹¹¹⁹ them with the mantra 'Fathers! obeisance to you for the sake of food, for strength, for *śusma*, for the non-terrible (*aghora*), for *jīva*, for *rasa*; svadhā to you, O pīṭrs, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pīṭrs! these are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be alive here!'. He then recites the verses¹¹²⁰ Rg. X. 57. 3-5. Having thus worshipped them he then (*apasanyam*) with the palm of the hand turned upwards moves the pīṇḍas with the mantra¹¹²¹ 'paretana' which means 'O fathers who love soma

1118. Vide आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7.6 'वासो दद्याद् दशमूर्धास्तुका वा पञ्चाशद्वर्षताया ई स्वं लोम दतद्: पितरो वासो मा नोसोम्यत् पितरो दुग्धमिति'. The text translated based on this; when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place the pīṇḍa the hair from his chest.

1119. नमो वः पितर इवे नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे ... सन्तः स्याम—This passage is *en verbatim* from आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7. 7.

1120. नमो न्या दुग्धमह इति तिसृभिः । आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7. 8. आय. औ. सू. I. 5 calls them *मन्त्रवर्ती* verses, as the word *मन्* occurs in each of the three.

1121. परेतन—compare ते. सं. I. 8. 5. 2 'परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः'. The 2nd half is different. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7. 8 says that he should pour a stream of water with this mantra on the pīṇḍas which represent the Fathers for the three being.

drink! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers! bestow on us a valiant son' ¹¹²¹.

Then *sanyam*. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (*vikīra*) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then *apasavyam*. He says 'I shall offer food scattered near *pītrya* brāhmaṇas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the *samskāras* being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Rg. X. 15.14 'this *pīṇḍa* made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a *pīṇḍa* given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the *pītrya* brāhmaṇas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a *pavitra* with the mantra 'pavitravantah' (Rg. IX. 73. 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmaṇas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the *daiva* brāhmaṇas giving blessings as to these. Then *apasavyam*. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by *pītrya* brāhmaṇas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the *pīṇḍas* be good,' to which the *pītrya* brāhmaṇas respond 'may

1122. **कीरं मे वृत्त पितरः**—If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle *pīṇḍa* is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra **आयुस्त पितरो वर्धन्तु**. Vide note 780 for that mantra. The **आम्ब. श्री. सू. II. 7. 12-13** says 'कीरं मे वृत्त पितर इति पिण्डानां मन्त्रमम् । पत्नी यन्मन्त्रेवायुस्त ... लक्षितेति ।'.

it be so.' Then raising the *pranīṭā* ^{1122a} vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha to pitṛ, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pitṛya* brāhmanas reply 'so be it.' Then *śanyam*. The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the *daiva* brāhmanas and silver to *pitṛya* brāhmanas and the performer says 'may the *dakṣiṇās* (fees) given to the brāhmanas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).' They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word *svadhā*!' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he says 'May (the brāhmanas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word *svadhā*.' They reply 'let there be *svadhā*.' Then he should place over the *piṇḍas* sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that *svadhā* be accomplished.' They reply 'may *svadhā* be accomplished.' Then *śanyam*. Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the *Viśvedevāḥ* be pleased.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he requests 'May you declare that the *pitṛs* led by the *Vasus* be pleased'. They reply 'may the *pitṛs* be pleased.' *Śanyam*. He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the *saukalpa*' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the *saukalpa*'. He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the *pitṛs*'. They reply 'they were most excellent'. Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the *piṇḍas* he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the *Padma-purāṇa* on p.452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n. 998). The brāhmanas reply in the same words only employing the words 'you' or 'your' for 'us' or 'our'.

He says 'I shall remove the *piṇḍas*'. They reply 'do remove'. Then he repeats the verses 'Tad Viṣṇoḥ' (Rg. I. 22.20), 'Tad viprāso' (Rg. I. 22.21) and two more verses and then a Paurāṇic verse enumerating the seven holy cities of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā and Dvārakā. He says 'May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the *piṇḍas* are'. They reply 'these (peace &c.) dwell in their own places'. He says 'I shall

1122 a. For *प्रतिप्राण* vide H. of Db. vol. II. pp. 208, 1022-23.

remove the plates 'in which the brāhmanas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the *kūrca*. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8). Then *śavyam*. Then he says 'O pitṛa, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), 'śvāduṣamsadaḥ' (Rg. VI. 75. 9), 'brāhmanāsaḥ pitarāḥ' (Rg. VI. 75. 10), 'ihaiva stam' (Rg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grand-fathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa*, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gaya! May the pitṛs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmanas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this *tithi* is like a day sacred to the sun; the brāhmanas invited are like Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmanas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'Vasiṣṭhāsaḥ pitṛvad' and 'devān vasiṣṭho' (Rg. X. 66. 14-15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namah') viz. 'idam pitṛbhyo namo astvadya' (Rg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitṛs (in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro &c.'). Therefore they say "should one repeat the pitṛyā verses with āhāva mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhāva mantra separately with each verse; for it is better not to finish Pitṛyajña quickly. He who separately recites the āhāva with each verse makes the *pitṛyajña* that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhāva with each verse."¹¹²³ The conclusion is

1123. The words in the प्रयोग (p. 108a) are 'इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्योति नमस्कारवतीमन्ततः शंसति तस्मादन्ततः पितृभ्यो नमस्कृत्यते। तदाहुर्गर्गोदार्थं पित्र्याः शंसेत् अग्न्याहवार्थं इति। व्याह्वयमेव शंसेत्संस्थितं वै पितृपञ्चस्य साध्यसंस्थितं वा एव पितृपञ्चं संस्थापयति यो व्याह्वयं शंसति तस्माद् व्याह्वयमेव शंसत्यम्'। The passage इदं पितृभ्यो नमो... up to शंसत्यम् is taken verbatim from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण 13th chapter 13th khaṇḍa (end). The khaṇḍa (13) starts with the question whether the

(Continued on the next page)

one should repeat each verse with āhava separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmaṇas up to the boundary (of the village). He says 'whatever blemish there may be in *japa*, *tapas* or *śrāddha* rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmaṇas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Viṣṇu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmaṇas! may this *śrāddha*, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour'. Then he concludes 'May Janārdana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand-father and great-grand-father be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the pratisāmvatsarika-*śrāddha* of the pitrs. This is a sacrifice to the manes. *Tat sat*. May it be dedicated to Brahma.' Then he repeats the verse 'Vasat te' (Rg. VII. 99. 7) and then says 'adoration to Viṣṇu (Viṣṇave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering pindaś is stated by Bṛhaspati and Vṛddha-Parāśara as follows: If the pitrs are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of pitrs they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmaṇas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.^{1123a}

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of pratisāmvatsarika-*śrāddha* as

(Continued from the last page)

verse 'devānām patnīr' (Rg. V. 46. 6) or the rk verse referring to Rākā should be recited first in the आग्रिमाकृतज्ञान वृत्तीयसवन. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to देवपत्नीs should be recited first by the होतृ. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Rg. X. 14.4 'Imam yama prastaram') or the Pitryā verses (Rg. X. 15.1-3) should be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामी verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Rg. X. 14. 3 'Mātali kavyair') and then the pitryā verses, out of which Rg. X. 15. 2 (इहं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्तुवा) is recited last in which the word नमः occurs. आहवा means the mantra शोरेसावोरेन्. The figure 3 is a sign of the हुत accent. The sign of हुत shows deliberation. आहुः—we have to understand ब्रह्मवादिनः as the subject. Then comes the question whether the आहवा should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses or not. The conclusion is that the आहवा should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses. Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण should occur in this मन्त्रेण. The only reason appears to be that the ऐ. ब्रा. passage has something to say about पितृs and hence as this is a मन्त्रेण for पितृs it is introduced here.

1123 a. पिण्डदानकृतमाह बृहस्पतिः । अग्नौ हुतेन देवस्थाः पितृरथा द्विजतर्पणैः । नरक-
स्थाश्च वृत्त्यग्निं पिण्डैर्वसैश्चिभिर्भुवि ॥ बृहस्पतरागरोपि । ये वेष्टोक्तं पितृलोकमापुः प्राप्तास्तथैव
नरकं नरा ये । अग्नौ हुतेन द्विजयोजनेन वृत्त्यग्नु पिण्डैर्भुवि ते प्रवर्त्ते ॥ q. in पृथ्वीचन्द्र
folio 110 b.

practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. Ā. passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brāhmaṇa's feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurāṇic are the same. The blessings (śīr-vādas) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer's cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as 'annasūkta' mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse 'kāyena vācā manasendriyairvā'.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākha in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kapdikas of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha-prayoga in Halāyudha's Brāhmanasarvasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmasāstra that the procedure of pārvaṇaśrāddha followed by Mādhyandinas at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below ¹¹²⁴.

1124. देवपूर्वं आहुं पिण्डपितृयज्ञसुपचारः पिडे। द्विगुणास्तु धर्माः पवित्रपाणिर्दद्या-
दासीनः सर्वत्र। प्रश्नेषु पङ्क्तिःसूच्यं पृच्छति सर्वान्वा। आत्मेनेषु कर्मानास्तीर्य विभ्वात् देवाना-
वाहापिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञातो विभ्वे देवास आगतेत्यनयावाद्यावकीर्य विभ्वेदेवाः
हृषुतेममिति जपित्वा पितृनावाहापिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञात उज्ञातस्त्वेत्यनयावाद्याव-
कीर्य आपस्तु न इति जपित्वा यज्ञियवृक्षज्यमसेषु पवित्रास्ताहितेभ्यैकैकस्मिन्वाप आसिञ्जति इ नो
देवीरिति। एकैकस्मिन्नेव तिलानवपति तिलोसि सोमदैवयो गोसवे देवनिमित्तः। प्रत्यमग्निः
पृक्तः स्वधया पितृलोकान् पीणाहि नः स्वाहेति। सौवर्णराजतोदुम्बरलक्ष्मणमिषानां पात्राणाम-
न्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते यत्र पुष्टेऽपि वैकैकस्यैकैकेन वदाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु वा द्विष्या आपः
पयसा सम्भृष्टपुर्यां अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थवीर्याः। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आपः शिवाः
इं रयोनाः सुहवा भवन्त्विति। असावेव तेऽर्घ्यं इति। प्रथमे पात्रे संज्ञवास्तमवनीय पितृगवः
स्थानमसीति मृगजं पात्रे निदधाति। अत्र गन्धपुष्पदीपवासतां च यदाजय। उद्धृत्य वृत्ताक-
मर्चं पृच्छत्यग्नी करिष्य इति। कुड्मैत्यनुज्ञातः पिण्डपितृयज्ञसुपचारः हुतशेषं दत्त्वा पात्रमालय
जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं पौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य हृत्से अद्भुते अद्भुतं जुहोमि स्वाहेति। वैष्णव्यवर्णा
यजुषा बाहुभूमौऽनवाद्यापहता इति तिलाग्न्यकीर्य उष्णं शिवस्तमर्चं वृष्याच्छरया वा। अद्भुतं
जपेच्च व्याहृतिपूर्वा मायर्था सप्रणवां सकृद्विवां राक्षोर्हीः पित्र्यमग्न्यान् पुबधचक्रमभितरेथमग्न्यानि
च पवित्राणि। वृत्ताञ्जाल्याऽर्चं मकीर्य सकृत्सकृदप्ये दत्त्वा पूर्ववदावर्त्ती जपित्वा मधुमतीर्मधु
मधिति च। वृत्ताः रथेति पृच्छति। वृत्ताः स्मेत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमग्नमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमग्नमेकतोद्धृत्यो-

(Continued on the next page)

"The pārvana-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Piṇḍapitryajña^{1124a}. In the rites for the pitṛs double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Vaiśvadevika rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as pitṛya rites) wears a *pavitra* and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmaṇa in daiva rites and to the best pitṛya brāhmaṇa in pitṛya rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all). Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmaṇas occupy them), he puts the question 'sha! I invoke the Viśvedevas (to the daiva brāhmaṇa)'. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra¹¹²⁵ 'Viśve devāsa āgata' (Vāj. S. 7. 34 'Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass'). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmaṇas), mutters a mantra 'Viśvedevāḥ śruputemam' (Vāj. S. 33. 53, 'Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine'). After this *japa* he asks (the pitṛya brāhmaṇas) 'I shall invoke the pitṛs'. When permitted (by the pitṛya brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes them with the mantra 'uśantas tvā' (Vāj. S. 19. 70, 'O Agni! we longing for our fathers place you down' &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

(Continued from the last page)

विष्टुष्टमीये दर्भेषु बीर्लीम्पिष्ठानवनेज्य दद्यादाचान्नेदित्येके । आचान्नेदृदकं पुष्पाप्यक्षता-
क्षत्योदकं च दद्यात् । अथोताः पितरः सन्तु सन्तित्युक्ते गोत्रं नो वर्धतां वर्धतामित्युक्ते-दातारो
नोभिषर्धतां देवाः सन्ततिरेव च । अद्वा च नो मा वयमद्वा देवं च नोस्तिस्त्वाक्षिषः मतिरुद्ध
स्वधावाचनीयारुतपात्रिन्त्र कुशानास्तीर्य स्वधां वाचयिष्ये इति पुच्छति । वाचयतामित्यनुज्ञातः
पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः प्रमातामहेभ्यो ब्रह्मप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोव्यता-
मिति । अस्तु स्वधेत्युच्यमाने स्वधावाचनीयेष्वप्यो निषिञ्जत्यूर्जमिति । उत्तानं पात्रं कृत्वा यथा-
शक्तिं दक्षिणां दद्याद् आह्वानेभ्यो विभ्रे देवाः प्रोयन्तामिति क्षेत्रे वाचयित्वा वाजे वाजेऽवतेति
विष्टुज्या मा वाजस्वेत्यनुब्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् ।

1124 a. पिण्डपि ... चारः—so the result is: अपराहः कालः, आद्रकर्तुः प्राचीना-
वीतिता, दक्षिणाभिष्टुक्षता, वामजाग्रुनिपातः, विष्टुतीर्थ, अमादक्षिण्यं, दक्षिणापवर्गता, दर्भणां
दक्षिणाग्रता चेत्यादयः पैतृकाः धर्माः. From this it follows that in वैश्वदेविकमाह्वानो-
पचार there are यज्ञोपवीतिता, कर्तृवद्वृक्षता, दक्षिणजाग्रुनिपातः, क्षेत्रतीर्थ, प्रादक्षिण्यं,
उद्धपवर्गता, वामग्रता चेत्यादयो वैश्विकधर्माः. There are of course a few exceptions
to the first part, such as दक्षिणादान, स्तोत्रजप and विमविस्मर्जन.

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.

grains in front of the pitrya brāhmanas) and mutters the mantra 'a yantu naḥ pitarāḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58, 'May the soma-loving pitrs come to us' &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12, 'May the divine waters be for our happiness' &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra 'Thou art Tila ¹¹²⁶ &c.'. He offers on the hands of each of the brāhmanas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra 'yā divyā ¹¹²⁷ āpaḥ &c.'. The water is offered in the words 'O father' N. N. by name, this is *arghya* for you' (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels ¹¹²⁸ for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words 'thou art a place for the pitrs'. Then (at this stage) *ganḍha* ¹¹²⁹ (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brāhmanas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks 'I shall perform *agnau-karaṇa*'. Being permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do so', he offers into (grhya) fire oblations ¹¹³⁰ as in *Pipda-*

1126. तिलोति. This mantra occurs in आश्व. सू. सू. quoted in note 966 above. हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that यवस are to be scattered with the mantra 'यवोऽस्ति यवयास्मद् द्वयो यवयारातीः' (वाज. सं. 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अवहता अमुरा रकोति वेदिवदः (वाज. सं. 2.29). Vide वा. I, 230.

1127. For the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या etc.' vide note 966 above.

1128. There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels; drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel. रघुनन्दन adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व explains 'तत्र यः पितरस्तिष्ठन्तीति वृद्धस्पतिः। आहुतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः आहुदेयताः'.

1129. रघुनन्दन adds 'गन्धादीनां वृद्धभिर्देवाग्निमित्तानामेव तन्त्रेण पित्रादिक-मुद्दिश्य उःसर्गः'.

1130. Both हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that the two मन्त्रस in अग्नीकरण are 'ओं अग्नये कण्वयाहुमाय स्वाहा, ओं सोमाय वितुमते स्वाहा'.

pitrayajña, having served (into all the plates for all the brāhmanas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra 'The earth is thy vessel &c.' (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making pinḍas later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food with a ṛk (Rg. I. 22. 17, 'idam Viṣṇur vicakrame') addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed ('Viṣṇo kavyamidam rakṣasva'). Then he scatters about (yavas before daiva brāhmanas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra 'apahatā asurā rakṣāṃsi vedisadaḥ' (Vaj. 8. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform *japa* of the following¹¹³¹, viz. the sacred Gāyatri once or thrice preceded by *om* and the vyāhṛtis, the verses called Rakṣoghni (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitṛs (Rg. X. 15. 1-13 beginning with 'udiratām-avara ut parāśah'), Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16), Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13) beginning with 'āsuḥ śiśanaḥ') and other holy texts. Then finding that the brāhmanas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brāhmanas, he should give to each brāhmana water once (for *apōtana* at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatri, the (three) Madhumati verses (Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and the word 'madhu' (thrice). Then he asks 'are you satiated'. Being permitted by them in the words 'we are satiated', he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make pinḍas from it); he offers (two sets of three pinḍas, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where¹¹³² the brāhmanas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the pinḍas for ablution¹¹³³. Some authors say that pinḍas are to

1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for *japa* are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उच्यते समीपे-ब्रह्मचर notes 'ब्राह्मणानामवतोऽं मकिरेविति कर्काचार्याः। पङ्क्ति-मूर्धन्यरयोत्तरदिग्भावे अरत्निभावे विकिरं दृष्टादिति हेमाद्रिः'.

1133. एकतोद्गुरय is grammatically irregular; It should be एकत उद्गुरय. The पिण्डas are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (सप्तस्रीक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives. The formula would be; अनुकरोष्व (Continued on the next page)

be offered after the brāhmaṇas perform *ācamana* at the end of the dinner. After they perform *ācamana* he gives to the brāhmaṇas water, flowers, *akṣatas* and *akṣayyodaka* ¹¹³⁴. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays 'may the pitrs be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us'. The brāhmaṇas reply 'may they be so'. He prays 'May our family prosper'. They reply 'may it be so'. He prays 'May donors increase in our family'. They reply 'let it be so'. He prays 'May Vedas and our progeny prosper'. The reply is 'May they do so'. He says 'May faith not depart from me'; they say 'May it not depart'. He says 'May we possess many things that we can donate'. They reply 'so be it'. After receiving these blessings he spreads kuśas called *svadhāvācaniya* ^{1134a} together with pavitras (on the ground near the piṇḍas or, on the piṇḍas themselves according to Devayājñika and others); he asks (all the brāhmaṇas or the most eminent one) 'shall I request you to utter the word *svadhā*'. Being permitted by them in the words 'May *svadhā* be recited' he prays 'May there be *svadhā* to the pitrs, to the grandfathers, to the great-grand-fathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-great-grandfather'. When the brāhmaṇas reply 'May there be *svadhā*' he sprinkles water over the *svadhāvācaniya* darbhas with the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmaṇas *dakṣiṇā* according to his ability. He should make the daiva brāhmaṇas repeat 'May all the gods be pleased'. He should then dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmaṇas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

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अस्मात्पितरमुकसमन् सपत्नीकं बहुकूप एतत्सेऽन्नं स्वधा । इदममुकगोत्रावास्मात्पित्रेऽमुकसमन्ने सपत्नीकाय बहुकूपाय न नमः । The same formula with appropriate changes is to be employed for पितामह, मातामह, etc. Some writers proposed that nine piṇḍas may be offered, three to पितृवर्ग, three to मातृवर्ग and three to मातामहवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for मातृवर्ग should be drawn to the west of the one for पितृवर्ग and another line to the west of the one for मातृवर्ग for मातामहवर्ग and विष्णु should be offered in that order.

1134. On अक्षयोदक, ब्रह्मधर explains 'अक्षयोदकसम्यगेन दत्ताक्षयान्नेदेवानस्त्य-मार्थनसम्बन्धि जलमभिधीयते । तत्र पितृमातृगणेश्वर एवेति कर्कः । सर्वेभ्यो दद्यादिति स्मृत्यर्थतरे ।'

1134 a. सपत्निनाम् कुसनास्तीर्य-कर्क and ब्रह्मधर explain 'सपत्निनाम्सामानि-त्यर्थः ।'

It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvaṇaśrāddha based on the Brāhmaṇasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Raghunandana's Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva the following details are added after the piṇḍas are placed on the darbhas and before the dismissal of the brāhmaṇas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pīṭṛs, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pīṭṛs regaled themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens ¹¹³⁵ the side of his *dhōṭī* which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i. e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra ¹¹³⁶ 'Namo vaḥ pīṭaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II. 32). He smells ¹¹³⁷ the piṇḍas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'ādhatta' (Vāj. S. II. 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvaṇaśrāddha among Hiraṇyakeśins in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āśv. Gr. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Saṃskāratnamālā of Gopīnātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards. But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than piṇḍa-pīṭṛ-yajña) to be performed on amāvāsya, viz. *māsi-śrāddha* and *māsika-śrāddha*, the first being described by the Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin and the second by the Grhyasūtra. Gopīnātha further says that māsikaśrāddha is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Grhyasūtra and māsiśrāddha is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmasāstras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāmvatsarika-śrāddha, that Darśaśrāddha itself is māsi-śrāddha (p. 988) and that māsika-śrāddha may be performed on each *darśa* or on any one darśa day in a year and that māsi-śrāddha follows immediately after Piṇḍapīṭṛyajña as

1135. About जीवीपितृभ्यः, vide शतपथ q. in n. 960a. हज्जयाज्ञवल्क्य says 'दाक्षिणे कविशेने तु तिलैः सह कुशमयम् ।'

1136. नमो वः पितरो रसाय-vide note 963 above. हज्जयाज्ञवल्क्य (बभ्रुर्वैदिकशास्त्रम्) remarks that in नमो वः पितरो रसाय...सम्बन्धे he offers obeisance to the pīṭṛs (identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vaḥ pīṭarah' (Vāj. S. 2.32) he offers namaskāra to the pīṭṛs as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pīṭṛs to bestow on them a house in the words 'namo vo grhān naḥ pīṭaro datta' Vāj. S. 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III. 218 अवाजिमेव तान् पिच्छान् and note 960 towards the end.

laid down by Manu (III 122) and *māsikaśrāddha* may be performed after *māsiśrāddha*. In modern times no one performs *māsiśrāddha* or *māsikaśrāddha* strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. *Śrāddha* is supposed to be performed by feeding a *brāhmaṇa* and giving him a *dakṣiṇā* of a few *annas*. The *Śrāddhatattva* (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting Matsya and Bhaviṣya, that, if a person is unable to perform a *pārvaṇaśrāddha* every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of Kanya, Kumbha and Vṛṣabha and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of Kanya.

The two meanings of *sapinda* given by the Mit. and the *Dayabhāga* have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 452-458 and pp. 472-477. The *Dayabhāga* propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of *śrāddhas* and the offering of *pinḍas* was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased's wealth. The Mit. said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the Mit. whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yāj. II 51) and to offer *śrāddha* and *pinḍa* to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 734-745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the *pinḍas* when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer *pinḍas*¹¹³⁸. It was argued in *Nalinaksha v. Rajani Kanto* 35 C. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer *pinḍas* or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the *Dayabhāga* not on offering *pinḍa* but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide *Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal* 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and *Digamber v. Motilal* 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-

1138. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 740 and note 1431.

heritance propounded in the *Dāyabhāga*. But in certain later cases such as *Akshaya-chandra v. Hari Das* 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a *quasi* contract and affection.

The question about how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The Āśv.¹¹³⁹ Śr. S. (II 6. 16-23) first sets out the views of Gāṇagāri, Taulvali and Gautama and then refutes them. Gāṇagāri held that out of the three paternal ancestors pīṇḍas should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the śrāddha rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; Taulvali opined that pīṇḍas should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of śrāddha they are only a secondary matter (a detail). Gautama thought that pīṇḍas should be offered to dead ancestors, upto three from the father if the latter was living, from the grandfather if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. Āśv. replies; one cannot offer pīṇḍas to three ancestors¹¹⁴⁰ beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no *adhikāra* to do so; one cannot offer pīṇḍas to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer *homa* into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three pīṇḍas must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The *Kātyāyana śr.*¹¹⁴¹ sūtra provides

1139. तस्मै तस्मै च एषा प्रेताः स्मरन्ति वाण्यारिः प्रत्यक्षपितृपुत्रस्यैव तदर्थत्वात् । सर्वेषु एव निष्पृणीयादिति तौत्वात्तः क्रियायुजत्वात् । अपि जीवान्त एव अत्र त्रिग्यः प्रेतैः एव निष्पृणीयादिति यौतव्यः क्रिया कार्यकारित । उपायविशेषो जीवसुतानाम् । न परंपरोऽनधिकारात् । न प्रत्यक्षम् । न जीवैः च निष्पृणीयात् । न जीवान्तरहितेभ्यः । अनुवाक्यविशेषः । सर्वहुतं सर्वजीविनः । आन्व. श्रौ. II. 6. 16-23.

1140. One can offer pīṇḍas only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and Manu IX. 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer pīṇḍa to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

1141. प्रेतैः च जीवैश्च । जीवत्यनुकोपि । जीवान्तरहितेभ्यः । जीवपितृकृत्य होमान्तमनारम्भो वा । न व्यक्तेः आपृकृष्यो न जीवान्तरहितेभ्यः । कारया. श्रौ. सू. IV. 1. 23-27. Vide also *Śāṅkhya* श्रौ. सू. IV. 4. 12-15 for similar rules.

that pīṇḍas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform *homa* (into fire, but no pīṇḍadāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of pīṇḍa-pitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha); that *Jātukarṇya* prescribes that no pīṇḍadāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer pīṇḍas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' *Manu* (III. 220-222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer pīṇḍas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmaṇa and offer pīṇḍas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a pīṇḍa only to the father and the great-grandfather (i. e. only two pīṇḍas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmaṇa invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer pīṇḍas to father, great-grandfather and great-grandfather. The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the *Purāṇas* such as *Skanda* VI 225.24-25, *Agni* 117.58-59 deal with this matter. *Gobhila-smṛti* (II. 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below.¹¹⁴² Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz. the *Mit.* on *Yaj.* I. 254, *Kalpataru* (śr. pp. 240 ff), *Śr. K. K.* pp. 552-556 and *Nirpayasindhu* (III. pp. 499-503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The *Kalpataru* (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive; (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer pīṇḍas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers pīṇḍas; (*Manu*, III, 220, *Viṣṇu Dh.* S. 75.1); (2) he should simply offer *homa* into fire as stated in *Āśv. Śr. S.* quoted above; (3) he should not engage in the rite of pīṇḍapitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha at all (*Gobhila-smṛti* II. 93). The *Nirpayasindhu* says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the *Kali* age and

1142. सपितुः पितृकुलवेत्तु अधिकारो न विद्यते । न जीवन्ममतिक्रम्य किंचिद् दद्यादिति श्रुतिः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 93, q. by आ. क्रि. को. p. 552. Compare कारवा. ओ. ह. १, in note 1141.

that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvaṇaśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers pindas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with pindadāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as *gandha*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*) and offer pindas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer pindas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer pindas to the same three ancestors. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. extends the procedure about 'jīvatpitrka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary).^{1142a} Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāṇa 117.60 'evam mātṛādikasyāpi tathā mātāmahādike').

It is provided by Gobhilaśmṛiti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of *anukalpa* (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out.¹¹⁴³ If a person cannot secure several brāhmaṇas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvaṇa-śrāddha in which six pindas are to be offered with a single brāhmaṇa, provided he is *pañkti-pāvana*¹¹⁴⁴ (sanctifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, *naivedya* should be offered in place of the dinner

1142 a. मातामहानामप्येवं आर्द्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोद्देशेन यथाग्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्रवर्जितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75.8. मन्त्रोद्देशेन—This is to be understood as follows: “*सुन्धस्तां गितरः*” इत्यादौ सुन्धस्तां मातामहा इत्यादिपदकोषेण । शेषाणां पितृव्यमातुलादीनां मन्त्रवर्जितं आवाहनादिमन्त्रवर्जितं कुर्यादित्यर्थः ।” पृष्ठदीप्ति. folio 222 a.

1143. चरितार्थो क्वातिः कार्यो यस्मादप्यनुकल्पतः । अतो देवं यथाशक्ति आर्द्धकाले समागते ॥ कात्यायन p. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1522). The first half occurs in गोभिल-स्मृति III. 157, but the 2nd half is different.

1144. भोजयेदप्यप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पक्वपावनम् । देवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्दद्यात् तु तत्क्षिपेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.10: हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1524) reads पश्चात्तस्य तु निर्धेयम्.

to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śaṅkha 14.10. If even a single brāhmaṇa cannot be had for a pārvapaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmaṇa students (*baṭu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvapaśrāddha.¹¹⁴⁵

When one cannot secure a brāhmaṇa nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains).¹¹⁴⁶ This is stated by the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 206. 52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāṇa 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanapārijāta (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhikāra* for pārvapaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Hārta says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of *māsika* and *sāmvatsarika* śrāddhas.¹¹⁴⁷ Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for *sūdras*. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmaṇas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemādri, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides¹¹⁴⁸ that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*¹¹⁴⁹

1145. निधाय वा दर्भचूनासनेषु समाहितः। वैशाखैषसंपुक्तं विधानं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ देवल q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1526), आ. क्रि. को. p. 89 (ascribes to सत्यव्रत and reads निधायय दर्भचयम्).

1146. द्रव्याभावे द्विजाभावे यवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमआहुं प्रकुर्वीत यस्य भार्या रज-स्वला ॥ स्कन्ध VII. 1. 206. 52, quoted as व्यास's in स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492); आपद्य-न्यौ तीर्थे च यवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमआहुं प्रकुर्वीत भार्यारक्षसि संक्रमे ॥ कात्या. q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 462, नव. पा. p. 480; कल्पतरु p. 234 explains 'अनग्निश्चात्र पाक-समर्थाग्निरहितः। न पुनरग्निरिनाहितान्निः।'.

1147. आहुतिष्ठे द्विजातीनाममआहुं प्रकीर्तितम्। अमाशस्यादि नियतं मास-संवत्सराद्वे ॥ हारीत q. by अपराक p. 468, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492), आ. क्रि. को. p. 26 (लघुहारीत).

1148. आमं ददाद्धि कौन्तेय तद्वानं द्विगुणं भवेत्। त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणं वापि न त्वेकगुणम-प्येत् ॥ व्यास q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1528).

1149. आवाहने रथाकारे मन्त्रा जप्या विसर्जने। अग्न्यकर्मण्यद्वयः स्मुरामआहुं निधिः स्मृतः ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1529), स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492) ascribes to मरीचि and explains "रथाकारे 'नमो वः पितर इवे' इत्यादिमन्त्रे इव इतिपदस्थाने आम-इत्यायेत्युक्तेः ॥".

svadhākāra and dismissal of the brāhmaṇas had to be changed e. g. in *avāhana* the verse employed is 'usantastvā' (Vāj. S. 19.70) which ends with the words 'haviṣe attave' (which means 'in order to eat the *havis*') the words 'haviṣe svikartave' would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, *ekoddiṣṭa* in the noon, the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* in the afternoon and *vrddhiśrāddha* in the first part of the day (divided into five).^{1149a}

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform *hemaśrāddha* (*śrāddha* with money). When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmaṇas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and śūdras *hemaśrāddha* is allowed or when one's wife is in her monthly illness. In *āmaśrāddha* twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in *hemaśrāddha* four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digests prescribe several modes which have already been set out above (vide p. 425, n. 955).

1149 a. अमश्राद्धं तु पूर्वाह्णे एकोदिष्टं तु मध्यतः । पार्वणं चापराह्णे तु पातवृद्धि-
निमित्तकम् ॥ इति and इतिताप q. in अपराह्णे p. 468, पृथ्वीच. folio 124a.

CHAPTER X

EKODDIṢṬA AND OTHER ŚRĀDDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.¹¹⁵⁰ The word Ekoddiṣṭa means 'that in which only one deceased person'¹¹⁵¹ is intended (to be invoked or benefited). The Pārvaṇaśrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddiṣṭa. In Śān. gr. IV. 2, Baud. gr. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kāṇḍikā 4), and Yāj. I. 251-252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out.¹¹⁵² In this śrāddha only one *arghya* is offered, there is only one *pavitra* and only one *pinḍa* is offered, there is no *ūvāhana* (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no *agnau-kṛāṇa*, there are no brāhmaṇas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svaditam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmaṇas reply with 'susvaditam' (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formula here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person); when the brāhmaṇas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III. 13. 23-26) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 8-11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śān. gr. (IV. 2. 7),¹¹⁵³

1150. अथेत्यनेनेकोद्विहस्य पार्वणानन्तर्याभिधानं तयोः प्रकृतिविकृतित्वं सूचयति । आहृतत्वं p. 244.

1151. एक उद्विष्टो यस्मिन् आह्वे तवेकोद्विष्टमिति कर्मनामधेयम् । मित्ता. on ya. I. 251 ; elsewhere it says 'तत्र त्रिपुरषोद्विष्टो न यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्, एकपुरुषोद्विष्टो न क्रियमाणनेकोद्विष्टम्' । मित्ता. on ya. I. 217. हलापुत्र (folio 32 b) on आहृतत्वं says 'एकोत्र संपदानत्वेनोद्विष्ट इति' ।

1152. अपैकोद्विष्टेषु नाग्नौकरणं नाभिआवर्णं न पूर्वं निमन्त्रणं न देवं न धूपं न दीपं न स्वधा न नमस्कारो नावापुषम् । शौ. शु. सू. III. 12. 6.†

1153. अथैकोद्विष्टम् । एकोऽर्थे एकं पञ्चमेकः पिण्डो नावाहनं नाग्नौकरणं नात्र विश्वे-देवाः स्वदितमिति वृत्तिमश्रुः सुस्वदितमिति तरे बहुवचनित्वमिदं पश्यानेऽभिरक्षमांति विसर्गोऽभिरताः सम इतीतरे । आहृतत्वं 4 (कात्यायनीय). Almost the same words occur in कौपीनकियुक्त 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The यजुर्वेदे आहृतत्वं (Jiv. II. p. 495) explains 'एकं एकद्वलस्यं पञ्चम्' ।

Manu III 257, Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 11), Yāj. I 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapindi-karana śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the *preta* every month. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (ūha) should be made in the mantras employed (e. g. instead of 'ātra pitaro mādayadhvam' the mantra should be 'ātra pitarmādayasva' (O father! ¹¹⁵⁴regale thyself here). In Ekoddīṣṭa such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitr' is not to be employed (till sapindi-karana is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Śaunaka-gr̥hyaparīṣiṣṭa). ¹¹⁵⁵

As seen above (p. 262, note 591a) Ekoddīṣṭa śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamiśra and purāṇa. Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamiśras (or miśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra ¹¹⁵⁶ that Ekoddīṣṭa-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Kātyāyana that (ekoddīṣṭa) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāṇi' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p. 262 note 593. The Skandapurāṇa VI (Nāgarakhanda) 205. 1-4 and Garuḍapurāṇa (pretakhanda 5. 67-69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवस्मन्त्रानुहेतैकोद्विहे । विष्णुध. सू. 21. 2. On this the दीपकलिका explains "अत्र पितरो मादयध्वमिति बहुवचनान्तेषु अत्र पितर्मादयस्व इति एकवचनेनोद्धार्यः".

1155. ये च स्वामनु इत्यादि मन्त्रो न युज्यते । पितृसन्ध्यं न कुर्वीत नमो वः पितर इत्यादि मन्त्रं न पठेत् । कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 246. -

1156. तत्र त्र्याम्नः । एकादशे चतुर्थे च मासि मासि च वत्सरम् । प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैव मेकोद्विहं वृताहनि ॥ कात्यायनः । आश्विनमग्निमतः कार्यं दाहादेकादशेऽहनि । प्रुवाणि तु प्रकुर्वीत प्रदीताहनि सर्वदा ॥ अपरार्क p. 521. This last is योमितस्त्विति III. 66 which reads मःपयविकं प्रकुर्वीत .

Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a *preta* and a *piśūca*.¹¹⁵⁷ There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including sapindīkaraṇa among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. Gobhilaśmṛti III. 67 enumerates¹¹⁵⁸ the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the *tithi* of death), the first (i. e. the śrāddha on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the *tithi* of death and sapindīkaraṇa are the sixteen śrāddhas. The Garuḍapurāṇa¹¹⁵⁹ refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the Padmapurāṇa¹¹⁶⁰ enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the *tithi* of death). The Kalpataru p. 25 and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Aparārka (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the *tithi* of death¹¹⁶¹). Laugākṣi and

1157. यस्मैतानि न दीयन्ते भेतआद्यानि षोडश। पिशाचत्वं भूयं तस्य दुःखैः आद्य-
शरीरैः ॥ यम q. by आ. क्रि. को. p. 362. The same verse occurs in गरुडपुराण
(भेतखण्ड 5. 50-51), लिखितस्मृति 16 (reads यस्मैतानि न कुर्वन्ति एकोद्विद्वानि), लघुशास्त्र
13 (with variations), पद्म (सुद्विखण्ड 47. 272 reads न सन्तीह यथाशक्त्या च आद्याः)।
The verse is quoted by the मिता. on पा. I. 254 (reading न दत्तानि आद्यानि and भेतत्वं
सुखिणं तस्य). भेतलोके तु वसतिर्दूणा वर्षं प्रकीर्तता। क्षुण्ण्ये प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेत्ता भृत्यमग्नं ॥
मार्कण्डेयः q. by मिता. on पा. I. 253.

1158. द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आद्यवाण्मासिके तथा। सपिण्डीकरणं चैव एतद् आद्य-
षोडशम् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 67. The word आद्य has been explained by पा. I. 256
as सुतेहनि प्रकृत्यं प्रतिमासं तु वत्सरम्। प्रतिवत्सरं चैव माघमेकादशेऽहनि ॥ on which
the मिता. says 'आद्यं सर्वकोटिद्वयकृतिभूतमेकोद्विद्वमेकादशेऽहनि'। गरुड (पितृ 5.51) says:
एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तितम्। But अपरार्क p. 543 explains आद्य differently
'आद्यशब्देन नवआद्यान्युच्यते'। वाण्मासिके is explained by गोभिलस्मृति III. 68 as
एकाहिनं तु वण्मासा यदा स्थुरपि वा त्रिभिः। न्यूनाः संवत्सराश्चैव स्यातां वाण्मासिके तथा ॥ q.
by अपरार्क p. 522, आ. क्रि. को. p. 338 and explained as 'एकेमाह्वा त्रिभिर्वा अहोभिर्वैवा
वण्मासा न्यूनाः स्युः संवत्सरश्च तावत्संख्यया न्यूनास्ति तथा वाण्मासिके आद्ये कार्ये इत्यर्थः'.

1159. द्वादशाहे त्रिपक्षे च वण्मासे मासिकेऽग्निद्वे। तुतीयां षोडशीमेतां वदन्ति मत्तमेवतः
गरुड (पितृखण्ड 5.49-50); the other two groups are at chap. 35. 33-36 and in 37.

1160. चतुर्थाहे त्रिपक्षे च वण्मासे चाग्निद्वे तथा। द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आद्याण्ये-
तानि षोडश। पद्म, सुद्विखण्ड 5. 271.

1161. अष्टपुराणे। दूणां तु त्यक्तदेशानां आद्याः षोडश सर्वदा। चतुर्थे पक्षमे चैव नवमे-
कादशे तथा। ततो द्वादशभिर्मसैः आद्या द्वादशसंख्यया। q. by अपरार्क p. 523.

others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas sapinḍana should be performed.¹¹⁶² The Madanapārijāta (p. 615), the Nirṇaya-sindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic Śākha or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas. One view espoused by Śāṅkha and Paitṥīnasi was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddiṣṭa) was to be performed on the expiry of āsauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uśanas¹¹⁶³ that by the fact of their taking to the order of *sannyāsa* (of the ekadaṇḍi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being *preta*, no Ekoddiṣṭa nor Sapinḍikaraṇa should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvanaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śātātapa provides¹¹⁶⁴ that no Ekoddiṣṭa, no water, no pinḍa and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvana-śrāddha should be performed. Pracetas quoted by Mit. on Yāj. I. 256 states that no ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapinḍikaraṇa, but only pārvana on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāṇa (Kailāsa-saṃhitā) chapters 22 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic's death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words 'pitr' and 'svadhā namaḥ' are

1162. आहुतानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सपिण्डनम्। लौगाक्षि q. by मिता. on वा. I. 255, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 599, भट्टोजि on ऋतुविंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 168; ascribed to बाबु-पुराण by अपरार्क p. 532; सपिण्डीकरणाद्वर्षात् कुर्याद्वाह्यानि षोडश। एकोद्विंशतिनामेन कुर्यात्सर्वाणि तानि तु q. by अपरार्क p. 522.

1163. एकोद्विंशं न कुर्यात् यस्मिन् नैव सर्वदा। अह्न्येकादशे प्राप्ते पार्वणे तु विधीयते॥ सपिण्डीकरणं तेषां न कर्तव्यं सुतादिभिः। त्रिदण्डग्रहणादेव प्रेतत्वं नैव जायते॥ उशनसः q. by मिता. on वा. I. 255, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 458, आ. कि. को. pp. 444-445.

1164. एकोद्विंशं जलं पिण्डमासीत् प्रेतसत्किंचित्। न कुर्याद्धार्षिकादप्यहं ब्रह्मभूता हि ते स्मृताः॥ शातातप q. by मङ्ग. वा. p. 627, आ. कि. को. p. 445, अपरार्क p. 538 (reads पार्वणादप्यहं ब्रह्मभूतापि भिक्षवे).

omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no *japa* and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brāhmaṇas. As stated in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called *ekoddīṣṭa*. It follows that the rites called *navasrāddhas* offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and *piṇḍa* are offered (and not in the house); vide Sm. C. (āśauca p. 176). In the *navamītra* śrāddha mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform *Sapindikarāṇa*. In former times it was laid down (e. g. by the Mit.) that in times of difficulty, *Sapindikarāṇa* should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

Sapindikarāṇa or Sapindana is the reception of a deceased person into the community of *pitṛs* to whom *piṇḍas* are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc. to the *Kaṣṭhaki* gr. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The *Bhāradvāja*¹¹⁶⁵ gr. (III. 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The *Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra* II. 12.1 mentions five times for *sapindikarāṇa* viz. one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The *Garudapurāṇa* (Pretakhaṇḍa 6. 53-54) states the time of *Sapindikarāṇa* to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about *sapindikarāṇa* (which is an *ekoddīṣṭa* śrāddha). *Aparārka* (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an *āhitāgni* viz. 12th day, some day between the end of *āśauca* and the first *amāvāsyā* (after death) or the first *amāvāsyā* after *āśauca* ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz. a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The *Madanapārijāta* quotes a verse of *Vyāsa* that the 12th day is

1165. संवत्सरे सपिण्डीकरणमेकादशे मासि षष्ठे चतुर्थे द्वादशेहनि । भारद्वाजसूत्र III. 17.1 : आनम्यपात्कुलधर्मोणां पुलां चैवायुषः कृत्वात् । अस्थिरत्वाच्छरीरस्य द्वादशाहो मक्षरयते ॥ व्यास q. by मद्र. पा. p. 631, आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 350 (ascribes to व्यास), वृद्धीच. folio 237 a (ascribes to व्यास), मद्रोजि p. 176 of चतुर्विंशतिः, आश्वलायन p. 301.

commended (for the sapindana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man's life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapindi-karana (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhila laid down that after Sapindi-karana was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p. 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of skoddiṣṭa śrāddhas. Bhaṭṭoji says ¹¹⁶⁶ that when sapindi-karana is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapindi-karana, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapindi-karana is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmaṇa for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the *navaiśrāddhas*, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapindi-karana must be performed by one alone ¹¹⁶⁷ (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir ¹¹⁶⁸.

The procedure of Sapindana or Sapindi-karana is described in numerous works such as the Śān. gr. V. 9, Kauṣṭaki gr. IV. 2, Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana (kāṇḍikā 5), Yāj. I. 253-254, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13.27 ff., Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 12-23, Padma (Śrīstikhanda 10. 22-33), Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 12-18, Garuḍa-purāṇa I. 220, Viṣṇu-dharmottara II. 77, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 57-58, Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here. ¹¹⁶⁹ As said by Baud.

1166. यदा संवत्सरपूर्ते प्रागेव सपिण्डीकरणं कियते तदा यद्यपि षोडश आद्यानि ततः प्रागेव कृतानि-आद्यानि षोडशादृशानि न कुर्यात् सपिण्डीकरणम्—इति बृहस्पतिश्लोके, तथापि स्वकाले पुनरपि मासिकादीन्यावर्त्तनीयानि । अहोनि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 171.

1167. नवआर्द्धं सपिण्डीकरणं आद्यान्यपि च षोडश । एकैवैव हि कार्याणि सांभिक-धनेष्वपि ॥ उशानस्य q. by अपरार्क p. 524, मित्त. on य. I. 255 (without name). This verse is मरुहपुराण, प्रेत. 34. 128-129.

1168. अर्वाक् संवत्सरात्सर्वे कुर्युः आर्द्धं समेत्य वै । संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु कुर्युः आर्द्धं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ पथेतस्य q. by अपरार्क p. 524.

1169. The संकल्प in सपिण्डीकरणं will be somewhat as follows: अमुकगोत्रस्या-मुकशर्मणः प्रेतस्य प्रेतस्वनिवृत्त्या पितृलोकप्राप्त्यर्थममुकगोत्रैः अमुकशर्मभिर्विदुष्वदित्य-स्वस्त्वैः प्रेतपितृपितामहमपितामहेः सह सपिण्डीकरणं कृताहारं द्वादशोऽङ्गं पार्श्वेकोटिद्व-विधिना करिष्ये ।

Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12.12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmaṇas the previous day, there is agnaukarana, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is *svadhā* and also *namaskāra*. Four vessels for *arghya* should be got ready and filled with sandal-wood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the *preta*) and three for his paternal ancestors; two *daiva* brāhmaṇas should be invited, one to represent the *preta* and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the *preta*; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmaṇas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the *preta* and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request 'I shall unite the vessel for the *preta* with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors.' When permitted in the words 'do unite', he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* and distribute the rest of the water from the *preta* vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras^{1169a} 'ye samāna' (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). *Arghya* is offered to the brāhmaṇa representing the *preta* with the water that remains in the *preta* vessel, *arghya* is offered to the three *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas from the three *pitṛya* vessels. Four *pinḍas* should be prepared, one for the *preta* and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests 'I shall unite the *pretapinḍa* with the *pinḍas* for the three ancestors of his'; when permitted in the words 'do unite', the performer divides the *pretapinḍa* into three parts and puts each third into each of the three *pinḍas* with the same two mantras (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). The Garudapurāṇa (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the *pretapinḍa* is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the *pinḍas* for *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha* only.

1169 a. The two mantras are: ये समानाः समनसः पितरो यमराज्ये । तेषां लोकः स्वधा नमो यज्ञो देवेषु कल्पताम् ॥ ये समानाः समनसो जीवा जीवेषु मामकाः । तेषां श्रीमयि कल्पतामस्मिँल्लोके शतं समाः ॥ वाज. सं. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38. 23-24. भारद्वाज-युक्ता III. 17 sets out the following formula for तिलप्रदान 'ये समाना ये सजाता इति द्वायामसौ पितृभिः पितामहोभिः प्रपितामहोभिः सदैव तत्ते तिलोर्बकं तस्मै ते स्वधा नम इति तिलो-वकप्रदानम् ॥'. In place of असौ one has to use the vocative 'अस्मत्पितरह्युक्तयोश्चा-हुकशमैव मेत'. पितामहोभिः and प्रपितामहोभिः are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).

Sapindikarāṇa partakes of the character of both ekoddīṣṭa and pārvana, the first applying to the *preta* and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the *preta*, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapindikarāṇa rite is completed by the giving of dakṣiṇā to the brāhmaṇas, then the *preta* ceases to be so and himself becomes a *pitr*. The status of being a *preta* involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a *pitr* means being brought in contact with the śrāddha *devatās* called Vasu, Rudra and Āditya.¹¹⁷⁰ The word *preta* has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapindikarāṇa performed for him. The result of sapindana is that the ¹¹⁷¹ great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapindana is performed drops out from the list of *pitrs* entitled to piṇḍa and becomes one called 'lepabhāk' (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former *preta* becomes one of the *pitrs* and entitled to participate in the piṇḍas offered at a pārvanaśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garuḍapurāṇa I 220. 2 the sapindikarāṇa-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvana in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the *preta* vessel into the *pitr* vessels are different. For example, the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 14 says¹¹⁷² the mantras are 'Samsrjatu tvā prthivī' (May the earth unite thee) and 'samāni va ākutīḥ' (Rg. X. 191. 4), while the

1170. प्रेतत्वं च क्षुत्तृष्णोपजनितारत्यन्तदुःखानुभवावस्था । यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । प्रेतलोके तु वसतिर्दुर्गा कथं प्रकीर्तिता । क्षुत्तृष्णे मर्यादं तत्र भवेत्तौ भृगुनन्दन ॥ इति । पितृत्वप्राप्तिश्च ब्रह्मादिभ्रातृदेवतासम्बन्धः । मिता. on या. I. 254, या. I. 255-256 presuppose this idea.

1171. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पितुर्यः प्रपितामहः । सुतलेपसृजो याति प्रभुसपितृपिण्डकः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 1 ; ततः प्रभृति वै प्रेतः पितृसामान्यमाप्नुयात् । विस्मृते पितृलोकं च ततः भ्रातृं पर्येत ॥ हारीत q. by कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 256, हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1640), आ. कि. की. p. 262 which last explains 'पितृसामान्यं पितृभिः सह पार्वणभ्रातृभोक्तृत्वमिरेष्यः । तेन पञ्चदश-भ्रातृणां प्रेतत्वपरीहारः कलं सपिण्डमस्य तु प्रेतत्वपरीहारः पितृलोकप्राप्तिः पितृभिः सह पार्वणभोक्तृत्वं च कलत्रयमिति ।', Vide also स्मृतिच. on आशीच (Mysore University ed.) p. 158 quoting प्रचेतस् and विष्णु.

1172. संवत्सरान्ते प्रेताय तत्पित्रे तत्पितामहाय तत्पितामहाय च ब्राह्मणान् देवपूर्वान् भोजयेत् । अत्राग्नीकरणमागहनं पाद्यं च कुर्यात् । संवत्स्रं त्वा पृथिवी समानी च इति प्रेतपाद्यपात्रं पितृपाद्यपात्रत्रये योजयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 21. 12-14. q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1640). The mantra is संवत्स्रं त्वा पृथिवी वायुरग्निः प्रजापतिः । संवत्स्रं पूर्वैभिः पितृभिः सह ॥ The काठकण्वक 66. 7 prescribes that when parts of pretapiṇḍa are mixed up with पितृपिण्डम्, this mantra and two more viz. 'samānā va ākutīni' and 'sam vo manāmsi' (काठकसांहिता 10. 38-39) are recited.

Grhya-pariśiṣṭa ¹¹⁷³ of Āśv. employs the three Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6-8) and the three fine verses at the end of the Rgveda beginning with 'saṅgacchadhvam' (Rg. X. 191. 2-4, 'May you unite' &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 17-18) provide that Ekoddiṣṭa and Sapiṇḍikarāṇa śrāddhas are performed for women also (but not pārvāṇa nor ābhyudayika). About the Sapiṇḍikarāṇa of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. If a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapiṇḍana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhilasamṛti II. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapiṇḍana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband ¹¹⁷⁴ or afterwards (as a *Sati*) then her son should perform her sapiṇḍana with her husband (i. e. the son's father) and there is no separate sapiṇḍana for her. If she was married in the *Āsura* form or she was made a *putrikā*, then the son should perform his mother's sapiṇḍana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the *Brūhma* and three other proper forms may perform her sapiṇḍana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapiṇḍana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. I. 253-254 and Sm. C. (on āsauca p. 169) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives. ¹¹⁷⁵

The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapiṇḍana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

1173. मेषाणिषं त्रिधा विभज्य पितृपिण्डेषु त्रिविधादधाति मधु वाता इति तिसृभिः सङ्गच्छधमिति द्वायामनुमन्य शेषं पार्षणवत्कुर्यात् । आश्व. सू. परि. 3.11.

1174. सपिण्डीकरणं तासां पुत्राभावे न विद्यते । मृतिसंस्कारं कार्यमेकोद्विष्टं नरैः स्त्रियाः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.18 on which बङ्गवर (आश्विनिक p. 113) says : अत्र पुत्राभावाद् द्रव्यपुलक्षणं पतिपुत्राभाव इति ब्रह्मणम् ।

1175. स्वेन भर्ता समं आहुं माता युक्ते सुधामयम् । पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव मपितामही ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 449, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 259 (reads स्वधामय and तथैव मपितामही) and आ. क्रि. को. p. 428; मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोचितम् । गोमिलस्मृति II. 102 आ. क्रि. को. p. 428; पितुः पितामहे बह्वत् पूर्णं संवत्सरे हस्ते । मातुर्मतामहे तद्वदेवा कार्या अपिण्डता ॥ उक्तवत् q. by मिता. on वा. I. 253-254. The नवह (मेत 34.121) says 'पितामह्या समं मातुः पितुः सह पितामहे । सपिण्डीकरणं कार्यमिति तावत् समं मम ॥' Therefore the मिता. says 'मातुः सपिण्डीकरणेपि विद्वद्भ्यां वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते ॥'.

he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 śrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapindana) and pinda is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which ābhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapindana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely-necessary ceremonies as śmantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89-90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapindi-karāṇa are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking *surā*. Yāj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smṛtis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958-9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yāj. there is to be no āśauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 6) quotes Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali should be resorted to after a year and then śrāddha may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāṇa, Nāgarakhanda 219, 19-21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The *Ābhyudayika-śrāddha* is to be now described. Āśv. gr. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvaṇa, Kāmya, Ābhyudayika and Ekoddista (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gr. II. 5. 13-15, Śāṇ. gr. IV. 4, Gobhila gr. IV. 3. 35-37, Kauṣītaki gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. III. 12. 2-5, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his *caula*, *upanayana* or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (*pūṛta*) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.

gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmaṇas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that yavas (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of pūrvaṇa (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa II 19, Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56), Pitrdayitā pp. 62-71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the Viśve-devas are called Satya and Vasu, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmaṇas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the *prācināvīla* form), all actions are to be done from left to right (pradakṣiṇam and not prasavyam); the word svadhā is not to be used; yava grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains; he invites them with the words 'find time to attend Nāndīśrāddha'. The brāhmaṇas say 'be it so'. He says 'May you two come (to my house)'; they reply 'we two shall come'. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about yavas is 'yavosi' (vide note 966)¹¹⁷⁶ he requests 'I shall invoke the pitrs called Nāndimukha'.¹¹⁷⁷ When permitted by the brāhmaṇas in the words 'do invoke' he says 'may the Nāndimukha pitrs be pleased'; he offers arghya only once with the words 'O Nāndimukha pitrs! this is the arghya for you'. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the *homa* is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa, the two mantras being 'to Agni, the bearer of *karya*! svāhā' and 'to Soma accompanied by the pitrs! svāhā.' While the

1176. The मन्त्र here repeated is 'यवोसि...यतः पुष्ट्या (in place of स्वधया) नाग्दीमुखां पित्रन्...नः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वधा नमः)'.¹

1177. The सङ्कल्प will be somewhat as follows: ओम्, अथासुक्तगो-
त्राणां मातृपितामहीमपितामहीनामसुक्तासुक्तकक्षेत्रीनां नाग्दीमुखाणां तथासुक्तगोत्राणां पितृ-
पितामहपितामहानामसुक्तासुक्तकक्षेत्रीनां नाग्दीमुखानां तथासुक्तगोत्राणां मातामहपिता-
महपुत्रपितामहानामसुक्तासुक्तकक्षेत्रीनां नाग्दीमुखानामसुक्तगोत्रस्य कर्त्तव्यासुक्तकर्मनिमित्त-
कामनुष्ठानिकब्राह्मणं करिष्ये। आनुष्ठानिक of सङ्कल्प p. 149. For क्षेत्रीनां it is usual
to put क्षात्राणां.

brāhmaṇas are eating the dinner, the Raksoghna mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitṛs (viz. Rg. X. 15. 1-13); when he sees that the brāhmaṇas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Rg. IX. 11. 1-5) beginning with 'upāsmāi gayatā naraḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumatī verses (viz. Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and at the end he makes the brāhmaṇas hear the mantra 'the pitṛs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāṇḍimukha pitṛs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvaṇa) 'aksayyodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmaṇas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmaṇas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmaṇas sipping water after their dinner, he cowdungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two pinḍas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmaṇas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and *prṣadājya* ¹¹⁷⁸ (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The pinḍas are offered to the mātṛs, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer pinḍas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āśv. gr. parīṣiṣṭa II. 19). The Pitrdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jiv. p. 297) say that no mātṛśrāddha is to be performed in Abhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Sāmaveda. It is possible that the śrāddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āśv. gr. quoted below will indicate. ^{1178a}

The words Nāṇḍiśrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are synonymous. When Yaj I. 250 says ¹¹⁷⁹ that the Nāṇḍimukha pitṛs should be worshipped with pinḍas when there is *vṛddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāṇḍiśrāddha and Vṛddhi-

1178. पृषदाज्य is defined in आश्व. सू. IV. 1. 17 as 'दधन्वत्र सर्पिरानयनयेत-
पित्रये पृषदाज्यम्'.

1178 a. अपरेद्युरन्वहकयम्।...पिण्डापितृयज्ञे कल्पेन। कृत्वा मधुमन्धर्वं पितृभ्यो
वधात्। क्षीम्यन्तु ह्युरा वाचाममित्यधिकम्। आश्व. सू. II. 5. 1. 3-5.

1179. एवं महाक्षिणादृक्को वृद्धौ नाम्नीमुल्लान् पितृन्। यजेत वापिकर्कशूनिभार
पिण्डाभ्ययेः क्रियाः॥ या. I. 250.

śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 250 quoting Śatātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. mātṛ-śrāddha, pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha.¹¹⁸⁰ On the other hand the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz. Mātṛ-śrāddha and Nāndimukha-pitṛ-śrāddha. Ābhyudayaika-śrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāṇa,¹¹⁸¹ though it may be said that Ābhyudayaika śrāddha is wider in import than Vṛddhiśrāddha, since it is also applicable to śrāddha performed on the commencement of a *pūrta* act.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 2-7, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 4-7, Padmapurāṇa (śrṣṭi 9. 194-199), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa I. 185. 5-13, the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 142. 13-18 describe briefly the procedure of Nāndiśrāddha and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are¹¹⁸²: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of Cūḍākarma, at Śimantonnayana, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of pitṛs called Nāndimukha. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas, but the Padmapurāṇa (śrṣṭikhanda 9.195) says that in this Vṛddhiśrāddha the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the mātāmahas and then the Viśve-devas. Hemādri (śr. p. 107) quotes two verses from the Brahmapurāṇa to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called *atrumukha* pitṛs, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called Nāndimukha pitṛs.¹¹⁸³ The Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the devatās for Nāndiśrāddha in his case would be the three

1180. यथापि पित्र्यपेक्षेति सामान्येभ्योक्तं तथापि आर्द्धत्रयं क्रमश्च स्मृत्यन्तराद्व्य-
गम्यत्वः । यथाह कृतात्मनः । मातुः आर्द्धं तु पूर्वं श्यात्पितृणां तद्व्यगम्यत्वम् । ततो मातामहानां
च द्विती आर्द्धत्रयं स्मृतम् ॥ मिता. on या. I. 250, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 271.

1181. तृतीयमायुष्यवयिकं द्विदि आर्द्धं तदुच्यते । एव (सुष्ठिसिंह 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेक्षे नववेदमणि । नामकर्माणि बालानां चूडाकर्मादिके तथा ।
सीमन्तोत्थयने चैव पुत्रादिस्तुतर्क्षणे । नाग्नीकुलं पित्र्यमणं पूजयेत् प्रयतां यज्ञी । पितृपूजा-
विधिः प्रोक्तो ह्युदायेव समासतः । विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 5-7, quoted by अपरार्क p. 515
(except the last half).

1183. पिता पितामहाश्चैव तथैव प्रयितामहः । त्रयो ब्रह्ममुखा इति पितरः संयकीर्तितः ॥
तेभ्यः पूर्वं त्रयो ये तु ते तु नाग्नीकुला इति ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 107),
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 270, मद्. या. p. 633. नाग्नी means सप्तृदि acc. to ब्रह्मपुराण q. by
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 268.

paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhavīsyapurāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer pīḍas in Vṛddhiśrāddha ^{1183a}.

The word 'mātaraḥ' has two meanings. Gobhilaśmṛti ¹¹⁸⁴ prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātṛs together with Gaṇeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātṛs such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śaśī (I 11-12). ¹¹⁸⁵ In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (88.11-20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz. Brahmanī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217-218 for the Mātṛs and their worship. ¹¹⁸⁶ Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhiśrāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātṛs (Brahmanī and others), then to one's mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nāṇḍimukha pitṛs and then to the mātāmahas together with their wives. The Śrāddhaprakāśa (of Viramītrodaya) quotes Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha to the effect that in the Mātṛśrāddha (as part of Vṛddhiśrāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmaṇas be not available then for the groups of mātṛs and of mātāmahis four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner ^{1186a} and honoured.

The *Pratisāṃvatsarika* or *Pratyūbdika* śrāddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilaśmṛti III 66). It is

1183a. पिण्डनिर्घणं कुर्यात् वा कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । इन्द्रिभादे महाबाहो कुलधर्मानवेद्य तु ॥ भविष्यपुराणः । On this the पूजनीयः folio 167a remarks 'अतश्चाग्नौ-करणाद्विनामपि निषेधः । तथा । अग्नीकरणमर्थं चावाहनं चावनेजनम् । पिण्डभादे प्रकुर्वीत पिण्डहीने निवर्तते ॥'.

1184. कर्नादिषु तु सर्वेषु मातरः समणाधिपाः । पूजनीयाः प्रवत्नेन पूजिताः पूजयन्ति ताः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 13, q. by कल्पलह (भा. p. 272).

1185. ब्रह्मण्याद्यास्तथा सप्त दुर्गाक्षेत्रगणाधिपान् । इन्द्रिभादे पूजयित्वा तु पश्चाद्वाग्दी-हृत्वा न पिबन् ॥ मातृपूर्वा न पिबन्पूज्य ततो मातामहानपि । मातामहीस्ततः केचिद्युग्मा भोज्या द्विजातयः ॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 517.

1186. The worship of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion. The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa. Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses, have been discovered in the earliest deposits of prehistoric cultures. Vide 'Mother Goddesses' by Mr. S. K. Dikshit (Poona).

1186a. मातृवर्गे मातामहीवर्गे वा ब्राह्मणालाभे पतिपुत्राभिलाषतत्प्रश्नतस्ततः सुवासिन्वो भोजनीया इत्युक्तं इन्द्रिषिष्टेन । मातृभादे तु विमानालाभे पूजयेदपि । पतिपुत्राभिलाषा शेषितोऽहो सुवासिताः ॥ आङ्गमकार p. 298.

laid down that in the case of one's parents this śrāddha partakes of the character of *pūrvaṇa*.¹¹⁸⁶ The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa and Skanda state that the Sāṃvatsarika śrāddha is the most eminent among śrāddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śrāddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hell called Tāmisra and then is born as a pig in a town.¹¹⁸⁷ In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Bṛhaspati, the Skandapurāṇa, Padma and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa lay down certain rules, viz.¹¹⁸⁸ (1) if the tithi is known but the month is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on the amāvāsyā of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitṛya rites is lunar and the words 'dina, aha, vāsara' in connection with pitṛya rites mean 'tithi' (Aparārka p. 545). There is no *pratyābdika* śrāddha in an intercalary month. (Skanda VII. 1. 206. 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śrāddhas.

A well-known śrāddha is the Mahālayaśrāddha. Some of the Purāṇas deal with this. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrṣṭi khaṇḍa) says 'In the fifth fortnight (*pakṣa*) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha, one should perform a śrāddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

1186 b. एतच्च सुताहर्षार्पणं मातापित्रोरेव । तथा च हेमाद्रिभूतकात्यायनवचनं 'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पित्रोरेव हि पार्वणम् । पितृव्यभ्रातृमातृणामेकोद्विष्टं सर्वेव तु ॥ मातृपदं सपत्नीमातृपरम् ।' आहृतत्त्व p. 304.

1187. सर्वेषामेव आह्वानां श्रेष्ठं सांवत्सरं स्मृतम् । कियते यत्स्वयं श्रेष्ठं सुतेऽहनि बुधेः सह "...स याति नरकं पोरं तमिषं नाम नामतः । ततो भवति दुष्टात्मा नगरे युक्तरः स्वग ॥ भविष्य. I. 183. 20 and 25. The first occurs also in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 43.

1188. सुताहर्षय यदा मासो न ज्ञायेत कथंचन । मार्गशीर्षेऽथवा माघे आर्द्रं तद्विसे स्मृतम् ॥ यदा तु वासराज्ञानं मासज्ञानमथैव च । अमायामेव तन्मासं आर्द्रं सांवत्सरं भवेत् ॥ यत्र (पातालखण्ड 101. 73-74). Vide भविष्यपुराण I. 183. 28-29, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 52 for similar rules. बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 545 has similar verses and adds 'दिनमासौ न विज्ञातो भरणस्य यदा पुनः । ग्रहानां दिनमासौ तु ग्राह्यौ पूर्वोक्तया विज्ञा ॥'.

best of dakṣiṇās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpio (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.' ¹¹⁸⁹ The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pītṛs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in dakṣiṇāyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pītṛs i. e. for the Mahālaya. The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (ālaya) as it were of the maha (i. e. festival day) for pītṛs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in Kanyā the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a śrāddha to the pītṛs. The Skandapurāṇa ¹¹⁹⁰ also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āśāḍha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pītṛs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one's father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in

1189. आषाढीमवधिं कृत्वा यस्तु पक्षस्तु पञ्चमः । तत्र आर्द्रं मकुर्वीत कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा ॥ कन्यागते सवितरि पाप्महानि तु बोद्धवः । कृतमिस्तानि तुलपानि समाप्तवर्दक्षिणैः ॥ ...अभावात् कृष्णपक्षादौ तुलायां कर्तुमर्हति ॥ अतो बृद्धिकमायाते निराशाः पितरो गताः । पुनः स्वभवनं यान्ति शायं दृष्ट्वा सुदारुणम् ॥ एवम् (सुहृत्सङ्घ 47. 225-228). The first verse आषाढीः occurs in अग्निपुराण 175.33 and is ascribed to जातुकर्प by आ. क्रि. को. p. 283 and अपरार्क p. 423, which reads the third पाद as आर्द्रकालः स विज्ञेयः. The verse कन्यागते is ascribed to the ब्रह्मपुराण by आ. क्रि. को. p. 285 (which reads तुलपानि देवो नारायणोऽन्वीतु) and to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपरार्क p. 424 (which reads last पाद as तत्र दत्तं महाफलम्) and to श्लोकगीतम् by आ. क्रि. ल. p. 99. पाप्महानि तु बोद्धवः—These words are explained in two ways: 'कदाचित् पक्ष-विजृम्भो बोद्धव्यविनात्मकोऽपि नभस्स्थायपरः पक्षः आर्द्रकर्मणि कालो न तु पञ्चदशदिनात्मको वेति दर्शयितुमुक्तम् । यद्वा अमावस्याया अनन्तरभूतायाः प्रतिपत्तिरपि अपि संघर्षार्थं 'तिथि-बोधशकः' इत्युक्तम् । प्रतिपदोपि क्षीणचन्द्रस्ये सापरपक्षतुल्यत्वात् । स्मृतिच. (भा. p. 365). There is also a third way viz. including the preceding full moon day along with the 15 days of the dark half. प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 161 is very similar to the verse कन्यागते and कल्पतरु (आ. p. 16) quotes it from ब्रह्माण्ड.

1190. आषाढ्याः पञ्चमे पक्षे कन्यासंस्थे दिवाकरे । सुताहनि पुनर्यो वै आर्द्रं दास्यति मानवः ॥ तस्य संस्मरं याचन्नुताः स्युः पितरो ब्रुवन् । स्कन्द. VI. 216. 96-97, q. by आर्द्र-कल्पलता p. 98.

Mahālaya (i. e. in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āśvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.¹¹⁹¹ The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtimukta-phala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vṛddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanyā is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāyā. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsyā or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsyā of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsyā or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanyā or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpio.¹¹⁹² Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purāṇas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.¹¹⁹³

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.¹¹⁹⁴ The Smṛtyarthasāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except sapīṇḍīkarāṇa) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called 'Sankalpavidhi', which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvaṇa as far as possible except the details of *āvāhana*, *arghya*, *homa* and *piṇḍadāna*.¹¹⁹⁵ The Madanapārijāta (pp. 609–610) also states that when a man has to perform a 'sankalpa-śrāddha' he need not go through the details of *arghyadāna*, *vikīra* and there is no *āvāhana*, no *agnaukarāṇa* and no *piṇḍadāna* even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas.

1191. येवं दीपान्विता राजन् कयाता पञ्चदशी शुचिः। तस्यां दद्यात् श्वेतं पित्राणां तु महालयः ॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by कल्पतर्क (on आ. p. 17) and आ. कि. की. p. 291, स्मृतिह. (आ. p. 747 ascribes to दुमस्तु).

1192. तत्रैवं कृत्स्नः पञ्चमः पक्षः पञ्चम्यादिदर्शान्तमहम्यादिदर्शान्त-वृक्षम्यादिदर्शान्त-पञ्चमीदर्शयोः मध्ये अनिषिद्धमेकं वा दिनं महालयश्चादिकालः। स्मृतिह. (आ. p. 747).

1193. आह्वान्यनेकशः सन्ति पुराणोक्तानि वै कथं। कलमदाने सर्वाणि तेषामग्नयो महालयः ॥ प्रजापति verse 37.

1194. कस्याग्रे सवितरि दिनानि दृश पञ्च च। पार्वणेनैव विधिना तत्र आहुं विधीयते ॥ मार्कण्डेय. q. by स्मृतिह. (आ. p. 745).

1195. सपिण्डीकरणवत् सर्वआहुषु विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनासम्यगे सङ्कल्पविधिनैव कार्यम्। सङ्कल्पविधानं नामाग्राहनाभ्यर्चोमपिण्डवर्जं पार्वणिकं यथासम्भवं भवति। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 60.

In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhuri and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz. one's step-mother, one's wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle's son, son-in-law, sister's son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, *guru*, friend, pupil and any other relative.¹¹⁹⁶ Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharanī nakṣatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābharanī and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matayapurāṇa q. by Śr. K. L. p. 99). The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a sannyāsin and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvana method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Viṣṇu and *yatis* always repeat the words 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of *yatis*. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (*malamāsa*).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called 'Mātāmahaśrāddha' or 'Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha'. A daughter's son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āśvina.¹¹⁹⁷ A daughter's son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living. It may be performed with or without pīṇadāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter's son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmahaśrāddha is based only on the usage of *śiṣṭas* (p. 24).

Another is the 'Avidhavānavamīśrāddha', which is performed for one's mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide धर्मसिन्धु II. p. 79 for the सङ्कल्प in महालयश्राद्ध.

1197. गर्भस्थोऽपि च हीहिञ्चो अन्धशुक्रपतिपाहिने । कुर्यान्मातामहश्राद्धं पितरौ यदि जीवतः ॥ प्रजापतिसृष्टि verse 170.

the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman's death. The Nirpayasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one's country¹¹⁹⁸. According to the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa in this śrāddha not only a brāhmaṇa but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gr., Yāj. and the Padmapurāṇa that dakṣiṇā, according to one's ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāṇa (VI, 218. 12-14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by dakṣiṇā. Śrāddha without dakṣiṇā is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without dakṣiṇā. The Rāmāyaṇa shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmaṇas.¹¹⁹⁹ The Āśraṇavāsikaparva (14. 3-4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmaṇas in honour of Bhisma, Droṇa, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varṇas were treated to profuse food and drink. The Vāyupurāṇa (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas. From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below.¹²⁰⁰ The Śāntiparva (chap. 42. 7)

1198. अत्र भर्तृमरणोत्तरं पुर्वयुतभाजं न कार्यमिति केचिदाहुः पठन्ति च आहुं नवव्यां कुर्यात्तयुते भर्तरे लुप्यते इति तद्वैतकिर्मूलत्वात्पूर्वप्रतारणमात्रम् । आहुर्वीपकलिकायां बाह्ये-
पितृमातृकुलोत्पन्ना याः काश्चिद्युताः स्त्रियः । आहुर्दार्हा मातरो ज्ञेयाः आहुं तत्र प्रदीयते ॥
इति । अत्र देशाच्चाहुं व्यवस्था । निर्णयसिन्धु II p 154.

1199. ताते दशरुहेऽतिगते कुरुशीखो दृषात्यम्रः । द्वादशेऽहनि संशते आहुर्कर्माप्य
कारयत् ॥ बाह्येण्यो वदो रत्नं धनमञ्चं च पुष्कलम् । वास्तिकं बहुशुक्रं च गाश्चापि ज्ञातशस्तदा ।
दासीदासं च यानं च वेश्मानि सुमहानि च । बाह्येण्यो वदो पुत्रो राज्ञस्तस्योर्ध्वदेहिकम् ।
रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 77. 1-3 (M. L. J. edition, 1933). ततोऽनन्तरमेवात्र सर्ववर्णा-
न्महामते । अन्नपानरसोपेण स्नायामास पाथिरः ॥ अभ्यवशासिकपर्व 14. 12.

1200. अन्नदो लभते तिस्रः कन्याकोटीस्तथैव च । अन्नदानात्परं दानं विद्यते नेह किञ्चन ।
अन्नाद् भूतानि जायन्ते जीवन्ति च न संशयः ॥ जीवदानात्परं दानं न किञ्चिदिह विद्यते ।
अन्नजीवति त्रेलोक्यमन्त्ररथैव हि तत्फलम् । अन्नं लोकाः यतिष्ठन्ति लोकदानस्य तत्फलम् । अन्नं
प्रजापतिः साक्षात्सेन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥ वायुपुराण 80. 54-57.

states that while Yudhiṣṭhira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected *sabhās*, *prapūs*, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states: 'when the brāhmaṇas have sipped water after dinner, *dakṣiṇā* is to be given' and Bṛhaspati prescribes 'Dakṣiṇā should be given to all the brāhmaṇas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied; one who is well-off should do this specially.'¹²⁰¹ The Āśvamedhika-parva (62. 2-5) states that Vāsudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmaṇas, gold, cows, bed-steads, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Bṛhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmaṇa invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers.^{1201a} The Anuśāsana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (*śayyā*) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34. 69-89), Padma (śrṣṭikhanda 10. 12), the Matsyapurāṇa highly eulogise the gift of śayyā to a brāhmaṇa and his wife. The Matsyapurāṇa states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmaṇa couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made.¹²⁰² The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34. 73-82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

1201. बृहस्पतिरपि । प्रदद्याद्दक्षिणां तेषां सर्वेषामनुसृतः । गोभूहिरेण्यवासोभिस्तुर्धुक्कृता यथा । तथा भवति कर्तव्यं समर्थेन विवेकतः ।' q. by वृहदीश्व. folio 112b; यद्यद्विद्वत्तं लोके यश्चास्य दायितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ मार्कण्डेय 32.91, बामनपुराण 14. 106.

1201 a. वञ्जालङ्कारशय्यादि पितृयद्वाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समन्वय्य आद्रभोजनैस्तर्पयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by ब्य. म. p. 129, आ. क. ल. p. 213.

1202. घृतकान्ताद् द्वितीयेऽङ्घ्रि शय्यां दद्याद्विलक्षणां । काञ्चनं पुरुषं तद्वत्फलवत्समन्विताम् । सम्पूज्य हिजवाभरणं नानाभरणध्वजैः । बृहदसर्गं च कुर्वीत देवा च कपिला शुभा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 18. 12-14 q. by आ. क. ल. p. 213, आद्रस्तन p. 199.

verses of the Bhaviṣya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri (and from Hemādri by the Nirṇaya-sindhu p. 596) states the mantra to be recited viz. 'just as the bed-stead of Kṛṣṇa is never devoid of Lakṣmī, the daughter of the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth that I may have to undergo.'¹²⁰³ Acceptance of the gift of a śayyā was looked down upon in former times and even now it is only the poor brāhmanas (that are not generally learned) that accept this gift. The Padmapurāṇa condemns the acceptance of the gift of śayyā in no measured terms. It says 'when a brāhmaṇa accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as well as in the Purāṇa (the gift of) a bed-stead is everywhere condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.'¹²⁰⁴

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of sons were recognized out of whom the kṣetrajā,¹²⁰⁵ the putrikā-putra and dattaka were most important. All these were the sons of two fathers. The question mooted was : to whom were they to offer piṇḍas ? The Madanapārijāta (pp. 607-608) quotes a passage from the Hārita-dharmasūtra¹²⁰⁶ and explains it. Hārita says : 'seed does not grow without a field. Since it is seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both. Out of the two (fathers) the procreator is to be first invoked

1203. मन्त्रस्तु—यथा न कुण्डलायनं शुभं सागरजातया । शय्या ममाप्यशूण्यास्तु तथा जन्मानि जन्मनि ॥ यस्मादशूयं ज्ञयनं केशवरय शिवरय च । शय्या...जन्मनि ॥ नि सि. III. p. 597. The मदहपुराण (वेदखण्ड 34.81) has the verse यथा न etc

1204. दृष्टीतायां तु शय्यायां पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । वेदे चैव पुराणे च शय्या सर्वत्र मर्हिता ॥ मर्हितारस्तु जायन्ते सर्वे नरकगामिनः ॥ यस्म (दृष्टिखण्ड 10. 17-18).

1205. The kṣetrajā son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless man by a *sagotra* (a brother or other agnate) or even an *asagotra* according to the rules of *niyoga*, the procreator being called *bijin* and the husband on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called *kṣetrin*. The putrikāputra is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be the son of the girl's father (Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX. 127); (2) A daughter herself may be made a son (Vas. 17. 16). A dattaka is a son whom his father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water (Manu IX. 168). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647-650 for detailed explanations about these and other secondary sons.

1206. तत्र हारीतः । माक्षेत्रं बीजं रोहति । उभयवर्जनाद्भयोरपत्यमिति । तेषामुत्पादयितुः प्रथमः प्रवरो भवति । द्वौ द्वौ पिण्डौ निवेदयत् । अथनैकपिण्डे द्वावप्युकीर्तयत् । द्वितीये पुत्र-स्तृतीये पौत्रो लेपिनश्च त्रीनप्याचक्ष्णाण आ सप्तमादित्येके । मद्. पा. pp. 607-608 and कल्पतरु (on भा. pp. 241-242).

(and then the kṣetṛin). He (the son) may offer two pīṇḍas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single pīṇḍa (to the father and) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single pīṇḍa. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd pīṇḍa (i. e. the pīṇḍa for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third pīṇḍa (viz. the pīṇḍa for paternal great-grandfather).’ Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105. say about the putrikāputra¹²⁰⁷ that he presents the first pīṇḍa to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father’s father. This appears to be one order in which pīṇḍas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two pīṇḍas (i. e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śān. Śr. S. provides¹²⁰⁸ that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (bījin and kṣetṛin) with reference to the same pīṇḍa. Even Yāj. says ‘The son procreated according to the rules of *niyoga* by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers pīṇḍa to both.’¹²⁰⁹ The Mit. adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another’s wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the kṣetṛin alone and not of the bījin. As the kṣetrāja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the *dattaka* is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the *dattaka* offers pīṇḍas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhyāya a passage on this point which is as

1207. मातुः प्रथमतः पिण्डं निर्वपेत् पुत्रिकापुत्रः। द्वितीयं तु पितृस्तस्यास्तृतीयं तु पितुः पितुः॥ गोभिलस्मृतिः II. 105. कुल्लुक appears to be wrong in explaining पितुः पितुः in मनु IX. 140 as ‘तृतीयं मातुः पितामहाय दद्यात्’। मनु IX. 132 is ‘द्वौहित्रो द्यावितं रिचमपुत्रस्य पितृर्हरेत्। स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च॥’ Here द्वौहित्र means पुत्रिकापुत्र.

1208. असावेतसे ये च त्वाभ्यामग्निं पिण्डाद् यथावनेजितं निधायोभावेकस्मिन् पिण्डे पितृभेदे। शाङ्खायनजी. सू. IV. 3. 10-11 q. by. कल्पलव p. 241 (on अ.). The आप. जी. 1. 9. 7 says ‘यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन् पिण्डे द्वौ द्वापुलकावेत्’।

1209. अपुत्रेण परलोके निधायोत्पादितः सुतः। उभयोरप्यसौ रिचयी पिण्डदाता च धर्मतः॥ वा. II. 127; यदा तु मित्रकः पुत्रवाद् केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव पुत्रो भवतीति न बीजिनः। स च न मित्रेण बीजिनो रिचवहारी पिण्डदो वेति। मिता.

follows: ¹²¹⁰ 'If these (i. e. those who are *bijin*) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by *naiyoga* or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer *pinḍas* to them up to three ancestors; if both (the *bijin* and *ksetrin* or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer *pinḍa* to both; in one and the same *śrāddha* they should repeat (the names of) the two - ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same *pinḍa* for both up to the third ancestor.' The Baud. Dh. S. ¹²¹¹ quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the *pinḍa* (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each *pinḍa*; three *pinḍas* will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).' It would be seen from the passage quoted above from *Hārīta* that some authorities allowed two separate *pinḍas* for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. *Manu* IX. 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the *gotra* and wealth of his natural father; the *pinḍa* follows the *gotra* and wealth; the *śrāddha* (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).' This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 690-697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the *gotra* of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and *āśauca* and that the *Nirṇayasindhu*, ¹²¹² the *Dharma-sindhu* and the *Dattaka-candrikā* declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the *śrāddha* of his natural father;

1210. अथ यद्येषां स्वभार्यास्त्वयस्य न स्याद्विषयं हरेदुः पिण्डं चैव्यस्त्रिपुरस्य दधरथ यद्युभयोर्न स्यादुभयभार्या दधरथकस्मिन्त्रादे दधरथद्विषयकपिण्डे द्वावप्युक्तिरिति यत् प्रतिग्रहीतारं चोत्पादयितारं वा पुनरीयार्युत्पात् । q. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 241) with variations. The same passage is cited as from *कार्यायन* by the एव. म. p. 115 (my edition), and from *कार्यायन* and *लोकाक्षि* (quoted in *प्रवरमञ्जरी*) by नि. सि. III. p. 389.

1211. अथाप्युत्पादयति । द्विपितुः पिण्डद्वयं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी । अथश्च पिण्डाः वण्णां स्युरेवं कुर्वन्क मुक्यति ॥ इति । नौ. ध. सू. II 2. 22-23.

1212. दत्तकस्तु जनकरव पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यात् तत्सखे । गोत्रारिक्ये जनयितुर्न भजेद् वस्त्रिनः सुतः । गोत्ररिक्क्याद्युः पिण्डो ज्येयति दत्तः स्वधा ॥ इति मन्त्रकेः । इदं जनकरव पुत्र-सम्पत्तिवत् । नि. सि. III. p. 389 ; दत्तकस्तु जनकपितुः पुत्राद्यभावे जनकपितुः ज्ञातं कुर्वेद् वनं च गृहीयात् । वर्त्मसिन्धु III. (उत्तरार्ध) p. 371.

if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

Vṛṣotsarga (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān. gr. III. 11, the Kauṣītaki gr. III. 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III. 6 in Madras University Series), Kāthaka gr. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gr. III. 9, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1-20. In numerous works some verses called *gāthās* sung by the pitṛs are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the pitṛs as follows: ¹²¹³ 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release)'. The description in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here; ¹²¹⁴ "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Āśvina. In this rite he must first examine the bull. The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

1213. एवमेषा बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां ब्रजेत् । यजेत वाग्धमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमु-
त्सृजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 67, बृहस्पतिस्मृति verse 21, लघुश्रुत 10, मत्स्यपुराण 22 6,
अथर्वपुराण 220. 32-33, वायुपुराण 83. 11-12, पञ्च (सुहृत्सूत्र 11.68), ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घात-
पाद 19.11), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.58 and I. 144.3. The meaning is 'बहुनां पुत्राणां
मध्ये एकेनापि गयां श्राद्धकरणे पितृयुक्तिर्भवति,' as stated in स्कन्दपुराण, नागरसूत्र,
chap. 216. 114-117. The first half occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 88. 14 and the whole
verse in मत्स्य 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third
pāda as 'गौरिं वायुद्वहेत्कन्या'). Compare कूर्म II. 20. 30-31.

1214. अथ वृषोत्सर्गः । कार्तिकमासाश्वयुज्या वा । तत्राद्यावेव वृषमं परीक्षेत । जीवहस्तायाः
पयस्विभ्याः पुत्रम् । सर्वलक्षणापेतम् । नीलम् । लोहितं वा । मुखपुच्छपादस्रक्कुक्षम् । पूरुषया-
च्छादकम् । ततो गयां मध्ये सुसामिद्रमग्निं परित्येयं पीष्णं चरं पयसा अपयित्वा वृषा या
अप्तेतु न हृह रतिरिति च हृत्वा वृषमयस्कारस्त्वङ्मुयेत् । एकास्मिन् पाश्वं चक्रेणापरास्मिन् पाश्वं
सूलेन । अङ्कितं च विरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः शं नो वेरीरिति च स्नापयेत् । स्नातमलङ्कृतं
स्नातालङ्कृतमिश्चतसृभिर्वत्सतरीभिः सार्धमानीय वज्रान् पुत्रवृक्षं कूर्माण्डीश्व जपेत् । पिता
वत्सानामिति वृषभस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे वटेत् । इमं च । वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः ।
वृणोति तमहं अमराया स मे रसतु सर्वतः ॥ एतं युवानं पतिं वो ददामि तेन श्रीवृत्तीश्वरत प्रियेण ।
मा हासमहि प्रजया मा तनूभिर्मा रथाम द्विषते सोम राजन् । वृषं वत्सतरीयुक्तमैकान्यां कारये-
द्विसि । होतुर्वक्षपुणं वृषासुवर्णं कारयमेव च ॥ अयस्कारस्य दातव्यं वेतनं मनसेप्सितम् ।
भोजनं बहुसर्पिष्कं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां भोजयेत् ॥ उत्सृष्टो वृषभो वस्मिन् विषास्यथ जलाशये । जला-
शयं तत्सकलं पितृन्तरयोपतिष्ठति ॥ हृद्वेणोह्लिङ्गते भूमिं यत्र कञ्चन दपितः । पितृणामनूपानं
सर्वयुतमुपतिष्ठति ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 1-20. The काठकपुष्टा (59.3) reads 'इह रतिरिति
हृत्वा'. The commentator gives ten mantras here of which इह रतिरिति is the
2nd. The first half of एतं युवानं occurs in तै. सू. III. 3.9.1 (reads वरि वो ददामि).
The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147.12 and the
verse वृषो हि is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147. 10.

marks (i. e. must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-coloured ¹²¹⁵ or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūṣan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra 'May Pūṣan follow our cows' (Rg. VI 54.5) and the mantra 'here is pleasure' (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank ¹²¹⁶ with a trident. Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with 'the golden-coloured' (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1-2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with 'May the divine (waters) bring us happiness' (Rg. X 9. 4-8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and mutter the Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. 10. 90. 1-16) and the Kūṣmāṇḍis (Vāj. S. XX. 14-16, Tai. Ā. X. 3-5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra ¹²¹⁷ 'father of calves' and the following mantras 'The holy dharma ¹²¹⁸ is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

1215. A नीलवृष is variously defined. The मत्स्यसू. 207.38 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I, 146.56 define 'अरण्यानि शुक्लं पुच्छं यस्य श्वेतानि गोपतेः । लाङ्कारसप्तम्यञ्च तं नीलमिति निर्दिशेत्' . In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.42-55 and मत्स्य 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given. The अर. क. त. p. 214 quotes झोनक as 'लोहितो यस्तु वर्णेन शुक्ले पुच्छे च पाण्डुरः । श्वेतः सुरविधानाग्न्यां स नीलो वृष उच्यते' . This is ascribed to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (रेशकण्ड) by आ. प. and छ. प. p. 226.

1216. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर says शूलेन हस्तिने पार्श्वे वामे चक्रेण निर्दिशेत् । I. 147.6 ; while the अविश्वोत्तर q. by छ. प. p. 227 says 'ततो वामे विशूलं च हस्तिने चक्रमालिखेत्' .

1217. The आश्वमेधिक of रुद्रधर (p. 75) sets out the whole verse as 'पिता वत्सतां पतिरध्यानामर्षी पिता महतां मर्यादामा । वत्सो अरायु यतिप्रभु पीयूष आनिका चतः सहस्रस्य रेतः' . It is a corrupt reading of ते. सं. III. 3. 9. 2 (which reads पतिरहितः पानां and आनिका मस्तु चतस्रस्य रेतः).

1218. The holy dharma.....four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the कृतयुग, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost ; vide मनु I 31 (= आग्निवर्ष 232.37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to नारद I. 11 (SBE vol. 30 p. 7) where स्ववहार is said to have four feet of which धर्म is one. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 259-262 for explanation.

about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotṛ (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmanas (at least). That ¹²¹⁹ pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes. Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes." ¹²²⁰ In the Anuśāsanaparva the pitṛs are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pitṛs (chap. 125. 73-74).

In the Garuḍapurāṇa it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a *preta*, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāṇa further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose. ¹²²¹ In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nirṇayasindhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several mediæval digests such as the Pitrdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69-77), Nirṇayasindhu (III pp. 595-596), Śuddhiprakāśa

1219. 'That pool' etc. The वायुपुराण (83. 45-48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'बुधोत्सृष्टा पुनरपि ब्रह्माती-
ताम्बुकावरात् ... शङ्केः सुरैर्वा यद् बुधमिहानिज्जलानिजं बुधः । मधुकुल्याः पिबन्त्यस्य अक्षयास्तः
भवन्ति ये ॥' 45, 48.

1220. The बुधोत्सर्गविधि in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 147. 1-19) closely follows the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र.

1221. एकादश्याह्ने वेतस्य यस्कोत्सृज्येत नो बुधः । वेतसं ह्युत्तरं तस्य वसैः आहूतस्यैवपि ॥
... एकादश्याह्ने संयते बुधस्तानो भवेद्यदि । हव्यैः पिबेत्तु संयाद्य तं बुधं मोचयेद्बुधः ॥ गवहपुराण
[I. 3.40, 44-45. बुधस्पति q. by आ. क. ल. p. 214 and बह्विजसम्मत q. by छ. य. p. 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संयद् by the आ. क. ल.

pp. 225-230, Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.^{1221a}

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra III. 19, the Lingapurāṇa (II 45. 8-90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 363-364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277-279), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1704-1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361-371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of *Jivat-śrāddha* or *Jīva-śrāddha*, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here. "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz. six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also. On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmanas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and dakṣiṇā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

1221 a. वाचस्पतिमिश्र wrote a work called अश्वत्थधेनुदान in which he quotes two verses of ह्येवम from the रत्नाकर as follows: जीवज्जरी तु वा नारी श्रियते पुत्रिणी यदि । सप्तसामक्षितां धेनुमाचार्यो वदामहेत् ॥ पतिपुत्रवती नारी श्रियते चाद्यतस्तयोः । इत्थं नैवोत्पद्येत्यत्र: पिता पावपु जीवति ॥. Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛti Mss.) pp. 405-406 No. 2310.

He kindles the fire according to the general¹²²² procedure laid down for *homa*, spreads round it *darbhas*, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puroṇuvākya^{1222a} (invitatory prayer) 'catvāri śrīgā' ('Agni has four horns,' Rg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. Ā. X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājyā (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Rg. IV. 58. 4). The Puroṇuvākya and Yājyā of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur vareṇyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) and 'yojayitrī sūnṛtānām'. Of the third oblation the Puroṇuvākya and Yājyā are respectively 'ye catvāraḥ' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve sruti' (Rg. X. 88. 15, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puroṇuvākya and Yājyā of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Rg. I. 189. 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tiraścī' (Br. Up. VI. 3. 1).¹²²³ Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Puruṣasūkta of 18 verses (Vaj. S. 31. 1-18, Tai. Ā. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the *Gāyatrī* verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmaṇa who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with *pañcagavya*, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palāśa stalks, he establishes the prāṇas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of *homa*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207-211.

1222 a. The पुरोनुवाक्य (or simply अनुवाक्य) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (पुरः पूर्वे यागादेवतामनुकूलयितुं वा कर्तव्यते इति पुरोवाक्य). Yājyā is the offering prayer. It is preceded by वे यजामहे and followed by vasaḥ (pronounced as वी३ वद्). Both these are uttered by the hotṛ in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1058-1060. The yājyā is recited while standing, but the Puroṇuvākya is recited sitting. The verse योजयित्री सुसुतानां appears to be an adaptation of योजयित्री सुसुतानां (Rg. I. 3. 11).

1223. The verse is: या तिरश्ची निषद्यते (ते?) अहं विश्वरूपो ह्यसि। तं त्वा वृत्तस्य धारया यजे संतापनीमहम् ॥ बृह. उ. VI. 3. 1.

he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of *Puruṣasūkta* and with *pañcagavya* and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with *sesamum* grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to *brāhmanas* for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water and *pinḍa* with the words '*pinḍa to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world; svadhā namaḥ.*' With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs *ekoddīṣṭa*. They also cite the following verse 'one who is in distress, a woman and a *sūdra* having burnt one's body (i.e. effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.' In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own *śrāddha* every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; 'Although heirs may be alive one may perform one's *śrāddha* while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except *Sapīḍana*. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent'."

It may be noted that the *Baud. grhyaśeṣasūtra* III. 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of *Kaṇva* and one of *Viṣṇu* are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of *Baud. grhyaśeṣasūtra* III. 19 is quoted by *Śr. Pr.* pp. 361-363. But the *Śrāddha-prakāśa* also quotes a long passage from the *Līngapurāṇa* and explains it (pp. 363-368). The procedure in the *Līngapurāṇa*, however, materially differs from that of *Baudhāyana*. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The *Śrāddha-mayūkha* also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In *Jīvat-śrāddha* the word *preta* should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty *kuśas* and is to be burnt by another with the mantra '*kravyādam-agnim*' (*Rg. X. 16. 9*). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his *grhya* fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a *Ma. of Jīvat-śrāddha* ascribed to *Śaunaka* in the *Bhadrakamkar Collection*,

It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of *deceased* ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jivat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmaṇa, preferably a kapilā cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āśauca. Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitaraṇī referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Then holding kuśas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below¹²²⁴. The donee replies with the words 'om svasti' (Yes, may it be well!). Then dakṣiṇā (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmaṇa says 'om svasti', holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmastuti (eulogy of Kāma)¹²²⁵ according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsana-parva (57. 28-29) eulogises the gift of a kapilā cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsana-parva (77.10 ff) sets out a legend why the kapilā cow is the best of all cows.

The Purāṇas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tīrthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55-58, Vāyupurāṇa 83. 16-42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on *tīrthas*.

1224. ओम् अथामोक्षायै द्वितीयेति अमुकमोक्षस्य पितृमृतकयेत्यस्य स्वर्गमाप्तिकामः
हमां कपिलां वा हेमशार्ङ्गं सौम्यवर्णां वसुधवन्तवां कांस्योपकोशं शुक्लालङ्कृतवृषितां सवस्तां
वसुधैवकुमारमुक्तमोक्षमाप्तुकाममर्षे वाङ्मनस्य सुखमहं संयच्छे। आहविवेकं च वसुधाय p. 77.

1225. For Kāmastuti, vide p. 184, n. 430 above.

Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimluca (Kāṭhaka Sām. 38. 14),¹²²⁶ Samsarpa or Arinhasaspāti (Vāj. S. 7.30 and 22.31), Mala-māsa, Adhimāsa. An intercalary month is known even to the Rg-veda (Rg. I 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹²²⁷. The Purāṇas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Puruṣottama-māsa (i. e. the month of Viṣṇu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Gr̥hyaparishiṣṭa:¹²²⁸ 'the month called Malimluca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pitṛs.' But exceptions to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārīta provides¹²²⁹ that all śrāddhas that come after Sapīḍana are not to be performed in an intercalary month. Vyāsa laid down¹²³⁰ that such ceremonies as jātākarma, annaprāśana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Maghā and the thirteenth *tithi*, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, gifts, japa and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Smṛtimuktāphala concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhṛgu¹²³¹ that the sāmvatsarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

1226. मलिम्लुचो नामासि त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्राय शर्मासि। काठकसं. 38. 10 (161-162); संतर्पणवृत्त्युत्थाय स्वेत्याहस्ति त्रयोदश मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत् पीणाति। तै. सं. VI. 5. 3.4.

1227. तं (सोमं) त्रयोदशमासादक्रीणस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशो मासो नाशुविद्यते न वै सोम-विह्वल्यशुविद्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी। ऐ. भा. III. 1 (com. त्रयोदशमासो नाशुविद्यते शुभ-कर्माशुक्रलो नास्ति).

1228. मलिम्लुचस्तु मासो वै मलिनः पापसम्भवः। ग्रहितः पितृदेवेभ्यः सर्वकर्मसु तं त्यजेत्। शुद्धपरिशिष्टे q. by आ. क्रि. को. p. 38.

1229. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धिकं भवेत्। इदं पाप्यद्यवा पूर्वं तस्य कुप्याग्मलि-म्लुचे॥ शरीत. q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 374), आ. क्रि. को. p. 323, आहुतस्य p. 252 (as लघुहारीत).

1230. जातकर्मव्यवकर्माणि नवआहुतं तथैव च। मन्वात्रयोदशीआहुतं आहुतव्यपि च त्रयोदश। चन्द्रवर्षवर्षे स्थाने आहुतं दानं तथा जपः। कार्याणि मलमासेऽपि निरर्थं नैमित्तिकं तथा॥ व्यास q. by आहुतस्य p. 283, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 373 ascribes to वस).

1231. मलमासे शुतानां तु आहुतं यत्प्रतिपत्तस्य। मलमासेऽपि तत्कार्यं मान्येषां तु कार्यचन॥ शुद्ध q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375). The नि. सि. III. p. 474 says 'मलमास-शुतानां तु यदा स एवाधिकः स्यात्तदा तत्रैव कार्यमन्यथा शुद्ध एव'.

may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the tithi for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.¹²³²

Further discussion about what may be done in *Malamūsa* and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on *Kāla*. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the tithi is spread over two days or if there is a *keṇya* of the tithi will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the *Prthvi-candrodaya* deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha.'^{1232a} When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Rṣyaśṛṅga, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person's wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father's cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Rṣyaśṛṅga provides¹²³³

1232. आर्द्धीपाहनि संघाते अधिमासो भवेद्यदि । मासद्वयेऽपि कुर्यात् आर्द्धमेवं न
ह्यस्ति ॥ इन्द्रवसिष्ठ q. by स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 375), नि. सि. p. 13.

1232 a. तत्रैकस्मिन्दिने क्रमेण मृताश्च, मरणक्रमेणैकेन कर्त्ता आर्द्धं कर्तव्यम् । तदाह
अथ्यशृङ्गः । कृत्वा पूर्वमृतस्यावो द्वितीयस्य ततः पुनः । तृतीयस्य ततः कुर्यात्संनिपाते त्वयं
क्रमः ।... भवेद्यदि सपिण्डानां युगपन्मरणं तदा । सम्बन्धासत्तिमालोच्य तत्क्रमाच्छ्राद्धमाचरेत् ॥
पृथ्वीच. folio 265 a; आकाशिः । पित्रोस्तु मरणं चैतस्यादेकदेव यदा तदा । पितृर्वाहादिकं
कृत्वा पश्चात्प्रातः समाचरेत् ॥ *ibid* folio 266 a.

1233. द्वये पितॄणां आर्द्धे तु आर्द्धौच जायते यदि । आर्द्धौच तु व्यतिक्रान्ते तेभ्यः
आर्द्धं पवीर्यते ॥ एकोद्विहे तु संघाते यदि विद्यः प्रजायते । मासेऽव्यर्द्धमस्तिथौ तस्यां आर्द्धं
कुर्यात्स्वयमतः ॥ अथ्यशृङ्ग q. by अपरार्क p. 561, आ. कि. को. p. 480, मव. पा. 618.
स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 206. 70 is a very similar verse and the verse एकोद्विहे तु is
भवहपुराण (मेघदूत 45.9).

'if impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pītr̥s, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddīṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same tithi'. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas falls owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsya or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsya.¹²³⁴ The Padmapurāṇa (Pāṭalakhanda 101. 68-70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer amaśrāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛtis that one¹²³⁵ should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sapindana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prāyaścittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including sāmvaśarika are set out. Hārīta says: one partaking of food at Navaśrāddha should undergo Cāndrāyana, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a pratyūḍhika śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts. A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal

1234. भासिकाये तु संवाते तन्तरा सुतसुते। वदन्ति सुदौ तत्कार्यं द्रौ वापि विष्णुः
कथाः॥ वदन्तिस्मृत q. by अपराक p. 561; भासिकायुद्धकुम्भानि आह्वानि यस्मै च । अति-
संवत्सरं आह्वं सुतकान्तरं विदुः।...एकादश्यां कुम्भपक्षे कर्तव्यं शुभमिच्छता। तत्र एतस्मिन्ने
हेतावमायां किपते तु तत्॥ पञ्च० (पातालखण्ड 101. 68 and 71).

1235. अथ सुदआह्वं द्विवेदासीये। सपिण्डीकरणार्थं वाचव्यवर्धनं भवेत्। तावदेव
न भोक्तव्यं कवेऽहनि कदाचन॥...प्रथमेस्थीनि मज्जा च द्वितीये मांसमक्षणम्। तृतीये दधिं
मोक्षं आह्वं सुदं चतुर्थकमिति आह्वकारिकोक्तः। नि. सि. III p. 475; चाण्ड्यायनं नव-
आह्वं मज्जापर्यं तु मिश्रके। एकाहं तु दुराजेषु मायधिशं विधीयते॥ इति q. in परा. मा. II.
1. p. 423; see आह्वविशेष of बह्वर्ष p. 113, आ. कि. को. p. 345 for similar rules
from other स्मृतिः; पञ्च V. 10. 19 says 'न भोक्तव्यं कुम्भस्य चाण्ड्यायनं करेत्'.

placed before brāhmaṇas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his vedic learning and *tapas*, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj. I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms¹²³⁶ that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85-86 (= Padma V. 19. 236-237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i. e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz. the Rgveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the *pitr̥s*. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Pinda-pitr̥yajña performed every month on *amāvāsyā*, the Mahāpitr̥yajña performed in the Śākamedha and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmaṇas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the *pañca-yajñas*), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a *via media* for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

1236. मतिग्रहसमर्चोऽपि मत्तङ्गं तत्र वर्जयेत् । मतिग्रहेण ह्यस्याद्यु नाङ्गं तेजः यशान्पतिः ।
मनु IV. 186; vide वक्त्र. IV. 19. 268 for a similar verse. राजन् मतिग्रहो धोरो
मज्जात्वाहो विधोयमः । तद् ज्ञात्वा नानः कस्मान्न कुर्वेऽस्माभ्यलोभनम् ॥ इमं धृत्वा तमश्वाक्रो...
तेन दुर्यस्तो राजा धोस्तस्य मतिग्रहः ॥ वक्त्र V. 19. 235.

the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III. 125-126), the Kūrmapurāṇa II. 22. 27, Padmapurāṇa V. 9. 98¹²³⁷ that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of śrāddhas, particularly in the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of śrāddha is certainly admirable, viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and *pitrs*. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer *pindas* to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering *pindas* and water (with sesame) at Gayā 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of *pretas* be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesame and may everything, whether moving or immoveable from Brahmā up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

1237. द्वौ देवे पितृकृत्ये त्रिनैकैकमुपयत्नः । भोजयेद्विष्णुरेदीह न कुर्याद्विस्तरं बुधः ॥ पद्म V. 9. 98. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्भक्षणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण क्षत्रियो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एव वा अन्तुषो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । ते. सं. VI. 3. 10.5; क्षत्रमस्मिन् संनयत्यनुत्तवं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चैजीवतो मुखम् ॥ दे. भा. 33.1. This subject has been dealt with already in H. of Dh. vol III. pp. 414-416 and may be further dilated upon under Gayāśrāddha. वे कौशिल्येतरूपेण वर्तन्ते पितरो मम । ते सर्वे वृत्तिमावाप्नु सक्तमिस्तिहानिभित्तेः ॥ आब्रह्मस्तम्भपर्यन्तं वर्त्तिकाक्षित्स्त्रचराचरम् । मया दत्तेन तोवेन वृत्तिमावाप्नु सर्वज्ञः ॥ बाहुपुराण 110. 63-64. Compare also a similar invocation in बाहु. 110. 21-22 and the Mettasutta in the Suttanipāṭa.

implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.*

* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER XI

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties¹²³⁷ of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbini or Rummindei), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of *dharma* by delivering his first sermon (at Sarnāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of *nirvāṇa* (Kusinārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI p. 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says¹²³⁸ somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred¹²³⁹

1237. Vide S. B. E. vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties. The pilgrimage is called *Hāj* and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called *Hājī*.

1238. Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII (ed. of 1862) p. 188.

1239. Tagore in his '*Sādhana*' (p. 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

(Continued on the next page)

and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Rāmeśvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at *tirthas* made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted long even after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values. These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to *tirthas*. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. provides ¹²¹⁰ that the *dharma* common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, *ahimsā*, obedience to elders, *visiting holy places*, compassion, straightforwardness,

(Continued from the last page)

beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind.' There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now). If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there.

1240. इमा सर्वं वना शीतं वानमिच्छिषसंयमः । अहिंसा द्रव्यभुषा तीर्थावसरणं
इवा । आर्जवं लोभद्वेषात्तं देवमाहात्म्यपूजनम् । अनभ्युषा च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II 16-17. Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II. 80. 1-4 for a list of सामान्यधर्मसं
such as अहिंसा, सत्यवचन, तीर्थावसरण and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 11 notes 28-30
for quotations about सामान्यधर्मसं from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण and other
sources.

freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmanas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tirthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tirthas harshly.

The word tirtha occurs frequently in the Rgveda and other Vedic saṁhitās. In several passages of the Rgveda tirtha appears to mean a road or a way (e. g. in Rg. I. 169. 6 'tirthē nāryaḥ paurnsyāni tasthuḥ', Rg. I. 173. 11 'tirthē nācchā tāṛṣāpam-oko', Rg. IV. 29. 3 'karan-na Indraḥ sutirthābhayam ca.' In some places tirtha may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Rg. VIII. 47. 11 'sutirtham-arvato yathānu no neṣathā sugam &c.', Rg. I. 46. 8 'arītram vām divas-prthu tirthē sindhūnām rathaḥ'. In Rg. X. 31. 3 'tirthē na dasmam-upa yantūmāḥ', tirtha probably means 'a holy place'. On Rg. VIII. 19. 37 'Suvāstva adhi tugvani' the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and *tugvan* means 'tirtha' (either a ford or a holy spot). In the Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1-2¹²⁴¹ it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a tirtha (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prow! about tirthas (ye tirthāni pracaranto śrkāvanto niṣaṅgiṇaḥ) in Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 1-2 and Vāj. S. 16. 61 (reads 'śrkāhastā'). In the Sāṅkhayana Br.¹²⁴² it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable tirthas (of the sea). Tirtha also means the way between the 'utkara' and 'cātvala' pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the *vihāra*).^{1242a} Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e. g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tirthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अण्डु स्नाति साक्षादेव दीक्षातपसी अवश्ये तीर्थे स्नाति। ते. सं. VI. 1.1.1-2 Vide जैमिनि III. 4. 14-16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage.

1242. समुद्रो वा एव सर्वज्ञो यद्गङ्गायां तस्य हेतुः अत्र तीर्थं वास्तव्ये तद्यथा अनाद्यन्तो तीर्थार्थं समुद्रमतीनासादकं तत्। शां. भा. II. 9.

1242 a. ते अन्तरेण आत्मालोकरा उपनिष्कामन्ति तद्धि यज्ञस्य तीर्थमात्रं नाम । शां. भा. 189.

them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tirtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śālagrāma near it).¹²⁴³ Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tirthas are tirthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nadi and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāṇa¹²⁴⁴ says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tirtha and that the main thing is to go to (i. e. associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the Rgveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers¹²⁴⁵ are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In Rg. VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (tā āpo devir-ihā māmavantu). In Rg. VII. 49. 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punānāḥ). Rg. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30¹²⁴⁶ are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai. S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarvā devatāḥ). In the Atharvaveda¹²⁴⁷ (I. 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

1243. यथा क्षीरस्योद्वेशाः केचिन्मध्यतमाः स्मृताः । तथा पृथिव्या उद्वेशाः केचित् पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः ॥ प्रभावादद्भुताश्चमेः सलिलस्य च तेजसा । परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता ॥ पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखण्ड) 237.25-27, स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6.43-44, नारदीय-पुराण II. 62. 46-47. These verses are quoted by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ pp. 7-8 (ascribes them to महाभारत) and by तीर्थप्र. p. 10. Similar verses occur in अनु-शासनपर्व 108. 16-18 'क्षीरस्य यथोद्वेशाः क्षुब्धः परिकीर्तितः । तथा पृथिव्या भागाश्च पुण्यानि सलिलानि च । ...परिग्रहाच्च साधूनां पृथिव्याश्चैव तेजसा । अतीव पुण्यभागास्ते सलिलस्य च तेजसा ॥'.

1244. मुख्यया पुरुषयात्रा हि तीर्थयात्रानुबद्धतः । सद्भिः समाश्रितो भूप भूमिभागस्तथो-च्यते ॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 13.10 ; यद्भिः पूर्वतमैः सद्भिः सेवितं धर्मसिद्धये । सद्भिः पुण्यतमं लोकं सम्प्रतीर्थं प्रचक्षते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण q. by पृथ्वीख० folio 135 b.

1245. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the Rg.

1246. इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मायि । यद्वाहमभिदुज्जोह यद्वा शेप उताहृतम् ॥ ऋ. X. 9.8.

1247. हिरण्यवर्णाः क्षुब्धः पावका याहु जातः सपिता यास्नाग्निः । या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे क्षुवर्णास्ता न आपः क्षी रपोना भवन्तु ॥ अथर्व० I. 33. 1.

are invoked in Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 64. 9, and X. 75. 5-6.¹²⁴⁸ In Rg. X. 104. 8 Indra is said to have secured for gods and men ninety-nine flowing rivers. Vide also Rg. I. 32. 14 for 99 rivers. Rg. X. 64. 8 speaks of rivers that are thrice seven and the next verse mentions the three great rivers, viz. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu, as divine and as mothers. Śaṅkara remarks that these three are the principal rivers of three groups of seven rivers each. Seven Sindhus are mentioned in many verses of the Rgveda (e. g. I. 32. 12, I. 34. 8, I. 35. 8, II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) and the Atharvaveda (VI. 2. 1 'apām napāt sindhavaḥ sapta pātana'). The river Sarasvatī has three hymns devoted to it as a deity in the Rg. (viz. VI. 61, VII. 95 and 96) and it is addressed in many detached verses also. Rg. VII. 95. 2 says that the pure Sarasvatī, flowing from the mountains up to the sea, alone among rivers, knew the prayer of Nāhuṣa and granted it. A king and smaller people are said to dwell on the banks of the Sarasvatī (Rg. VIII. 21. 18).¹²⁴⁹ The impetuous and roaring

1248. इमं मे गङ्गे वसुने सरस्वति क्षुताद्भि स्तोमं सञ्जता पदङ्गया। असिकम्पा मयद्बुधे
वितस्तयाऽऽर्जकीये कृष्णया सुषोमया॥ तुहामया प्रथमं यातये सज्जः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेता रया।
तं सिन्धो कुभया गोमती कुसुं मेहन्त्या सरयं वाहिरीयसे॥ अ. X. 75. 5-6.

1249. Vide Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XV, pp. 1-63, where an attempt is made to show that Sarasvatī was really the Indus. But this is far from acceptable. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned in Rg. X. 64. 9 as the chief rivers of three groups. Prof. Ksetreschandra Chattopadhyaya refers to the conflict of views among scholars, admits (on p. 22) that, in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rgveda, Sarasvatī cannot be identified with the Indus, that in Rg. III. 23. 4 Sarasvatī cannot be held to be the Indus and asserts that in Maṇḍalas VI and VII of the Rg. Sarasvatī is really the Indus, while in Maṇḍala X it is not so. The whole argument is vitiated by several unwarranted assumptions. He takes the modern conditions of *Sarsuti* as existing in the early Vedic period. What reasons are there against holding that the Sarasvatī was in very ancient times a mighty river like the modern Indus and that owing to volcanic eruptions or earthquake upheavals and convulsions in the dim past the Sarasvatī lost its mighty character? Further how many centuries does he postulate as having intervened between the composition of the 6th and 7th Maṇḍalas and Rg. III. 23. 4 and Rg. X. 75. 5? I for my part find no difficulty in holding that in Rgvedic times there were two mighty rivers, the Sindhu (Indus) and the Sarasvatī. I cannot enter into this question in greater detail here. Even in the Purāṇas the Sarasvatī is described as springing from a Plakṣa tree, as flowing through Kurukṣetra, as rending asunder thousands of hillocks and as entering the Dvāita forest. Vide Vāmana-purāṇa chap. 32. 1-4 'सेवा शैलस्रङ्गजाणि विदार्य च महानदी। प्रविष्टा पुण्डरीकेषा दमं ह्रस्वमिति क्षुत्म्॥'

flood of the Sarasvatī impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Rg. VI. 61. 2 and 8¹²⁵⁰. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvatī is spoken of as *asuryā* (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Dr̥śadvatī, the Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Rg. III. 23. 4). In Rg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame naditame devitame Sarasvatī). Rg. I. 3. 11-12 praise¹²⁵¹ Sarasvatī as a river and a deity, as a purifier (*pāvaka*), as the impeller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Rg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the R̥gvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatī. Though from the R̥gveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the R̥gveda Sarasvatī was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śūtudrī (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brāhmanas it disappeared in the sands. It is now generally identified with the modern Sarasutī which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvatī.¹²⁵² There were three *satras* called Sārasvata, viz. the first in honour of Mitra and Varuna, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman. The *dikṣū* (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī where it disappeared underground¹²⁵³. Vide Tāṇḍya Br.

1250. इयं ह्यग्नेभिर्भिसखा इवाहजस्तातु गिरिणां तविषेभिरुमिभिः। ऋ. VI. 61.2; यस्या अनन्तो अद्भुतस्त्वेषश्चरिण्युरणवः। अमश्चरति रोहवत् ॥ ऋ. VI. 61.8. The निरुक्त II. 23 remarks 'तत्र सरस्वती इत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति' and explains Rg. VI. 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251. सोदायित्री हृदतानां चेतन्ती हुमतीनाम्। यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती॥ महो अर्णः सरस्वती य चेतयति केतुना। ऋ. I. 3. 11-12. For this last, vide निरुक्त XI. 27.

1252. पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सञ्ज्ञातसः। सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सी देवोऽभवत्सरित्॥ वाज. सं. 34. 11.

1253. सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते।... ह्यद्भुत्या अप्ययेऽपोनत्प्रोयं चरं निरूप्याधातयन्ति। अतुश्चत्वारिंशदांशीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् एक्षः प्राञ्चवजः तावद्विदुः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसंमितेनाध्वना स्वर्गलोके यन्ति।... यदा एक्षं प्राञ्चवजमायच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम्।... कारपञ्चर्षं प्रति यदुनामवधुधमग्यवयन्ति। ताण्ड्य 25. 10. 1, 15, 16, 21, 23. मनु II. 17 defines ब्रह्मार्चत as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and ह्यद्भुती and (II. 21) मध्यदेश as the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya mount-

25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25.12 for the third. The land between Vinasana and Plakṣa Prāśravāṇa (which was the source of the Sarasvatī) was the proper locality for Sārasvata sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī an *istī* to Apām Napāt was performed wherein boiled rice (*caru*) was the offering. From the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared up to Plakṣa-Prāśravāṇa the distance was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights. When the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plakṣa Prāśravāṇa they should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and undergo the Avabhṛtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava (and not in the Sarasvatī even if it had water). For details, vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15-19) which mentions (in 10. 19. 1) a spot called Parīṇaḥ in Kurukṣetra where the Vedic fires were to be kindled, the Āśv. Ś. 8. 12. 6. 1-28 which adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from the Vinasana one day is to be spent by the sacrificers, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-6) which states that the *istī* at the confluence of the Drśadvatī and Sarasvatī is to be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. 8. 23. 12-13 (which gives more details than any one of the other three sūtras). In the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a sattra on the Sarasvatī and Kavaśa who was sitting amongst them was driven out by them as not a brāhmaṇa but the son of a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he would die of thirst; but he praised the waters or *Apām napāt* with the hymn, Rg. X. 30 ('pra devatrā brahmaṇe') called 'Aponaptriya' and Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where Kavaśa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-

(Continued from the last page)

ains, which is to the east of विनङ्गन and west of प्रायङ्गन. For the mention of विनङ्गन in the Baud. Dh. S., Vanaparva and Śalyaparva, vide II. of Dh. vol. II. p. 14 note 35. Dr. D. R. Patil in his thesis 'Cultural History of Vāyupurāṇa' (p. 334) remarks that the institution of pilgrimage was first started by Buddhists and Jains and that later on it became common to all faiths in India. This is quite wrong. The Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra passages clearly show that there were holy places in the comparatively small part of India up to the Yamunā where the Sārasvata sattras had to be carried on. The importance of holy places, visiting them and performing religious rites there were known in the Brāhmaṇa period at least a thousand years before Buddhism and Jainism began to spread.

forward came to be called ¹²⁵⁴ 'Parisaraka'. This shows that in the times of the Ait. Br. and long before it the bed of the Sarasvatī was dry. Devala ¹²⁵⁵ mentions several places as Sārasvata tīrthas. The Rgveda ¹²⁵⁶ VIII. 6.28 appears to hold that the valleys of mountains and the confluences of rivers are sacred. Mountains have been held by most ancient peoples to be the abodes of gods. Mount Parnassus north of Delphi was one of the most holy mountains in classical Greece and Olympus was supposed to be the home of the gods. In the Rgveda Parvata is a dual deity with Indra. 'O, Indra and Parvata! may you two sharpen (or purify) us (our intellects)' Rg. I. 122.3 ¹²⁵⁷; O, Indra and Parvata! May you two, being in the forefront of battle, kill with the thunderbolt every one who desires to attack us with an army' Rg. I. 132. 6. In Rg. VI. 49. 14 a prayer is addressed to Parvata separately 'May the god Ahirbudhnya, may Parvata and may Savitr bestow on us food together with the waters on account of our prayers'. In Rg. III. 33.1 the two great rivers Vipās (modern Beas) and Sūtudri are described as issuing from the lap of mountains. Here the word 'Parvata' is used in its ordinary sense. The Atharvaveda ¹²⁵⁸ speaks of a salve (āñjana) from Traikakuda peaks of the Himālaya mountain 'May that salve which comes off the Himālaya from Traikakuda (peaks) destroy all wizards and all witches'. The Hir. Gr. I. 3.11.5 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 168) also

1254. अथथो वै सरस्वत्या सत्रमाकृत। ऐ. ब्रा. 8. 1; माथ्यमाः सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत तद्वापि कथो मध्ये निपत्सुव। तं हेम उपोदुक्षारया वै त्वं पुत्रोऽस्मि न वयं त्वया सह भक्षयिष्याम इति। स ह कुक्षः पद्मवत्सरस्वतीमेतेन कुक्षेन तुष्टाव तं हेयमान्वियाय। शां. ब्रा. XII. 3. It may be noted that the Vanaparva chap 83 when enumerating the numerous tīrthas on the Sarasvatī and in कुक्षेऽत्र mentions a famous tīrtha called Saraka which is said to contain in it the sanctity of three crores of tīrthas (verses 75-76). This सरक appears to be the same as the परिसरक tīrtha of सरस्वती.

1255. प्रसप्तवर्षणं बृहदकन्याकं सारस्वतमादित्यतीर्थं कौशेरं वैजयन्तं वृषभकं नेमिज्ञं विनज्ञानं वंशोद्भवं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि। श्वेत q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 250.

1256. उपहरे गिरिणा सङ्घे च नदीनाम्। धिया विभो अजायत॥ अ. VIII. 6. 28 = वाज. सं. 26. 15 (which reads सङ्घे).

1257. शिशीतमिन्द्रापर्वता पुवं नस्तको चिन्वे वारिवरवन्तु देवाः॥ अ. I. 122. 3 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्वतान् बृहन्नाद्विपूरणवान् पर्जन्यः); पुवं तमिन्द्रापर्वता दुरोदुधा यो नः वृत्त्याद्यप्य तंतमिन्द्रतं वज्रेण तंतमिन्द्रतम्। अ. I. 132. 6 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्वतान्मेवः। तद्विभिमानी देवः); तजोऽहिर्बुध्न्यो अद्विर्कस्तत्पर्वतस्तत्सविता चनो धात्। अ. VI. *49. 14.

1258. यद्वाञ्छनं त्रैककुक्षं जातं हिमवतस्परि। यातुं च सर्वाज्जम्भयत्सर्वाश्च यातुधान्यः॥ अथर्व. IV. 9.9; vide also Sat. Br. in SBE vol. 26 p. 15.

refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud. Dh. S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same sūtra ¹²⁵⁹ stating that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods.' The Vāyupurāṇa ¹²⁶⁰ and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhanda 39. 46-47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tirtha on rivers is known it should be called Viṣṇutirtha. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as *devatāmā* (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I. 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmāṇḍa (II. 16. 20-23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

1259. सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः सर्वाः जलनद्यः पुण्या इवास्तीर्थाः पुष्पिनिवासा गोष्ठपरिष्कन्द्या इति देशाः। गो. 19. 14 = वसिष्ठ 22. 12 = बौ. ध. सू. III. 10. 12 (which reads ऋषि-निकेतनानि गोष्ठक्षेत्रपरिष्कन्द्या इति°).

1260. सर्वे पुण्यं हिमवतो गङ्गा पुण्या च सर्वतः। सद्युद्रगाः सद्युद्राश्च सर्वे पुण्याः सम-
न्ततः॥ वायुपुराण 77. 117; सर्वत्र हिमवान् पुण्यो गङ्गा...न्ततः। नद्यः सद्युद्रगाः पुण्याः
सद्युद्रश्च विशेषतः॥ कूर्म II. 37. 49-50; 'राजा समस्ततीर्थानां सागरः सरितां पतिः।'।
नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 58. 19; सर्वे प्रसवणाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्याः शिलोच्चयाः। नद्यः पुण्याः
सदा सर्वा जाह्नवी तु विशेषतः॥ शङ्ख 8. 14 (reads सरासि च शिलोच्चयाः)। q. by तीर्थ-
प्रकाश p. 14; सर्वाः सद्युद्रगाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्याः जगत्समाः। सर्वमायतनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या
वनाश्रमाः॥ श्लोक q. by तीर्थकल्प° p. 250; पद्म IV. 93.46 has almost the same
words (reads वनाश्रमाः). The great mountains (called कुलपर्वतः) generally
enumerated are: महेंद्रो मलयः सद्यः क्षुत्किमावृक्षपर्वतः। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सतात्र
कुलपर्वतः॥ कूर्म I. 47. 23-24, वामन 13. 14-15; वायु I. 85, मत्स्य 113.10-12. ब्रह्म
18.16 enumerate them somewhat differently. The बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 81 says:
'तत्रापि रैवतकविन्ध्यसहाकुमारमलयश्चीपर्वतपारियात्राः स कुलाचलाः'। The शील-
मतपुराण 57 reads 'महेंद्रो...क्षुत्किमानपि। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वताः'।
The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (II. 16.39) and वायु (45.108) observe about rivers falling
into the sea: तास्तु नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वा गङ्गाः सद्युद्रगाः। विन्ध्यश्च मातरः सर्वा जगत्पापहराः
रक्षताः॥ In some Purāṇas certain great rivers are said to be specially holy
at certain times. For example, देवीपुराण quoted by कल्प (on तीर्थ) p. 242 states
'कार्तिके ग्रहणं भेदे गङ्गा यमुनसङ्गमे। मार्गे तु ग्रहणं पुण्यं देविकार्या महायुगे॥ पौषे तु
नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सनिहिता क्षुभा। फाल्गुने वर्णा लयाता चैत्रे पुण्या सरस्वती॥ वैशाखे तु
महापुण्या चन्द्रभागा सरिहारा। ज्येष्ठे तु कौशिकी पुण्या आषाढे तापिका नदी। श्रावणे सिन्धु-
नामा च भाद्रमासे च गण्डकी। आश्विने सरयूश्च ध्रुवः पुण्या तु नर्मदा॥ गोदावरी महापुण्या
चन्द्र राहुसमाश्रितेः। एवमादिगङ्गायाश्चैव तीर्थेषु सविहारास्तु सर्वेभ्यो स्वभावेषु पुलिनेषु प्रसवनेषु
पर्वतेषु निकुलेषु वनेष्वप्यनेषु योग्यलिङ्गेषु जगत्क्षुभः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85.

Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U. S. A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence. But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Caroll, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in 'a Journey to Lourdes') one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Rg. X. 146 a large forest ¹²⁶¹ (Aranyāni) is invoked as a deity. The Vāmanapurāṇa mentions ¹²⁶² seven forests in Kurukṣetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalākivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Punyāśitavana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tīrthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva ¹²⁶³ a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

1261. अरण्यामरण्यामसी या देव नश्यति। कथा ग्रामे न पृच्छति न त्वा भीरिषि विमृशति॥ ऋ. X. 146. 1. The निरुक्त 9. 30 explains this verse and says अरण्यानी means अरण्यस्य पत्नी, while the वार्तिक 'हिमारण्यामहस्ये' on पा. IV. 1. 49 holds that अरण्यानी is formed from अरण्य in the sense of महत्त्व.

1262. ह्यष्ट सप्त वनानीह कुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः। येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपापहराणि च॥ काण्वकं च वनं पुण्यं। बामनपुराण 34. 3-5.

1263. ऋषिभिः कृतवः शोका देवेष्विव यथाक्रमम्। फले खेव यथातथ्यं त्रेयं चेह च सर्वशः॥ न ते शक्या दुरिद्रेण यज्ञाः श्राप्तुं महीपते। बहुपकरणा यज्ञा मानासम्भाराविस्तराः॥ प्रापन्ते पार्थिवैरैतैः सद्युद्धैर्वा नरैः कश्चित्। मार्थम्यूनैर्नोषण्यैरेकात्मभिरसाधनैः॥ यो दुरिद्रेरपि विधिः शक्यः श्राप्तुं नरेभ्यः। तुल्यो यज्ञफलैः पुण्यैस्तं निबोध युष्मां वरम्। ऋषीणां परमं सुखं सिद्धं भरतसत्तम। तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विज्ञियते॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 82. 13-17, q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 37, तीर्थमः p. 12 (which explains अषगर्जैः तस्मादिसहायराहितैः, यज्ञस्य कुण्डमण्डपादिसाध्यत्वात्, एकात्मभिः, पत्नीराहितैः, असंश्रितैः ऋषिगादिसङ्घनतराहितैः)। The अष्टशासनपर्व (107. 2-4) has almost the same verses as न ते शक्या...शक्यः श्राप्तुं सदा भवेत्; मत्स्यपुराण (chap. 112. 12-15) has these verses (except the half verse मार्थम्यूनैः...साधनैः and यज्ञपुराण, आदिकण्ड 11. 14-17, 49. 12-15; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 4-5 for the same ideas in almost the same words.

they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agnistoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 82. 9-12 and Anuśāsana 108. 3-4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says ¹²⁶⁴ 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (Kāśikhanda 6.3) asserts 'snāna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all taint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta' (as having had a bath). The Anuśāsana has almost the same

1264. यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम् । विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ यतियथादुपावृत्तः सन्तुष्टो येन केनचित् । अहङ्कारनिवृत्तश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अकल्क-
को निरारम्भो लब्धाहारो जितेन्द्रियः । विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यः स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अक्रोधनश्च
राजेन्द्र सत्यशीलो ब्रह्मव्रतः । आत्मोपमश्च भूतेषु स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ वनपर्व 82. 9-12 q. by
the तीर्थकल्पतक pp. 4-5, तीर्थम. p. 13 (only 9 and 12). 'हस्तयोः संयमः परपीडा-
चौर्यादिनिवृत्त्या, पादयोः संयमः अगम्यदेशगमनपरताडनादिनिवृत्त्या । मनसः संयमः
कुत्सितसङ्कल्पादिनिवृत्त्या । विद्या अत्र तत्सतीर्थगुणज्ञानम्, तपः तीर्थोपासादि, कीर्तिः
सञ्चारितत्वेन प्रसिद्धिः' तीर्थम. p. 13. 'अकल्ककः दुष्प्ररहितः, निरारम्भोऽत्रार्थाजंनान्निष्पापा-
रहितः' तीर्थकल्पतक p. 5. Vide also वनपर्व 92.11, 93. 20-23. The above verses
of the वनपर्व occur in पञ्च, आदिकण्ड 11. 9-12 and the first two in पञ्च, उत्तरकण्ड
237. 30-32; all occur in स्कन्द, काशीकण्ड 6. 48-51; बाहु 110. 4-5 are the
same as the first two; the verse यस्य हस्तौ च is भाट्टरवृत्ति 8. 15, ब्रह्म 25.2, अग्नि
109. 1-2; the स्कन्द (I. 2.2. 5-6) says that Āṅgīras sang the gāthā यस्य...
संयतम् । निषिकाराः क्रियाः सर्वाः स...श्नुते.

words (108.9).^{1264a} The Vāyupurāṇa states¹²⁶⁵ 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tirthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages'. The Skandapurāṇa (I. 1. 31. 37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, *manah-śuddhi*). The Padmapurāṇa (IV. 80. 9) remarks: sacrifices, *vratas*, *tapas* and *dāna* cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa¹²⁶⁶ puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tirtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varnas and āśramas.' Some of the Purāṇas (such as Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhapṇḍa 6, Padma, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (*bhūma*) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tirthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (*brahmacharya*), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tirthas and the highest tirtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all *tirthas* and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,

1264 a. नोदकक्लिङ्गनात्रस्तु स्नात इत्यभिधीयते । स स्नातो यो दमस्नातः सत्वाद्या-
भ्यन्तरः शुचिः ॥ अतुष्टासन 108.9.

1265. तीर्थार्यसुखसर्व धीरः श्रद्धधानो जितेन्द्रियः । कृतपापो विष्णुभ्येत किं पुनः
शुभकर्मकृत् ॥ अभद्रधानाः पाप्मानो नास्तिताः स्थितसंज्ञयाः । हेतुद्वया च पञ्चेते न तीर्थफल-
भाविनः ॥ वायु 77. 125 and 127 q. by तीर्थकल्पः pp. 5-6, ती. त्रि. p. 4 (which
explains पापात्मा बहुपापमस्तस्तस्य पापशमनं तीर्थं भवति न तु पथोक्तफलम्). These
verses occur also in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 56. 52-53.

1266. पापानां पापशमनं धर्मवृद्धिस्तथा सताम् । विज्ञेयं सेवितं तीर्थं तस्मातीर्थपरो
भवेत् ॥ सर्वेदामेव कर्माणां सर्वाभमनिवातिनाम् । तीर्थे फलमहं ज्ञेयं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 7 and 9.

cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tirthas, if the mind is not pure.¹²⁶⁷ The Brahmapurāṇa (25.4-6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which *surā* (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tirthas, gifts, *vratas*, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and Puskara'. The Vāmanapurāṇa has a fine¹²⁶⁸ *Rūpaka* about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 39. 56-61) extends the meaning and scope of tirthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the *Aśvattha* exists, a place where Purāṇa is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tirthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsyapurāṇa states¹²⁶⁸ that Vāyu declared that there are 35 millions of tirthas in the sky, in the ærial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāṇa 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Liṅgas. The Brahmapurāṇa says that the number of tirthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

1267. सत्यं तीर्थं कृमा तीर्थं...तीर्थानामुत्तमं तीर्थं विष्णुर्दिग्मनसः पुनः।...जायन्ते च श्रियन्ते च जलेष्वेव जलौकसः। न च गच्छन्ति ते स्वर्गमपि सुखमनोमलाः।...दानमिषया तपः शौचं तीर्थसेवा सुतं तथा। सर्वाण्येतान्यतीर्थानि यदि भावो न निर्मलः॥ स्कन्द, काशी G. 28-45, पञ्च, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 11-28; compare मत्स्य 22.80 (सत्यं तीर्थं दया तीर्थं-).

1267 a. आत्मा नदी संयमतोयपूर्णं सत्यावहा शीलतया दयामिः। तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वन् पाण्डुपुत्र न वारिणा क्षुध्यति आन्तरात्मा॥ बालमपुराण 43. 25.

1268. तिस्रः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटिश्च तीर्थानां वायुरवधीत्। दिवि भूयन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवी रभृता॥ मत्स्यपुराण 110.7, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 53-54, and पञ्च IV. 89. 16-17 and V. 20 150 (last पाद)। तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवी); बराह 159. 6-7 वाटिकोटिसहस्रानि वाटिकोटिसहस्रानि च। तीर्थान्येतानि देवाश्च तारकाश्च नभस्तले। गणितानि सम्स्तानि वायुना जगदायुषा॥ तिस्रः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटौ च तीर्थानि भूवर्णये। तानि स्नातुं समायागन्ति यक्षप्रां सिंहने हुरौ॥ ब्रह्मपु. 175. 83; तस्मान्मन्त्रायुजं वयमामि तीर्थान्याचरन्तानि च। विस्मयेन न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं वर्षासतेरपि॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 25. 7-8.

enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva ¹²⁶⁹ remarks that Naimiṣa is the (best) tirtha on the earth and Puṣkara in the aerial region, while Kurukṣetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tirthas are present in Puṣkara (chap. 82.21). New tirthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the tirtha priests led them to prepare numerous mahātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Most of the writers of digests on tirthas follow a process of selection. The Tirthakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110-1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārāṇasī and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tirthas as Puṣkara, Pṛthūdaka, Kokāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra. The Nṛsimhaprasāda (Tirthasāra) mostly deals with tirthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Puṇḍarīka (modern Pandharpur), Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā-venyā, Narmadā. The Tri-śthalīsetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tirthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purāṇas, Mahātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellent. If a man reads the description of one tirtha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tirtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tirtha like Kāśī or Prayāga he need not go to any other tirtha, nor need he perform any *yajña* or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that ¹²⁷⁰ even gods and sages secured

1269. पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम् । त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुपक्षेत्रं विशि-
ष्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 202, q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 19 and तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 178; नीलकण्ठ explains:
नैमिषारण्ये कृतं पुण्यं पृथिव्यामेव सन्ततिर्नपि सार्वभौमादिपद्ममतिहेतुरित्यर्थः, अन्तरिक्षे
क्षरं चन्द्रादियामो नक्षत्रादिसंकेषु पुष्करं प्रापयतीत्यर्थः. The same verse occurs in
मत्स्य 109.3, पञ्च (आदिकण्ठ 27.87) and the first half in वामन 7. 37.

1270. पुष्करेण महाभाग देवाः सर्वे नृणाः पुंसाः । तिर्यङ् समभित्तं प्राप्ताः पुण्येन महता-
न्विताः ॥ तत्राभिवेकं यः कुर्यात्पितृदेवाद्यने रतः । अश्वमेधाहवस्युणं कृतं याहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ वनपर्व
82. 26-27; मात्स्यपुराणे तीर्थ लोकेऽस्मिन्परिपठ्यते । पञ्च. (5th खण्ड, 27.78).

perfection at Puskara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pitra secures rewards ten times of what the performance of *Asvamedha* might give. About this very tirtha viz. Puskara, the *Padmapurāṇa* says that there is no holier tirtha in this world. The *Vanaparva* (83. 145) in its eulogy of *Prthūdaka* asserts that *Kurukṣetra* is holy, that *Sarasvatī* is holier than *Kurukṣetra* and that *Prthūdaka* is holier than all other tirthas. The *Matsyapurāṇa* puts the comparative holiness of several tirthas thus 'the waters of the *Sarasvatī* purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of *Yamunā* in seven days, those of the *Ganges* at once, while the water of the *Narmadā* purifies a man at sight of it.' In its eulogy of *Vārāṇasī* the *Kūrma-purāṇa* states 'there is no place higher than *Vārāṇasī* nor will there be one' (I 31. 64). The inveterate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in *Kāśī* till one's death not only does a man become free from the great sin of *brāhmaṇa* murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.¹²⁷² The *Līṅgapurāṇa* says the same thing. The *Vāmana-purāṇa* remarks ¹²⁷³ that *mukti* (release from *samsāra*) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of *Brahman*, by *śrāddha* at *Gayā*, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of cows and by residence in *Kurukṣetra* and that those who die in *Kurukṣetra* never come down (to the earth). Mere residence in *Kāśī* was so much lauded that the *Matsya* (181. 23), the *Agni* (112. 3) and other *Purāṇas* say that after repairing to *Kāśī* one should smash one's feet with a stone (in order that

1271. त्रिभिः सरस्वती तीर्थं समासेन तु वायुनम् । सद्यः पुनाति बाह्येयं वर्त्मनाश्वेन नर्मदा ॥ एव, आदिकण्ड 13. 7, मत्व० 186. 11. The *अभिलिखितार्थचिन्तामणि* (*Mysore ed.*) I. 1. 130 has a very similar verse 'सरस्वती त्रिभिः स्नानैः पञ्चभिर्वैयुनायवत् । जाह्नवी स्नानमात्रेण दुर्धर्मेभ्य नर्मदा' ॥

1272. आ देहपतनापाशसत्कोत्रं यो न शुद्धति । न केवलं ब्रह्महत्या प्राकृतं च निवर्तते । प्राप्य चित्तेश्वरं देवं न तं भूयोऽभिजायते । मत्व० 182. 16-17, q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 17 (which reads प्राकृतस्य that is explained as संसारबन्ध) and तीर्थचि. p. 343 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap. 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Venk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमाहात्म्य. लिङ्गपुराण I. 92. 63 is विप्लवसकथितोऽपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः । इह क्षेत्रेऽवृत्तः सोऽपि संसारे न पुनर्भवेद् ; कार्यं कथं सुतो देवि अमुर्मोक्षाय कल्पते ॥ लिङ्ग० I. 92. 94. The verse आ देहपतनात् occurs in स्कन्द, काशीकण्ड 23. 67.

1273. ब्रह्मज्ञानं नवावार्त्तं ज्येष्ठे नर्यं भूयम् । वासः पुंसां कुपकोत्रे मुक्तिपत्ता चतुर्विधः । अहमज्ञातारणां कालेन वचनाद्भवम् । कुपकोत्रपुत्तनां च पतनं नैव विद्यते ॥ वागम. पुराण 33. 8 and 16 ; the first occurs in वायु० 105. 16, अग्नि 115. 5-6.

one may not be induced to visit another tirtha) ¹²⁷⁴ and stay in Kāśī forever.

The Brahmapurāṇa classifies tirthas into four divisions ¹²⁷⁵ viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), āṛṣa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārāyaṇa and mānuṣa (created by kings like Ambarīṣa, Manu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Himālayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godavari, Bhīmarathi, Tūṅgabhadra, Venikā, Tāpī, Payasni, Bhāgirathi, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Viśokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśī, Puṣkara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tīrthapr. p. 18). The Brahmapurāṇa (175. 31-32) assigns daiva, āsura, āṛṣa and mānuṣa tirthas respectively to the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purāṇas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (*adhikāra*) for tīrthayātrā. The Vanaparva ¹²⁷⁶ provides that brāhmanas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puṣkara all that sin vanishes. ¹²⁷⁷ Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tīrthayātrā. The Matsyapurāṇa ¹²⁷⁸ goes further and asserts that 'Avimukta

1274. अहमना चरणौ हत्वा वसेत्काशीं न हि त्यजेत् । अग्नि 112.3 ; अविमुक्तं यद्वा मृच्छेत् कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । अहमना चरणौ निषा तत्रैव निधनं ब्रजेत् ॥ मत्स्य 181.23, which last is quoted in तीर्थकल्पः p. 16 ; अहमना चरणौ हत्वा वाराणस्यां वसेन्नरः । कूर्म I. 31.35 q. by तीर्थम. p. 140.

1275. चतुर्विधानि तीर्थानि स्वर्गे मर्त्ये रसातले । देवानि मुनिर्मातुल आहुराण्याकृषाणि च । मातृषाणि त्रिलोकेषु विख्यातानि क्षुद्रादिभिः । ... ब्रह्मविष्णुशिर्वैर्देवीर्मितं देवमुच्यते । ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 16-19 q. by तीर्थमकाश p. 18, which also quotes the verses from ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 33-35 about the twelve rivers (देवतीर्थे). आकृष stands for आर्य. Vide ब्रह्म 70. 33-40 for examples of the four kinds of तीर्थे.

1276. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वा राजसूतस्य । न वे योनिं प्रजापन्ते स्नातास्तीर्थे मद्यात्मनः । वनपर्व 82. 30-31 q. by तीर्थम. p. 19 (which reads न विप्योनिं ब्रजमन्ते, meaning 'are not born in a condemned or low body').

1277. जन्ममृच्छति यत्पारं क्षिया वा पुत्रयेन वा । पुष्करे स्नातमात्रेण सर्वमेव प्रणश्यति ॥ वनपर्व 82. 33-34 q. by तीर्थम. p. 23.

1278. नानावर्णा विपर्णाश्च बन्धाला ये क्षुद्रास्त्रिताः । किल्बिषैः पुण्यदेहाश्च मृच्छतेः वातकीस्तथा । भेषजं पदमं तेषामविमुक्तं विदुर्बुधाः । मत्स्यपुराण 184. 66-67, कूर्मपु. I. 31. 12-43 q. by तीर्थकल्पक p. 26, तीर्थम. (on p. 140), तीर्थचि. p. 140.

(Vārāṇasī) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes, for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular *varṇa*, for cāṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins.' It is stated in the Vāmanapurāṇa: ¹²⁷⁹ persons of all the four āśramas (i. e. brahmacārins, householders, forest hermits and *sannyā-sins*) by bathing in the tirtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varṇas and women, when they bathe in tirthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāṇa that a brahmacārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhanda chap. 59-60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Kṛkālā who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām vinā yo dharmāḥ sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59. 33). The Tirthacintāmaṇi and Tirthaprakāśa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāṇa) which glorifies Vārāṇasī (called Avimukta there) as follows ¹²⁸⁰ 'brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons of mixed castes (varṇasankara), women, *mlecchas* and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell.' As regards ¹²⁸¹ women and śūdras, a smṛti verse provided '*Japa, tapas*, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (*sannyāsin*), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and

1279. ब्रह्मचारी पृथक्थ वाग्यस्यो वतिस्तथा । कुलाणि तारयेत्स्नातः सप्त सप्त च सप्त च ॥ ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैद्याः श्रियाः शूद्राश्च तपराः । तीर्थस्नाता भक्तिभुताः पदपति परमं पदम् ॥ वामनपुराण 36. 78-79.

1280. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैद्याः शूद्रा ये वर्णसङ्कराः । श्रियो म्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्निर्णाः पापबोध्यः ॥ कीदाः पिपीलिकाद्यैश्च ये चान्ये द्युनपक्षिणः । कालेन निषण्णं प्राप्ता अभिदुके वरा-जने ।... इति मे मम पुरे देवि जायन्ते तत्र मानवाः । नाभिदुके द्युतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किलिबपी । कुर्म I. 31. 32-34, मत्स्यपुराण 181. 19-21 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 346, तीर्थम. p. 139 (which quotes from कुर्मपुराण and adds नाभिदुके द्युतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किलिबपी); ईश्वराष्टपदीता हि सर्वे वाप्ति परां गतिम् । नाभिदुके द्युतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किलिबपी । कुर्म I. 31. 31-34 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 346, तीर्थम. p. 139. The same verses occur in पद्म I. 33. 18-21.

1281. जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा यज्ञया मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चेति श्रीशुद्धपतना-जिह्व ॥ q. by तीर्थम. p. 21, ascribed to मनु by अहोजि in विषयलीसेतुसारसंग्रह p. 2.

sūdras.' This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband's permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a *sūdra* in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a *sūdra* to wait upon learned brāhmaṇas (as laid down in Manu X. 123). *Katya-yana*¹²⁸² as quoted in the *Vyavahāramayūkha* provides 'whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i. e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband's) father, husband or son, would become fruitless.' It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that *tirthayātrā* was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband's estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband's estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband's *śrāddha* for the latter's spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide *Muteeram v. Gopal* 11 Beng. L. R. 416; *Darbari Lal v. Gobind* 46 All. 822; *Ganpat v. Tulsiram* 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur).¹²⁸³ It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability¹²⁸⁴ when bathing in holy waters.

1282. नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्ता कुलेन वा । विपत्तं तन्मयेकस्या वत्कलेरपौर्ब-
द्वेष्टिकम् ॥ कात्या. q. by च. म. ; p. 113; this verse is quoted by चतुर्वर्ग्ये on द्व. I. p. 327 as from आश्विनपुराण and और्ववेष्टिकम् is explained as इत्यनि.

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband's property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide *Hari v. Bajrand* 13 C. W. N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Purī for *bhog* (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow's own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in *Sardar Singh v. Kunj Behari* 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmaṇas. In *Dinanath v. Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband's soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmaṇas and her husband's relatives and alienated a portion of her husband's property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversifiers after the death of the widow.

1284. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संयामे वेजविहरे । नवरयामहादे च सृष्टास्तुष्टिर्न दुष्पति ॥
बृह. q. by कल्पतरु on छुद्रि p. 169, स्तुतिच. I. p. 122. This is variously explained. The तीर्थच. p. 41 says 'तीर्थे विवाह इत्यनेनानिवार्य-तीर्थाद्यधिकरणकास्तृप्त्यर्थो न दोषावेत्यभिधानात् । सृष्टास्तुष्टिर्न दुष्पतीति वचनं पञ्चाङ्गछुद्रौ कल्पतरुकृता लिखिते तीर्थे पञ्चाङ्गवर्गे न दोष इति । अत एव दुष्पतीत्यनेनोपादौ तथैव सिद्धाचार इति ॥' Vide above note 750 for the same quotation. The छुद्रिच. p. 130 explains: तीर्थादौ अस्तृप्त्य-
र्थज्ञेनै नाचमनस्यनादायि.

There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas adopted two propositions: viz. the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tirtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The Śānti-parva¹²⁸⁵ in the dialogue between Tulādhara and Jājali (a brāhmana proud of his *tapas*) asserts that puroḍāśa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvatī and all hillocks (and not merely Himālaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tirtha and advises Jājali not to be a guest (i. e. to be wandering in quest of tirthas) to several countries. The Tirthacintāmaṇi and Tirthaprakāśa quote passages from the Brahmapurāṇa that a brāhmana should wander about tirthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform *igñis* and *yajñas*, and that all the tirthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of *agnihotra*.¹²⁸⁶ The Kūrmapurāṇa¹²⁸⁷ has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties¹²⁸⁷ resorts to tirthas does not reap the fruits of

1285. पुरोडाशो हि सर्वेषां यजुर्ना मेव उच्यते। सर्वं नष्टः सरस्वत्यः सर्वं पुण्यः।
सिलोच्चयाः। जाजले तीर्थमात्मेव मा स्म वेत्तातिथिर्नृपः। एतानीहसकात् वर्मानाचरन्निह जाजले।
कारणेधर्ममन्विच्छत् स लोकामाप्नुते क्षुमात्। ज्ञान्तिपर्व 263. 40-42. नीलकण्ठ explains:
'यज्ञेनात्मसमाधानं तत्रैव सर्वानि तीर्थानि सन्तीत्यर्थः'।

1286. यज्ञाधिकारेष्वप्यथा निवृत्ते विश्वस्तु तीर्थानि परिभ्रमेत्।... यस्यापि यज्ञेष्वधिकारि-
तास्ति यं यज्ञं यद्व्यर्थाच्च सर्वं। एवं यद्व्याजमसंस्थितस्य तीर्थं यतिः पूर्वतरेर्निषिद्धा। सर्वानि
तीर्थान्यपि आग्निहोत्रद्वयानि नैवेति वयं वदामः। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्पतट p. 9,
तीर्थचि. pp. 5-6 and तीर्थम. p. 19. Vide नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 22 for the first verse.

1287. यः स्वधर्मात् परिवर्ज्य तीर्थसेवां करोति हि। न तस्य फलते तीर्थमिह लोके
परत्र च॥ यार्थमिच्छी च निजुरस्तथा यायावते यही। यजुर्नात्तीर्थसेवां यस्याप्यस्तादृशो
जनः॥ सदाश्रियां सत्यकीं चोच्छेदीयानि यत्नतः। सर्वपापविभिर्मुक्तो यथोक्तो नतिमाप्नुयात्॥
अज्ञानि श्रीव्यासकुर्वाण्डुर्वा तीर्थसेवणम्। विधाय हृत्तिं पुत्राणां भार्यां तेषु निधाय च॥
कुर्म II. 44. 20-23.

pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the *yāyāvara* ¹²⁸⁸ type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.'

Ancient writers on Dharmaśāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the Viṣṇu Dh. S., that ¹²⁸⁹ no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī (VI. 254-255 and VII. 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śraddhas at Gayā.¹²⁹⁰ It appears that Siddharāja king of Anahilavād (1095-1143 A. D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bāhuloda, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja).^{1290a} Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer called Kavindrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether

1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, *śālina* and *yāyāvara*. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 641-642 and notes 1501-1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide. H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 270 and 425.

1289. ब्रह्मचारिणानमरणभिक्षुवर्णिनीर्थावसारेणां नाविकः शौलिकः कुल्कमाव-
धानश्च। तत्र तेषां दद्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 132-133.

1290. काश्मीरिकाणां चः आज्ञाकुलोच्छेता मयास्तरे। सोप्येरमस्तकः क्षुरः
परिहासपुराभवः॥ बज्रा नहारीला कण्ठे वितस्ताम्भसि पातितः। राजत. VI. 254-55.
The valiant *परमस्तक* of परिहासपुर who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gayā was drowned in Vitastā (by queen Diddā) with a big stone tied round his neck.

1290 a. Vide Bom. G. vol. I. part I p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (tr. by Tawney p. 84).

and conferred upon the great scholar ¹²⁹¹ the title of 'Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna'. People throughout India felt such relief at the remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses (several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon Kavindrācārya. These have been published in a work styled 'Kavindra-candrodaya' by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic verse from which is quoted below.¹²⁹² In a remarkable copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit¹²⁹³ and Kannada issued by the Hoysala king Narasimha III in Māgha śukla 1200 (1279 A. D.) it is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645 *niṣkas* a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of Kāśī and to god Śrīviśveśvara for the purpose of enabling the pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of Kārṇāṭaka, from the countries of Telingana, Tulu, Tirhut, Gauda and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turaṣkas (Moslem kings).¹²⁹⁴

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmapurāṇa about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the intending pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer worship to Gaṇeśa, the gods, the pitrs and honour good brāhmanas according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage he should offer similar worship and honour.¹²⁹⁵ The digests

1291. Vide I. A. vol. 41 (1912) p. 7 at p. 11 for an account by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri of the abolition of the pilgrim tax by Shah Jeha n.

1292. वेव श्रीसाहिजाई नरपतिसिलकः स्वद्वयः कुतोऽप्यर्थि चारदयं प्रपन्नः पुनरपि विहितः साहिजायकाकोः । काशीवीर्यमवागमतिजमितकराहमोसेकहेतुः सोर्व श्रीमान्क-
वीन्दो जपति कविकवलीरवावाविराजः ॥ कवीन्दुचन्द्रोदय p. 23 No. 169. There is possibly a veiled allusion to कवेन्दुचन्द्र in the words 'साहिजायक'.

1293. Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. 15 No. 298 pp. 71-73 (containing transliterated text) and p. 12 of the dynastic list; the important words in Kannada are 'Ellā-kṣetravāsi-gaḷu Turaḥkariga ... Kula karnāṭigaru Telagaru...Telū-Maleygara...Tirabhukṭi-gara...Gavudigara' &c. This inscription indicates that the expression 'Turaṣkaṇḍa' occurring in certain Gāhādvala inscriptions such as those in E. I. IX at p. 305, E. I. XIII, p. 295, E. I. XIV, p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers.

1294. को वः कश्चिदीर्यकायां तु यन्मेन्द्रसंयतः स च पूर्व यदे स्वे । कुतोयकाः कुचिर-
यमः समुज्ज्वलजिगमो यमेकाः । देवाय पितृन् ब्रह्मण्यन्तैव साधून् धीमान् पितृन् ब्राह्मण्यन्
पूजयेत् । प्रयासतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवाय पितृन् ब्राह्मण्यन् पूजयेत् । ब्रह्महस्य q. 47 शिब-
कल्पः p. 9, तीर्थचि. p. 6 (explains कुतयत इति पूर्वदिने कुतैकमकाशिनियमः), तीर्थम.

(Continued on next page)

explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Ganeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brāhmanas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (*saukalpa*) to go on pilgrimage. The Vāyupurāṇa ¹²⁹⁵ and the digests lay down that (after the worship of Ganeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a *kārpaṭi* viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhaṭṭojī (p. 5) states that according to some the apparel of *kārpaṭika* is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19, 22) prescribes the pilgrim's dress for other tirthas also. The Tir. C. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tirtha, when the pilgrim is in a tirtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digests as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa ¹²⁹⁶ and Skandapurāṇa appear to make it obligatory. The Tirtha-Kalpataru does not ¹²⁹⁷ refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tirtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

(Continued from the last page)

p. 23 (which states 'कुतपतः हर्षद्विने कुतैकभक्तद्विनिवम इति केचित्, ब्रह्मचर्यादि-युक्त इति तु युक्तम्'). In *Dinanath v. I'* *ishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in भारद्वाज (उत्तर) 62. 24-25). The स्कन्दपुराण (काशीखण्ड 6. 56-57) and पद्म have similar verses: तीर्थयात्रां चिकीर्षुः प्राग्विधापोषेणं एव । मनेशं च पिबन् विमानं साधुं शक्यं प्रयुज्य च । कुतपारणको ह्यसौ गच्छेन्नियमधुक् पुनः । आगत्याम्यन्यं च पिबन् यथोक्त-फलभाग्यवत् ॥ पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 36-38. ब्रह्म 76. 18-19 provide ताम्बूलसम्प्राद, वेदह्यदि, ब्राह्मणभोजन, remaining celibate and not talking with *patita* people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

1295. उद्यतश्रेष्ठं गन्तुं आद्यं कृत्वा विमानतः । विधाय कार्पडीवेवं कृत्वा ब्रह्मं प्रदक्षिणम् । ततो ब्रह्मान्तरं गत्वा आद्यशेषस्य भोजनम् । वायुपुरा. 110. 2-3. q. by तीर्थचिन्धि. p. 7, तीर्थच. p. 29 (which explains 'कार्पडीवेवः ताम्बूलह्यदिताम्रकङ्कणकायावका-धारणम्'). The तीर्थचिन्धि remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this *kārpaṭika* apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha.

1296. तीर्थोपवासः कर्तव्यः क्षिरको ह्यण्डम् तथा । क्षिरेयतामि पापसि शान्तिं सुण्ड-यतो यतः । पद्म (उत्तरखण्ड 237. 45), स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड 6. 65).

1297. तीर्थोपवासस्य फलविशेषार्थः । तीर्थमसिगम्य ब्रतोपवासनिमग्नयुक्तपदमव-पादमानक्षिराश्रयित्वा सर्वपापैः बहुध्वजैस्त्वस्तिनीं च भवतीति वेदलक्षणात् । तीर्थकल्प- p. 11.

when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Caturmāsya and Agniṣṭoma.¹²⁹⁸ The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (*śamāvartana*) was also marked by tonsure.¹²⁹⁹ Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing *prāyaścitta* for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. both quote a verse of Viṣṇu¹³⁰⁰ from the *Smṛtisamuccaya*, viz. 'at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.' The Mīt. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of one's father, mother and *guru*, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a *soma* sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read 'ṣaṭsu' and therefore they take the first two words as meaning 'on the Ganges only at Prayāga.' Both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. quote a verse¹³⁰¹ which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tirthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśālā (Ujjayini or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā.' In the case of a *snātaka*, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and

1298. Vide Sat. Br II. 6. 3. 14 ff. (S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 448).

1299. Pāraskara gr. II. 6. 17, Khādīra gr. III. 1. 2. 23, Sāh. gr. III. 1. 1-2 (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 314, p. 408, p. 91 respectively). The Khādīra gr. is 'prāyaśa vāpayet śikhāvarjam keśāśmaśrulomanabhāni.'

1300. मनुष्याणां तु पापानि तीर्थानि प्रतिगच्छताम् । केनमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्तद्वपनं श्रेयम् ॥ यत्र, पातालकण्ड 19. 21; उपवासदिने मुण्डनमपि । प्रयागे तीर्थयात्रायां पितृमातृनिधगतः । कथानां वपनं कुर्वातुया न विकचो भवेत् ॥ इति स्मृतिसमुच्चयधृत-विष्णुलिखितवचनात् । तीर्थं चि. p. 7, तीर्थम्. p. 28. This verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 28. The Mītā. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes the following verse: गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्भुङ्क्षी ॥ आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तह्यं श्रुतम् ॥. भास्करक्षेत्रं प्रयागं acc. to some and कोणार्कं acc. to others. It is not correct to translate 'ādhāne' as 'in the Garbhādhāna ceremony' (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p. 55 of his English Intro. to गङ्गावाक्याः). आधान by itself in धर्मशास्त्र works generally means अग्न्याधान. गर्भाधान is referred to by the word निषेक or गर्भाधान itself. भास्करक्षेत्रं is really कोणार्कं and not प्रयागं, which latter is called यज्ञपतिक्षेत्रं in मत्स्य 104.5 and 111. 14.

1301. मुण्डनं चोपवासस्य सर्वतीर्थेष्वपि विधिः । वर्जयित्वा कुपक्षेत्रं विज्ञातां विरजां गमाम् ॥ वायुपु. 105. 25 q. by तीर्थं चि. p. 14 (ascribes to स्कन्दपुराण). तीर्थम्. p. 50 (ascribes to वेदल and स्कन्द). The तीर्थम्. (p. 50) refers to the view of तीर्थकल्पः 'यद्यपि कल्पतत्कारणेन तीर्थं मुण्डनं नोक्तं न वा तत्र प्रमाणं दृष्टिं तथापि मुण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिपृष्टीकृतत्वात्कर्तव्यमेव'. The तीर्थं चि. p. 32 also does the same. In the गङ्गावाक्याः second half is read as वर्जयित्वा गङ्गां विज्ञातां विरजां तथाम् and it is said to be from स्कन्दपुराण. The बालम्भद्वी on Yāj. III. 17 explains विरजां as दक्षिणदिशस्य लोणारक्षेत्रमपि विरजमित्यादित्यपुराणे. The first half is अग्नि 115. 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to अग्निपुराण by the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 45.

in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are cut. *Vṛddha-Hārta* (IX. 386-387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other *smṛtis* like *Āpastamba* in verse (I. 33-34), *Āngiras* verse 163, *Yama* 54-55, *Parāśara* q. by the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yaj.* III. 263-264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (*nāri*). *Par. M.* ¹³⁰² II. 1. p. 291 reads 'evam nārikumārīṇām' and holds that *nāri* means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'. Although the *smṛti* passages occur in the section on *prāyaścitta* still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics ¹³⁰³ and *śūdras* all hair are to be cut. The *Tirthaprakāśa* finds fault with *Vācaspatimiśra* for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual's choice. The *Tir. K.* (p. 10) appears to hold that honouring the *pitṛs* at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between *kṣaura* and *mūḍana*. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,' while *kṣaura* means only shaving the head. Therefore the *Nāradya* says that all sages did not prohibit *kṣaura* even at *Gayā* but only *mūḍana* is forbidden there ^{1303a} and there is no *mūḍana* on the Ganges anywhere except at *Prayāga*. The *Tirthendusekhara* (p. 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only *kāmya* (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that *śiṣṭas* do not resort to these two at many tirthas.

1302. स्त्रीणां पराक्षरेण निक्षेपोऽभिहितः। वपनं नैव नारीणां... सर्वान्केशान्तमुद्धृत्य छेदयेच्चकुलित्वम्। सर्वत्रैवं हि नारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्। मिता. on वा. III. 263-264; सर्वान् केशान्... मुण्डनं भवेत्। इत्यस्य प्रयागसप्तकर्णे श्रुतस्याकांक्षातौल्येनान्नाप्यन्वयात्। प्रयागादावपि तासां दृष्टकुलकेशव्यवर्तनमात्रं वपनम्। तीर्थप. pp. 50-51.

1303. वयिः शुभ्रश्च विधवा साक्षिणं वपनं चरेत्। इति द्वाक्षिणात्याः। नाचस्पति-मिश्रास्तु-वर्जयित्वा गयां गङ्गां विशालां विरजां तथा-इति पठित्वा गङ्गयां न मुण्डनमिति प्रलपन्ति। तत्र साक्षीयः। अस्य पाठस्य शिष्टैरपरेष्वहात्। तीर्थप. p. 51.

1303 a. प्रयागादावपि द्वेदेशे दमकुलां वपनं विना। न क्षौरं मुनिभिः सर्वैर्निषिद्धं चेति कीर्तितम्। सहस्रमुकेष्वपणं मुण्डनं तद्विदुर्मुखाः। न क्षौरं मुण्डनं सुभू कीर्तितं वेदवेदिभिः। नारदीय (उत्तर) 62, 54-55, प्रयागव्यतिरेके तु गङ्गयां मुण्डनं नहि। *ibid* chap. 62, 52.

The Purāṇas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The *Mataya* (106. 4-6) states that ¹³⁰⁴ if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his pātra do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the *Kalpataṛu* (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tīrthas), while the *Tīr. C.* (p. 2) and *Tīr. Pr.* (p. 45) quote a verse ¹³⁰⁵ which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of *govadhā* (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The *Padma-purāṇa* (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The *Tīr. Pr.* p. 34 quotes a verse from the *Kūrmapurāṇa* that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* ¹³⁰⁶ quoted by both *Tīr. C.* and *Tīr. Pr.* (pp. 34-35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

1304. प्रयागतीर्थयात्रायी यः प्रयाति नक्तः कश्चित् । बलीनर्हसमाप्यः कृषु तस्यापि परकलम् ॥ नरकं वसते योने मर्षां क्षेयो हि क्षयः ॥ क्षतिर्न च सुकृति पितरस्तस्य हेहिमः ॥ ऐश्वर्यालभमोहाद्वा गच्छेयानेन यो नरः । निष्फलं तस्य तत्सर्वं तस्माद्यानं विवर्जयेत् ॥ मत्स्य. 106. 4-5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थचि. p. 8 (its reading ऐश्वर्यालभ-माहारयात् is better) and तीर्थच. pp. 33-34. The verse ऐश्वर्यालभमोहात् in q. by मय. तस्य p. 492. The *कुर्म* (I. 37. 4-5) has the verse ऐश्वर्यालभमोहाद्वा... वजयेत्. The *मङ्गलवाक्य* p. 13 reads ऐश्वर्यमदुमोहेन and remarks 'मत्स्यपुराणीय-वचनस्य प्रयागयात्राप्रकरणस्येति ऐश्वर्यमदुमोहस्यैव प्रयागयमनेपि बोधाभावः ।'

1305. गोपाने गोपथः प्रोक्तो वनपाने तु निष्फलम् । नरपाने तदर्थं स्यात् पशूणां तच्च चतुष्टयम् ॥ q. by वङ्गभक्ति. p. 13, तीर्थचि. and तीर्थच. ; 'उपनिषद्वा चतुष्टयीं गोपाने गोपथादिकम्' एव. IV. 19.27.

1306. वर्षातपादिके छत्री इच्छी रात्र्यक्षणीयु च । क्षरितशान्कामो वै क्षोपनत्वाः सदा ब्रजेत् ॥ इति निष्पुपुराणीयवचनेन निष्पतिपक्षसहाय्यस्वरसात् तीर्थयात्रायामपि उद्यान-परिषादमवश्यकमिति । तीर्थचि. pp. 8-9. This verse is निष्पु. III. 12. 38 ; नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 35 is almost the same; तीर्थचि. वङ्गवां तपः परमिहोचते ॥ तद्वै कृत्वा यानेन स्नानमात्रफलं लभेत् ॥ निष्पु. प्रमोचर III. 273. 11-12.

grimage on foot is the highest *tapas* (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tir. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gaṅgāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhali-setu (pp. 1-3) has a long discussion about the *sāṅkalpa* ¹³⁰⁷ (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a *sāṅkalpa* about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśī will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a *sāṅkalpa* about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśī will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a *sāṅkalpa* about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a *sāṅkalpa* about visiting Kāśī and then in Kāśī he should make a *sāṅkalpa* about visiting Gayā. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a *sāṅkalpa* about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśī and so on. The Tirthaparakāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhali-setu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a *sāṅkalpa* in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tirtha-yātrāmaham kariṣye). The Tirthaparakāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purāṇas. Atri (50-51) provides ¹³⁰⁸ 'He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

1307. The *sāṅkalpa* may take the form ओं अथ प्रतिपदमश्वमेधयज्ञजन्य-फलसमफलप्राप्तिकामोऽमुकतीर्थयात्रामहं करिष्ये।

1308. प्रतिफलं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिषु मज्जयेत्। यमुदिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभारं लभेत् सः॥ मातरं पितरं वापि आतरं सुहृदं युवयु। यमुदिश्य निमज्जेत द्वादशाक्षफलं लभेत् । अत्रि 50-51. The first verse is quoted as पैठीनासि's by तीर्थकल्पः p. 11 and by तीर्थचिः pp. 13-14 and occurs in स्कन्द (काशीः 6. 64); the 2nd is q. by प्राय. तत्त्व. 492, as from अत्रि. The गङ्गाव्यापली (p. 59) reads लभेत् सः and attributes it to गङ्गापुराण

of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of *Paithīnasi* says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tirtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru)¹³⁰⁹ reaps only half the merit. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God's Grace that wealthy men built *Dharmatālās*, tanks, and *annasatras* and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public. The *Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa* remarks 'A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.'¹³¹⁰

The *Prāyaścittatattva* of Raghunandana quotes from the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. *śauca* (punctilious performance of bodily purification), *ācamana* (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing *nirmūlya* (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the *Aghamaśana* hymn (*Rg.* 190. 1-3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tirtha, praising another tirtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the tirtha.

One noticeable rule is that, though *Manu* III. 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at a *śrāddha*, some of the *Purāṇas* provide¹³¹¹ that

1309. पैठीनसिः। बोधसाक्षं स लभते यः परार्थेन गच्छति। अर्थ तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति। तीर्थकल्प. p. 11, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 492 (explains परार्थेन वेतनादिना प्रसङ्गेन उद्देश्यान्तरमसङ्गेन), तीर्थप्र. p. 36 (प्रसङ्गेन गुरुसेवाद्ययनवाणिज्यादिविषय विहित-विहितरूपः). This is found in स्कन्द (काशी chap. 6.63). The first half is पद्म VI. 237. 43.

1310. ब्रह्मान्य कारयेत् शक्या तीर्थयात्रां तथेष्टरः। स्वकीयव्रत्ययानानां तस्य पुण्यं चतुर्धनम्। प्रभासखण्ड q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 36; तीर्थ प्राच्यालुचक्षेण स्नानं तीर्थं समाचरेत्। स्नानञ्च फलमाप्नोति तीर्थयात्राफलं न तु। सङ्ख्य 8.12 q. by स्वतिसि. I. p. 132 and कल्प-तरु (तीर्थ) p. 11. Almost the same verse occurs in पद्मपु. VI. 237. 41-42; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273.10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथञ्चन। अजायिनममुयात् भोज्यं तं महारजवित्। पद्म V. 29.212 and देवीपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 10; ब्राह्मणान् परीक्षेत आद्रे क्षेत्रनि-वासिनः। सुमहात्परिवादोऽप्य ब्राह्मणानां परीक्षणे। स्कन्द. (प्रभासखण्ड) quoted by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्भव folio 130 b; न परीक्ष्यो हिजस्तीर्थज्जायी भोज्य एव च। सङ्ख्येः पिण्डदानं च चरुणा पापसेन वा। स्कन्द. (काशी. 6. 56-57).

one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tirtha (p. 10), the Tir. C. (p. 10) and the Tir. Pr. (p. 73). The last work remarks that brāhmaṇas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāṇa goes¹³¹² so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmaṇa born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāṇa have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāṇa¹³¹³ that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmaṇas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmaṇas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's *pitṛs* become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmaṇas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from saṁsāra). In Vāyu 106. 73-84 and Agni 114. 33-39 and Garuḍa it is narrated that, after Gayāsura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmaṇas 55 villages and Gayātirtha extending over five *krośas*, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmaṇas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavṛkṣa and other gifts. The Agnipurāṇa¹³¹⁴ (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmaṇas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tirtha

1312. स्वर्गेषु परित्यज्य मायुरं पूजयेत्तदा । मथुरायां ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नराः । ज्ञानिनस्तान् हि पश्यन्ति अज्ञाः पश्यन्ति ताव हि । ब्राह्म 165. 57-58.

1313. यदि पुत्रो गयां गच्छेत्कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । तानेव भोजयेद्विमानं ब्रह्मणा ये प्रकल्पिताः । अमायुषतया विमां ब्रह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा ?) ये प्रकल्पिताः । वायु 82. 25-27.

1314. स्थिता यदि गयायां ते क्षतास्ते ब्रह्मणा तदा । विद्याविवर्जिता यूयं दुष्णायुक्ता भविष्यथ ॥ अग्नि 114. 36-37.

till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmanas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmanas (Gayāls or Gayāwals as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayā brāhmanas occurs in the Śāktipur copper-plate of king Lakṣmanasena of Bengal in his 6th year (i. e. about 1183 A. D.)¹³¹⁵.

The result of this teaching of the Purāṇas was that the brāhmanas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwals resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwals and outside priests and cases of Gayāwals have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun,^{1315a} then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwal brāhmanas. The Gayāwal himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedīs) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Aksaya-vata and the Gayāwal puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'suphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim's ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim's visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwals have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwal is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called *gādi* or *gaddi*) to another Gayāwal, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwal making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwal claims to have succeeded to four *gādis* (i. e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwals have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I. vol. XXI. p. 211 at p. 219 'अभिषेकालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-मयाल-ब्राह्मणहरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चाशतोत्पत्तिकेअपांडकाभिधानशासननिनिमयेन.'

1315 a. The महावपुराण says: वाराणस्यां कृतआज्ञस्तीर्थे कोणमन्त्रे तथा। पुनः पुनर-महानद्यां आज्ञं स्वर्गं विमुक्तयेत्॥ q. in पृथ्वीच. folio 141 a.

their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their *gurus* whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal v. Kanhaya Lal* the Privy ¹³¹⁶ Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal v. Baldeo Lal* ¹³¹⁷ the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called *gaddi* is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a good-will is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser* ¹³¹⁸ v. *Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gayā, perform the *śrāddha* ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal* ¹³¹⁹ v. *Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tirthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra. Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas

1316. 22 Cal. 609 at pp. 615-618 (P. C.) = 22 I. A. 51.

1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.

1318. 13 C. L. J. p. 449.

1319. 15 C. L. J. p. 376.

contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tirthas, sub-tirthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82-156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35-54) alone there are about 3900 verses on *tirthayātrā*. To mention only a few of the Purāṇas, the Brahmapurāṇa devotes about 6700 verses (i. e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tirthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khaṇḍas, the Varāhapurāṇa devotes about 3182 verses to tirthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathurā) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tirthas deserve mention. The Tirthavivecana-kāṇḍa of the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (G. O. S. series); the Caturvarga-¹³²⁰ cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (1260-1270 A. D.) contained a section on tirthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered); the Tirthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati (1450-1480 A. D.) published in B. I. series; the Tirtha-sāra, part of Nṛsiṃhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvatī-bhavana series); the Tristhaḥliṣetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (about 1550-1580 A. D.) printed by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona; Tirthasaṅkhyā, a part of Ṭodarānanda (1565-1589 A. D.); Tirthatattva or Tirthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghunandana whose literary activity lies between 1530-1570 A. D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 *tattvas* of his Smṛtitattva); Tirthaprakāśa by Mitrāmīśra about 1610-1640 (published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series); the Tristhaḥliṣetusāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji (about 1625); Tristhaḥliṣetusāra-saṅgraha of Nāgeśa; the Tirthenduśekhara of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tirthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol. 1. p. 554, of which the Tirtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa composed at the order of Anūpasinha is probably the largest work on tirthas (ms. no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

1320. Vide H. of Dh. vol. 1 p. 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādri had completed his section on tirtha when he commenced the *Parīśeṣa*-khaṇḍa. It may be noted that the *त्रिस्थलीसेतु* and the *तीर्थप्रकाश* had the work of Hemādri on tirtha before them. For examples, the *त्रिस्थलीसेतु* p. 53 'तथा च हेमाद्रिबादिभ्यादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि', p. 55 'विशेषस्तु हेमाद्रियशरीरोत्सर्गविधेरेवमन्तव्यः'; the *तीर्थप्रकाश* pp. 122, 123, 136, 377 refer to हेमाद्रि's quotations from the *स्कन्दपुराण*, *अग्निवपुराण*, *जाबालोपनिषद्* and *कुर्मपुराण* respectively, which unmistakably refer to *tirthas* and p. 478 speaks of *तीर्थहेमाद्रि*.

dual tirthas such as the Gaṅgā-vākyaśvalī¹³²¹ (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400-1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśimīrtimokṣa-vicāra of Śureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatībhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Purusottama-kṣetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tirtha prescribed by the purāṇas and digests may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tirtha-yātrā) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digests) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a *saṅkalpa* (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Gaṇeśa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Gaṇeśa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,¹³²² then perform a pārvapa-śrāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own grhyasūtra, honour three brāhmanas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one *krośa* (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the śrāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

1321. The last verse of the Gaṅgāvākyaśvalī is कियञ्जिबन्धमालोक्य श्री-विद्यापतिसूरिणा । गङ्गावाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणैर्मिलीकृता ॥. This verse shows that the famous Maithila scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based. Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśvāsa-devi's own. In the दानवाक्यावली of धीरमति the last verse is निबन्धनं सम्प्रमालोक्य...सूरिणा । दानवाक्यावली देव्याः...कृता ॥ (D. C. ms. No. 216 of 1881-82).

1322. For the sixteen and five *upacāras*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730. The अन्नपूजोत्तराण (Ānandāśrama ed.), अन्नपूज, chap. 26.90-92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: आसनं वसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम् । पुष्पं चन्दनधूपं च दीपं नैवेद्यमुत्तमम् ॥ गन्धं मारुतं च ज्ञप्या च ललितं सुविलक्षणात् । जलमक्षं च ताम्बूलं साधारं देयमेव च । गन्धाक्षतलपताम्बूलं विना हव्याणि द्वादश । पाद्यार्घ्यजल-नैवेद्यपुष्पाण्येतानि पञ्च च ॥.

in his own house (in the case of other tirthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tirtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the *tirtha*. In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food. The Kalpataru (on tirtha p. 11) and the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi (p. 14) quote Devala for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tirtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.

CHAPTER XII

THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tirthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśī are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tirthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous *Nadistuti* hymn (Rg. X. 75.5-6). In Rg.¹³²³ VI. 45.31 we have the word 'Gāṅgyaḥ' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII 5.4. 11 and 13 and Ait. Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Daśasanti on the Gaṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br. XIII 5.4.11 and 13 an ancient *gūthā* is quoted 'At Nāḍapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 26. 26-103) and the Purāṇas (such as Nāradiya, Uttarārdha, chap. 38-45 and 51. 1-48, Padma V. 60. 1-127, Agni chap. 110, Matsya chap. 180-185, Padma, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 33-37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhapṇḍa, chap. 29 (verses 17-168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges. To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himālaya present a double aspect, viz. the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects—rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth—are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

1323. अग्निं ब्रुवः पत्नीनां बभूवे पूर्वजन्मात् उवः कक्षो न बाह्वन्ः ॥ ऋ. VI. 45. 31. The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.

Gaṅgāpattalaka of Gaṇeśvara (1350 A. D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Viśvāsadevi, queen of king Padmasinha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī of Gaṇapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyavivēka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparva, chap. 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88-97, some of which may be translated here¹³²⁴. "The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Tretā age Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e. lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Keśava. That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges." The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30-31) asserts 'those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in *punya* (religious merit). Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

1324. कुरुक्षेत्रसमा गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता । विशेषो वै कनकले घषागे परमं महत् ॥ यद्यकार्षत कृत्वा कृतं गङ्गायसेचनम् । सर्वं तत्सर्वं गङ्गायां दहत्यग्निर्विवेचनम् ॥ 88; सर्वं कृतपुणे पुष्पं त्रेतायां पुष्करं स्मृतम् । द्वापरेपि कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा कलिपुणे स्मृता ॥... पुनाति कीर्तिता यत्तं दृष्ट्वा भर्तुं प्रयच्छति । अन्वाहता च पीता च पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम् ॥ यावदस्थि मनुष्यस्य गङ्गायाः स्पर्शते जलम् । तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीपते ॥ 94... न गङ्गासङ्गं तीर्थं न वेधः केशवात्परः ।... यत्र गङ्गा महाराज स देशस्तत्तपोवनम् । सिद्धिक्षेत्रं च तज्ज्ञेयं गङ्गातीर-समाश्रितम् ॥ वनपर्व 85.88-97 = पञ्च I. 39.81-90. नारदीय. (उत्तर) 39. 46 is कुरुक्षेत्र... गाहिता । हरिहारे भयागे च सिन्धुसङ्गे कलाचिका ॥ The नारदीयपु. (उत्तर) 38. 20 is कृते तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां... कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते ॥ The कूर्म. I. 27. 37 has कृते तु नैमिषं तीर्थं. The same verse is quoted from भाविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 191.

even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.' ¹³²⁵

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāmasmi Jāhnavi). The Manusmṛti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmṛti.¹³²⁶ Some of the Purāṇas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandākinī), on the earth (as Gangā) and in the nether regions or Pātāla (as Bhogavatī). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Viṣṇupurāṇa¹³²⁷ and other Purāṇas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu. In some Purāṇas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalinī, Hlādinī, Pāvanī), three to the west (Sītā, Cakṣus and Sindhu) and Bhāgirathī (vide Matsya 121. 38-41, Brahmāṇḍa II. 18. 39-41, Padma I. 3. 65-66). The Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 46. 30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Sītā, Alakanandā, Sucakṣu and Bhadrā and that the Alakanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarsa and falls into the sea with seven mouths.¹³²⁸ In the Brahmapurāṇa (73. 68-69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and as established in the matted hair of Mahēśvara (Śiva).

The Viṣṇupurāṇa eulogises¹³²⁹ the Ganges as follows : The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is

1325. स्नातानां शुचिभिस्तोयैः गाङ्गेयैः प्रयतात्मनाम् । द्युष्टिर्भवति या पुंसं न सा कृत-
ज्ञतैरपि ॥ अमुशासन 26 31, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 30-31 and also 40. 64.

1326. यमो वैवस्वतो वेवो यस्तवैव हृदि स्थितः । तेन चेदविवाहस्ते मा गङ्गां मा कुरु-
न्ममः ॥ मनु 8. 92.

1327. वामपादाम्बुजाङ्गुष्ठनखस्रोतोविनिर्गताम् । विष्णोर्विभर्ति यां भक्त्या शिरसाहर्भि-
ज्ञं ध्रुवः ॥ विष्णुसु. II. 8. 109, q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 161 (reads शिवः); नदी सा
वैष्णवी प्रोक्ता विष्णुपादसमुद्भवा । पद्म V. 25. 188.

1328. तथैवातंकनन्दा च दक्षिणादेश्य भारतम् । प्रयाति सागरं भित्त्वा सप्तभेदा
द्विजोत्तमाः ॥ कूर्म I. 46. 31.

1329. मृताभिलषिता दृष्टा मृष्टा पीतावगाहिता । या पावयति मृतानि कीर्तिता च
दिने दिने ॥ गङ्गा गङ्गेति यैर्नाम योजनानां ज्ञतेष्वपि । स्थितैश्चारितं हन्ति पापं जन्मत्रया-
जितम् ॥ विष्णुसु. II. 8. 120-121 q. by गङ्गावा. p. 110, तीर्थचि. p. 202, गङ्गाभक्ति-
p. 9. The 2nd verse is variously read in पद्म VI. 21 8 and 23. 12, ब्रह्मा 175. 82
as गङ्गा...यो व्याधोजनानां ज्ञतैरपि । छुष्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति, while पद्म
I. 31. 77 reads ० ज्ञतैरपि । नरो न नरकं याति किं तथा सदृशं भवेत्.

heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name 'Ganges' even though living at a distance of hundreds of yojanas, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed.' The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa¹³³⁰ has a similar verse 'one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name Gaṅgā and also by remembering it.'¹³³¹ The Matsya, Kūrma, Garuda and Padma remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz. at Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra), at Prayāga and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again. The Nāradiyapurāṇa, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places. The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (Matsya 107.4).¹³³² The Kūrmapurāṇa represents that the Ganges¹³³³ is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges. The Padmapurāṇa asks 'what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and mokṣa'? A similar verse occurs in the Nāradiya-purāṇa 'what is the use of Yoga with its eight aṅgas, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

1330. दुर्जनास्पर्शनात्मानात् तथा गङ्गेति कीर्तनात् । स्मरणादेव गङ्गयाः सद्यः पारैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ भविष्यपु. q. by तीर्थचि. p. 198, गङ्गया. p. 12, गङ्गाभ० p. 9. The first half is अनुकासन 26.64, अग्निपु. 110.6; गच्छंस्तिष्ठञ्ज् अपश्यपायन् मुञ्चन् जायन् स्वप्नं वदन् । यः स्मरेत् सततं गङ्गां सोऽपि मुच्येत बन्धनात् ॥ स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड) पूर्वार्ध 27.37, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 16-17.

1331. सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा । गङ्गाद्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं याप्ति ये सुतास्तोऽनुमर्षवाः ॥ मत्स्य. 106.54, कूर्म. I. 37.34, गरुड (पूर्व०) 81. 1-2, पद्म V. 60.120. The नारदीय (उत्तर 40. 26-27) reads: सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु चाधिका । गङ्गाद्वारे...सङ्गमे ॥ एषु स्नाता दिवं...र्षवाः ॥

1332. अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गयां योऽभिपद्यते । सुतस्तु लभते स्वर्गं नरकं च न पश्यति ॥ मत्स्य. 107.4, q. by कल्पसूत्र (on तीर्थ) p. 145 (reads यो विपद्यते). कूर्म. I. 37.39 has the same verse with slight variations; compare पद्म I. 44.4.

1333. सिधः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटी च तीर्थानां वापुरजनीत् । दिवि सूर्यन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाङ्गरी सृता ॥ कूर्म I. 39.8, पद्म I. 47.7, V. 60. 59, मत्स्य. 102. 5 (reads तानि ते सन्ति जाङ्गवाः).

on the Ganges alone is superior to all these' ¹³³⁴. Two verses of the Matsya-purāṇa ¹³³⁵ deserve mention here 'even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor'. It is stated in the Kāśīkhanda that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts.

In the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 82) the name 'Gaṅgā' is derived as 'gām gatā' (that has gone to the earth). The Padma-purāṇa (Śrīṭīkhanda 60. 64-65) specifies the *mūlamantra* about the Ganges as follows: 'Om namo Gaṅgāyai, viśvarūpīnyai nārāyaṇyai namo namaḥ'.

The Padmapurāṇa (śrīṭī 60.35) holds that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Viṣṇu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or *patita*, or wicked or becomes a cāṇḍāla or kills his *guru*, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds; but the Ganges does not forsake such persons ¹³³⁶.

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purāṇas. The Nāradiya ¹³³⁷ states: the region

1334. किं यज्ञैर्बहुविधादेवैः किं तपोभिः सुदुष्करैः। स्वर्गमोक्षमवा गङ्गां सुखसौभाग्य-पूजिताम् ॥ पद्म V. 60.39; किमहाङ्गेन योमेन किं तपोभिः किमध्वरैः। वास एव हि गङ्गायां सर्वतोपि विशिष्यते ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 38.38, q. in तीर्थचिं. p. 194 (reads गङ्गायां ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य कारणम्) and माय. तत्त्व, p. 498. The first verse किं यज्ञैः is quoted as from ब्रह्माण्ड by तीर्थचिं. p. 195 (last pāda is सुखसेवया यतः रिचिता).

1335. योजनानां सहस्रेषु गङ्गायाः स्मरणाक्षरः। अपि दुष्कृतकर्मा तु लभते परमां नतिम् ॥ कीर्तनाम्बुच्यते पापाद् दृष्ट्वा भद्राणि पश्यति। अघनाहं च पीत्वा तु पुनार्यासतमं कुलम् ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 14-15 q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 160; vide also मत्स्य. 108.25-26. Compare वनपर्व 87. 93 (पुनरिति कीर्तिताः) quoted in n. 1324; सर्व एव शुभः कालः सर्वो देशस्तथा शुभः। सर्वो जनी दानपात्रं अमिताजाङ्गघटिते ॥ काशीखण्ड 27. 69.

1336. जारजं पतितं दुष्टममृत्युजं गुरुघातिनम्। सर्वद्रोहेण संयुक्तं सर्वपातकसंयुतम् ॥ त्यजन्ति पितरं पुत्राः सिर्यं पत्न्यः सुदुष्टजाः। अन्ये च बाणधराः सर्वे गङ्गां ताव परिरिञ्जेत् ॥ पद्म (सुष्टिखण्ड 60. 25-26).

1337. तीरावृत्त्यतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते। तीरं त्यक्त्वा वसेत्क्षेत्रे तीरे वासो न श्रेयसे ॥ एकयोजनविस्तीर्णा क्षेत्रसीमा तद्वद्वात् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 43. 119-120. The first is quoted from स्कन्द by तीर्थचिं. p. 266, which remarks 'उभयतटे प्रत्येकं क्षेत्रमात्रं क्षेत्रम्'. The half verse एकम् is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचिं. p. 267,

(Continued on the next page)

within one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the *kṣetra* limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the *kṣetra* are of the extent of one *yojana* between both the banks' i. e. the *kṣetra* extends for two *kośas* from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and tirthas are without an owner; these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The *Brahmapurāṇa*¹³³⁸ says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four *hastas*, God *Nārāyaṇa* is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the *garbha* (the inner circle) of the *Gaṅgākṣetra*, the *tira* and the *kṣetra*. '*Garbha*' extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada*; beyond that is the *tira* (bank), which extends upto 150 *hastas* from *garbha* and *kṣetra* extends up to two *kośas* from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the digests contain several alternate forms of the *sāṅkalpa* to be made at the time of *Gaṅgā-snāna*. For example, the *Prāyascittatattva* (pp. 497-498) contains a very elaborate *sāṅkalpa*. A simple one is quoted below from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali*.¹³³⁹ The mode of bathing prescribed in the

(Continued from the last page)

गङ्गायां. p. 136. गव्यूति is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two *kośas*. There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the *Amarakośa* a *gavyūti* is equal to two *kośas* 'गव्यूतिः क्षी क्रोशयुग्म्'. According to the वायु 8. 105-107 and 101. 122-126 and ब्रह्माण्ड II. 7. 96-101 the measures are 24 अङ्गुलः = one हस्त, 96 अङ्गुलः = धनुः (which is same as दण्ड, युग and नाली); 2000 धनुः = गव्यूति and 8000 धनुः = योजनः; acc. to the मार्कण्डेय 46. 37-40, 4 हस्तः = धनुः or दण्ड, or युग or नालिका; 2000 धनुः = क्रोश, 4 क्रोशः = गव्यूति which is the same as योजन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 145 n. 185.

1338. महाहमवर्धिं कृत्वा यावद्भस्त्रचतुष्टयम् । अत्र नारायणः स्वामी नाभ्यः स्वामी कदाचन ॥ न तत्र मतिशुद्धीयात्यागेः कण्ठस्तेरपि ॥ भाद्रपुष्यचतुर्विंश्यां यावदाक्रमते जलम् । तावद्धर्मं विजानीयात्तद्वरं तीरहृष्यते । नारद (उत्तर) 43. 116-118 q. by तीर्थंशि. p. 266 and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 499 (from ब्रह्मपुराण and the verse भाद्र० from दानधर्म) and by वनोवा. p. 136 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्ड); नारद (उत्तर) 43. 118 (last half) is सार्धहस्तहस्तं यावद्धर्मस्तीरं ततः परम्. The digests read भाद्रपुष्यं for भाद्रपुष्यं.

1339. अद्याहुके मासि अहुकपक्षे अहुकतिथौ सद्यःपापयन्ताभार्यकं सर्वपुण्यपातिकामो गङ्गायां स्नानमर्थं करिष्ये । गङ्गायां. p. 141. Vide तीर्थंशि. pp. 206-207 for several alternative सङ्कल्पs before गङ्गास्नान.

Matsyapurāṇa 102 is common to people of all varṇas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gaṅgāvākyaśāli (pp. 148-152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' (reverent bow to Nārāyaṇa). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four *hastas* square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras 'you are sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu, you are a devotee of Viṣṇu, you worship Viṣṇu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahnu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandini (the joy-giving) and also Nalini and there are other names of yours viz. Dakṣā, Pṛthvī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amṛtā, Śivā, Vidyādhari, Suprasāntā, Viśva-prasādinī, Kṣemā, Jāhnavī, Śāntā, Śāntipradāyini.^{1339a} One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in the three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras 'O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Viṣṇu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Kṛṣṇa with his hundred hands. O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kāśyapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

1339 a. Verses 1-8 of मत्स्यः chap. 102 are q. by the स्मृतिक. I. p. 182. The स्मृतिक. I. p. 183 also gives the twelve names of गङ्गा differently. पद्म (IV. 89. 17-19) has the same holy names of the Gangas that the Matsya (102. 6-8) mentions. For the thousand names of the Ganges, vide above p. 585.

nivāta ¹³⁴¹ form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahmā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vṛdhu, Pāñcasikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and *akṣata* grains (the sages) Marīci, Atri, Āngiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasistha, Bhṛgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these *devarṣis*, and *brahmarṣis*, ¹³⁴² and *ṛṣis* with water and *akṣatas*;—Then wearing the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste pītras called Agnisvāta ¹³⁴³, Saumya, Havīṣmat, Uśmāpa, Sukālin, Barhiṣad and others called Ājyapa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaiśvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbara, Dadhna, Nīla, Paramēsthin, Vṛkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his pītras. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following *mantra* 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun *arghya* (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and *akṣatas* (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Sūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee! that art Viṣṇu in another form, that art the face of Viṣṇu, that hast thousand rays and that art all refulgence. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world. Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341. निर्वीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणामुपवीतं देवानाम् । तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 1.

For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 287-288 and *apasavya* has been explained in this volume in note 1095.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61.86-90 for definitions and enumeration of ऋषि, देवर्षि, राजर्षि and also Baud. Gr. I. 7 and Devala q. by अपराक pp. 442-443 for ऋषि and other terms.

1343. For Agnisvāta and other names of classes of pītra, vide above pp. 343-344 and Brahmanāda III. 10. 53, 75, 93, 96.

deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun) ! be well disposed to me. A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refulgence)'. Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brahmana, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Viṣṇu (or to his own house, according to another reading).¹³⁴⁴

It may be noted that the verses of the Mātṛya-purāṇa (102. 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in Padma (Pātāla-khaṇḍa 89. 12-42) and Śrīṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chap. 20. 145-176.

The Sm. C. and Raghunandana in his *Prāyaścittatattva* (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges¹³⁴⁵ 'O Ganges, daughter of Jāhnu ! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu, that art far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgirathī ! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion'. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is "O god that art the lord of rivers ! O goddess that art the best among rivers ! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins".

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and other works recommend the casting of the ashes or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kāśī or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse¹³⁴⁶ (with slight variations) about casting

1344. धर्मराजं तं चित्रं are the names of वसु and for चित्रवसु vide p. 160 above and बराहवृत्तच. chap. 203-205.

1345. विष्णुपादाब्जसम्भूतं यङ्के त्रिषयगामिनि । धर्मव्रतेति विरुपाते पापं मे ह्यर जाह्नवि ॥ अमुया भक्तिस्मरके (च ?) श्रीमातर्देवि जाह्नवि । अमुतेनाम्बुजा देवि भागिरथि पुत्रीहि मातृ ॥ सङ्कलित. I. 131 ; भाव. तत्त्व p. 502 ; त्वं देवि सरितां नाथ त्वं देवि सरितां वरे । उभयोः सङ्कले स्नात्वा पुत्रानि पुत्रिणानि वै ॥ *ibid.* पद्म, सुडिकण्ड 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60, 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. वायव्यस्थि मधुवर्षस्य यङ्कुरयाः सृष्टाते जलम् । तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीपते ॥ वसवर्ष 85.94 = वसु I. 39 87 ; अङ्गुलासन 26 32 is वायव्यस्थिनि यङ्कुरयां तिष्ठन्ति हि क्षीरिणिः । तावद्दर्शितव्यमिति...महीपते ॥ = मत्स्य. 106.52, कूर्म I. 37.32 (reads मधुवर्षस्य तु !) ; भारव (अक्षर) 43.109 वायव्यस्थिनि यङ्कुरयां तिष्ठन्ति पुरुषस्य वै । तावद्दर्श...महीपते । and भारव (अक्षर) 62.51 is वायव्यि नक्षलोमानि यङ्कुरलोके यन्ति वै ॥ तावद्दर्शितव्यमिति स्वर्गलोके महीपते ॥ नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 15.163 'नेत्रास्थिनामङ्गुलाभ्यः भस्मापि क्षुप्तसप्तम । यन्ति विष्णुसङ्घं सृष्टा माङ्गेन वारिणा ॥'.

ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The *Agnipurāṇa* observes 'the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are *patita*; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.' The *Tir. C.* and *Tir. Pr.* quote two verses and a half from the *Brahmapurāṇa* ¹³⁴⁷ which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the *Nirpayasindhu*. The verses mean: "The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle *pañcagavya* over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say 'salutation to Dharma,' enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, 'may he (Dharma or Viṣṇu?) be pleased with me' and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (*dakṣiṇā*) to a *brāhmaṇa*; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.' Vide *Skanda, Kāśī-khaṇḍa* 30, 42-46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king *Sagara's* sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage *Kapila* and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by *Bhagiratha*. Vide *Vanaparva* chap. 107-109, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 8-10 for the story. The *Nāradya* makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another *tīrtha* or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell.^{1347a} The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* further provides that there is special and

1347. स्नात्वा ततः पञ्चगवेन सिक्तवा हिरण्यमन्त्रायतिलेन योजयन् । ततस्तु
सुत्पिण्डपुटे निधाय पश्यन् दिशं मेतमणायगृह्यात् ॥ नमोऽस्तु धर्माय बह्व्य यन्निधाय जलं स मे प्रात
इति क्षिपेच्च । स्नात्वा तथोत्तीर्य च भास्करं च दृष्ट्वा यद्व्याचक्षते क्षिपेत् ॥ एवं कृते मेतदुर-

स्थितस्य स्वर्गे गतिः स्नात्वा महेन्द्रमुत्था । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. pp. 265-266 and तीर्थ-
प्र. p. 374. The *गङ्गावा.* p. 272 quotes these as from *ब्रह्माण्ड* (with slight
variations, one of which is यस्तु सर्वहितो विष्णुः स मे प्रात इति क्षिपेत् ।). These
verses are *नारद* (उत्तर chap. 43, 113-115) with slight variations.

1347 a. तीर्थमन्त्रप्रशंसन्ति गङ्गातीरे स्थिताश्च ये । गङ्गां न बह्व मन्त्रेण ते
सुशुनिर्यगामिनः ॥ स्कन्ध, काशी= 27, 80.

excessive merit in Gaṅgāsūnā on special days e. g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a sankrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.¹³⁴⁸

TRISTHALI

The three great tirthas of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā are referred to as Tristhali and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.), wrote (about 1580 A. D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhalisetu (a bridge to the Tristhali) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places^{1348a} alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1-72, Kāśī pp. 72-316 and Gayā pp. 316-379 (of the Ānandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tirthas in the same order.

PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a khila¹³⁴⁹ verse which is usually placed in Rg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: "Those who take a bath at the place where the

1348. इहो कतमुणं पुण्यं संक्रान्ती च सहस्रकम् । अण्डद्वयग्रहे लक्षं व्यतीपाते
त्वन्मृतकम् । ... सोमग्रहः सोमदिने रात्रिरेव रवेर्ग्रहः । तत्पूजामपि पार्श्वे तत्र स्नानम-
संशयकम् ॥ स्कन्ध, काशी 27, 129-131.

1348 a. त्रयाणां स्थलानां समाहारः त्रिस्थली ।

1349. सिवासिते सरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राद्भुतासौ दिवमुत्पत्तम् । ये वै तत्रं विसृजन्ति
धीरास्ते जनासो अमृतं च भजन्ते । The त्रिस्थली° p. 3 says it is a supplementary śruti
text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tīr. C. p. 47 quotes it as a verse of
the Rgveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage
religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once
a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even
without correct metaphysical knowledge. Vide रघुवंश 13.58 'तत्स्वावलोकेन विनापि
श्रुयस्त्वद्वयर्जा नस्ति शरीरवधः' q. by तीर्थय. p. 313. The स्कन्ध says: क्षुतिभिः परि-
पठ्येते सिवासिते सरितरे । तत्राद्भुताद्भुतं द्रव्यं भवन्तीति विनिश्चितम् । काशी. 7. 54 q. by
त्रिस्थली° p. 11. Vide also काशीस्कन्ध 7.46 for a similar verse. The verse no
doubt has a vedic ring about it. The त्रिस्थली° p. 4 notices another reading.
The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Yamunā are dark.
Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the
two rivers. Vide रघुवंश 13. 54-57.

two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i. e. commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or *mokṣa*)". This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāṇa refers to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vana-parva 85. 69-97, 87. 18-20, Anuśāsana 25. 36-38)¹³⁵⁰ and in many purāṇas such as the Matsya (chapters 103-112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36-39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40-49), Skanda, Kāśi-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45-65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyaṇa does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tirtharāja (the prince among tirthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśi 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27-35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is 'sa tirtharāja jayati prayāgaḥ) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kurukṣetra in the north (uttaravedi) and Gayā in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya¹³⁵¹, Kūrma and other Purāṇas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāṇa¹³⁵² proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tirtharāja; it is dear to Keśava. The same is known as Trivenī.

1350. इक्षतीर्यसहस्राणि तिष्ठः कोट्यस्तथापराः । समगच्छन्ति मादृशं तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ ॥ मायमासं प्रयागे तु नियतः संशितव्रतः । स्नात्वा तु भरतश्रेष्ठ निर्मलः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36-38.

1351. दृशीमासस्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तनादपि । क्षुत्तिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात् प्रमुच्यते ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 12, कूर्म. I. 36. 27. The अग्नि (111. 6-7) reads स्तवनादस्य तीर्थस्य, बलपर्व 85.80 reads 'मममासस्य...दपि । सुत्युकालभयाच्चापि नरः...च्यते ।

1352. एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् । अत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यास्ति ये क्षुत्तास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ कूर्म. I. 36.20. मत्स्य. (104.5 and 111. 14) and नारद (उत्तर 63.127-128) also calls it प्रजापतिक्षेत्र.

The word *Prayāga* is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as *tirtha* or *kṣetra*, as in *Matsya* (111. 14 *prajāpater-idam kṣetram prayāgam-iti viśrutam*), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as *tirtharāja*, it takes the masculine gender.

The word *Prayāga* is derived in various ways. The *Vāna-parva*¹³⁵³ appears to suggest that the word *Prayāga* is derived from the root 'yaj' when it says 'Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as *Prayāga*'. In the *Skanda*¹³⁵⁴ *purāṇa* also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts *pra* and *yāga* separately. "It is mentioned as *Prayāga* because it is superior to all sacrifices; *Prayāga* was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like." The *Matsyapurāṇa*¹³⁵⁵ appears to lay emphasis on the part 'pra' when it says 'on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tirthas it prevails (or is useful) far more'. The *Brahmapurāṇa*¹³⁵⁶ affirms "It is called *prayāga* on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rāja' (in *Tirtharāja*) applied to it on account of its being the chief".

We must distinguish between *Prayāga-maṇḍala*, *Prayāga* and *Vaṇī* or *Trivenī*, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The *Matsya*¹³⁵⁷ states that the sphere of *Prayāga* is five *yojanas* in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an *Aśva-medha* at every step. This has been explained by the *Tristhali-setu* (p. 15) as follows: Regarding *Brahmayūpa* (the sacrificial post of *Brahmā*) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half *yojana* long all round, that would be the

1353. गङ्गायमुनयोर्वीर सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम् ॥ यत्रायजत भूतात्मा पूर्वेभ्यः पितामहः । प्रयागमिति विलयात् तस्माद्भरतसत्तम ॥ वनपर्व 87. 18-19; तथा सर्वेषु लोकेषु प्रयागं पूजयेद् ब्रुवः । पूज्यते तीर्थराजस्तु सत्यमेव युधिष्ठिरः ॥ मत्स्य. 109. 15.

1354. प्रकृष्टं सर्वयागेभ्यः प्रयागमिति गीयते । दृष्ट्वा प्रकृष्टयागेभ्यः पुष्टेभ्यो हविषा-विभिः । प्रयागमिति तस्मान् कृतं हरिहरादिभिः ॥ q. in *त्रिपथली* p. 13. The first half is स्कन्द, काशी° 7. 49; so *प्रयाग* means *प्रकृष्टो यागो यत्र*.

1355. प्रभावात्सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः प्रभवत्यधिकं विभो । मत्स्य. 110. 11.

1356. प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयागोसौ शोधन्याद्वाजशब्दान् । ब्रह्मपुराण q. in *त्रिपथली* p. 13.

1357. पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं प्रयागस्य तु मण्डलम् । अवेष्टमात्रे तपसावश्वमेधः पक्षे पक्षे ॥ मत्स्य. 108. 9-10, 111. 8, पञ्च I. 45. 8. The *कुर्मपुराण* has पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः । प्रयागं प्रापितं तीर्थं यस्य माहात्म्यमीरितम् ॥ II. 35. 4.

Prayāgamapada of five *yojanas* in circumference. The boundaries of Prayāga itself are defined by Vanaparva,¹³⁵⁸ the Matsya-purāṇa (104. 5 and 106. 30) and others. 'Prayāga extends from Pratiṣṭhāna up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two *nāgas* Kambala and Aśvatara and the *nāga* Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati' (Matsya 104. 5), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Sāmudrakupa, which is the same as Pratiṣṭhāna. This is explained by the Tristhalisetu as follows: the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratiṣṭhāna¹³⁵⁹; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Aśvatara; the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-maṇḍala. According to the Matsyapurāṇa as quoted by the Kalpataru on tirtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has 'vipule Yamunātate' (106. 27)¹³⁶⁰. The printed text of Padma I. 43. 27 supports the Kalpataru reading ('Yamunā-daksine tate'). Venī-kṣetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three *kūpas* viz. Prayāga, Pratiṣṭhāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say 'there are three fire kundas and the Ganges flows in their midst'. It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purāṇas to the sub-tirthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Venī i. e. the confluence of the two rivers, as e. g. in Vanaparva 85.81 and 85 and Matsya 104. 16-17.¹³⁶¹

1358. आ प्रयागं प्रतिष्ठानायत्तुरा वासुकेर्हदात्। कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ नागश्च बहु-
मूलकः॥ एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। मत्स्य. 104. 5; पद्म I. 39. 69-70, 41.
4-5 are similar. वनपर्व 85. 76-77 are: प्रयागं समप्रिष्ठानं कम्बलाश्वतराबुधौ। तीर्थं भोग-
वती चैव वेदिवेषा प्रजापतेः। तत्र वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च मूर्तिमन्तो युधिष्ठिरः। अग्नि 111. 5, has the
verse प्रयागं...प्रजापतेः (reads वेदी शोका)।

1359. पूर्वेषांश्च तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत। कूपं चैव तु सासुद्धं प्रतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम्॥
मत्स्य. 106. 3.

1360. मावः सितसिते विप्र राजसूयैः समो भवेत्। धनुर्विंशतिविस्तीर्णं सितनीलाम्बु-
सङ्गमे॥ इति पाद्मोक्तेः। विष्णुलीः p. 75. सितसित (white and dark) means Venī.
Vide n. 1337 above for धनुः being equal to four hastas and 96 angulas.

1361. तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी। वनपर्व 85. 73; त्रीणि आप्यग्नि-
कुण्डानि येषां मध्ये तु जाह्नवी। मत्स्य. 110. 4 and अग्नि 111. 12, पद्म I. 39. 67, I. 49. 4;
while मत्स्य. 104. 13, कूर्म. (I. 36. 28-29) read यज्ञ कुण्डानि.

The Vanaparva¹³⁶² and some of the Purāṇas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i. e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasimha-purāṇa says that Viṣṇu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65. 17). It is said in the Matsya-purāṇa¹³⁶³ (111. 4-10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kalpa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣṇu stays there as Venī-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vata (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (*maṇḍala*) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāṇa, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pitrs and thereby secure his desired objects (104. 18). The same Purāṇa highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a *kapilā* cow properly decked (105. 16-22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāṇa (Ādi. 42. 17-24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject. Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the *ūrṣa* form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106. 8-9). The Matsya (105. 13-14 and 106. 10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (*saphala*) and he collects religious merit (*punya*) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmāṇḍa¹³⁶⁴ assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

1362. गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यं पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागे जघनस्थानमुपस्थासुषो विदुः ॥ वनपर्व 85. 75 = पद्म I. 39. 69 and I. 43. 19, अग्नि 111. 4, कूर्म I. 37. 12, मत्स्य. 106. 19. The idea appears to be that holy places are like the children of the earth.

1363. प्रयागे निवसन्त्येते ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः । उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठाप्यमाना ब्रह्म तिष्ठति । वेणीमाधवस्त्वयी तु भगवांस्तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ माहेश्वरो वटो मूल्या तिष्ठते परमेश्वरः । ततो द्वेषः सगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः । रक्षन्ति मण्डलं निरर्थं पापकर्मनिवारणात् ॥ मत्स्य. 111. 4-10. Vide कूर्म. I. 36. 23-26, पद्म, आश्विखण्ड 41. 6-10 for similar verses.

1364. कुवक्ष्ये प्रयागे च यद्दानंस्तत्कुरु । गङ्गायां पुष्करे तैत्ति यद्दानं च मेतिह । यद्दानं दीयते शक्या तद्दानंस्तथा कल्पते ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड प. 10. त्रिथली p. 24.

Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puṣkara, at Setubandha, at Gaṅgādvāra and in Naimiṣa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanaparva ¹³⁶⁵ it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i. e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with *omkāra*, ¹³⁶⁶ the mystic syllable that stands for *Brahma*. It is said in a purāṇa passage (probably Brahmapurāṇa) that the three parts of *om* (aum) respectively are Sarasvatī, Yamunā and Gaṅgā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Saṅkarsaṇa Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the Matsya, Kūrma (I. 36-39), Padma (Ādi. chapters 41-49), Agni 111 and other Purāṇas contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the Kalpataru (on tirtha), the earliest extant digest on tirthas, quotes only the Matsya (104. 1-13 and 16-20, 105. 1-22, 106. 1-48, 107. 2-21, 108. 3-5, 8-17 and 23-34, 109. 10-12, 110. 1-11, 111. 8-11, in all about 151 verses) and Vanaparva chap. 85. 79-87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from Purāṇas discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga. It is stated by the Gaṅgāvākyaśālī (p. 298) and the Tir. Pr. (p. 335) that, though the author of the Kalpataru says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as śiṣṭas (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most ^{1366a} writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer pinḍas at Gayā, make gifts in Kurukṣetra and should commit

1365. एषा यजनभूमिर्हि देवानामपि सत्कृता । तत्र दत्तं स्वल्पमपि महद्भवति भारत ॥ वनपर्व 85. 82 = 83. 77 of the cr. ed. which reads तत्र दत्तं सुखमपि.

1366. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-प्रदायिनी ॥ अकारः शारदा प्रोक्ता प्रद्युम्नस्तत्र जायते । उकारो यमुना प्रोक्तानिबद्ध-स्तज्जलात्मकः । मकारो जाह्नवी गङ्गा तत्र सङ्गम्येते हरिः । एवं त्रिवेणी विलयात् वेद्वीजं प्रकीर्तिता ॥ q. by त्रिरथली० p. 8.

1366a. प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद्दयायां पिण्डपातनम् । दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तप्तं श्वजेत् ॥ किं गणपिण्डदानेन कार्या वा मरणेन किम् । किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे वपनं यदि ॥ q. by गङ्गादा. p. 298. तीर्थचि. p. 32, त्रिस्थली० p. 17, तीर्थध. p. 335. These two verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 103-104.

(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of pinda offerings at Gaya or death in Kāśī, or gifts at Kurukṣetra, if one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga? ". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of *rātrisattra* ¹³⁶⁷ to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhalī-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of *rātrisattra-nyāya* to these verses, while Tir. C. (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri. S. are that in one and the same yātrā at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the *Trivenī*, that even ^{1367a} boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the *cūḍā* rite has already been performed. The Tristhalīsetu (p. 22) notes that certain traditionalists, ¹³⁶⁸

1367. *रात्रिसत्राय* occurs in Jai. IV. 3. 17-19. There is a passage in the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4 'यसि विहितं य एता रात्रिसत्राय' Here in the पञ्चविंश रात्रिसत्र is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised. The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai. IV. 3. 15-16 *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether *सवित्रा* (stable position) which occurs in the above *arthavāda* passage should be held to be the reward of *रात्रिसत्र*. The reply is that here the reward is *सवित्रा* and not *स्वर्ग* i. e. though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about *rātrisattra*, the *arthavāda* passage should be construed as laying down the reward. In the two verses, there is a *vidhi* in the words *प्रपाने वपनं कुर्यात्* and the second verse is an *अर्थवाद*. The question is what reward is promised in it. If *रात्रिसत्र* *व्रत* applies, then *सुष्ठु* secures all the fruits of *वपनविच्छेदान्*, *कुक्षिकेचनान्* and *काशीतनुरागान्*. If it does not apply then the only fruit is *पापमात्र*.

1367a. अष्टपदीत्यन्तमपि प्रपाने वपनं कार्यम् । यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा बालास्त्राण्येतेषां येषां । यथात्मना तथैव सर्वं हानं क्रियेत् वापयेत् ॥ इति मत्स्यपुराणवन्दने तृतीयपादवचः... सुष्ठुनादिविधायकत्वात् । त्रिस्थली० pp. 23-24. यस्तु पुत्रास्तथाः is मत्स्य. 106.6.

1368. सांप्रदायिकास्तु...तस्मात्सुष्ठुमेव केशवपनमिह क्षीयामिति । अत्रापि नोन्मुख-केशवपनं किंतु वेणीं कृत्वा कुक्ष्यादिमङ्गलवृत्त्यालङ्कृता भर्तारं नमस्कृत्य तद्वत्पुत्राया वापयेत् । तं च वेणीमञ्जलीं निक्षिप्य यथाशक्तिकृतां स्वर्णमयीं रज्यमयीं वा वेणीं सुकामवालादि च निक्षिप्य-वेण्यां वेणीमञ्जलेन कूर्चं पार्यं प्रणश्यत् । जन्मान्तरेणैव सदा सोमवारं मम-वर्षकात् । इति पठित्वा वेण्यां क्रियेत् त्रिस्थली० p. 22 ; प्रपाने क्षीयामपि सुष्ठु न तु कश्यपमन्त्र-वचनाभ्यां केशानां ह्यथकुलच्छेदमात्रम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 493.

relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person's hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely *kartana* and not *vapana* (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband's permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver *venī* and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (*Venī*) of the Ganges and Jumna after repeating the mantra 'May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the *Venī*! may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come.' The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their head at any tirtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of *sistas*. Vide above pp. 122-124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nāradya (Uttara) 63. 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prayāścittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of *venī* (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word *Venī* applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.¹³⁶⁹

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna or at the foot of the Akṣaya Vata at Prayāga, would involve no sin.¹³⁷⁰ This matter has already been

1369. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधावकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-
प्रदायिनी ॥ स एव तीर्थराजोऽयं त्रिवेण्या यत्र सङ्गमः । त्रिधली० p. 8.

1370. प्रयागः...विभो० भवणात्तस्य...प्रसूयते ॥ तत्राभिषेकं चः कुर्यात्सङ्गमे संसित-
व्रतः । पुण्यं सकलमाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः । एषा यजन...महान्नयति भारत ॥ न वेद...
प्रयागमरणं मति ॥ दशतीर्थसहस्राणि वटिकोट्यस्तथापराः । येषां सान्निध्यमत्रैव कीर्तितं कुव-
नन्दनं । चातुर्वेदे च वरपुण्यं सत्यवादिषु चैव यत् । स्नात एव तदामोति यज्ञायतनसङ्गमे ॥ वनपर्व
85. 79-85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the त्रिधली-
सेतु observes (p. 30) 'एतेषु सर्वेषु यद्यपि प्रयागशब्दस्याविशेषतः उपादानं तथापि
तद्वत्सर्गतसत्सतीर्थस्नानफलस्य वाक्यान्तरैकत्वात् स्थलमात्रे च जलाभावेन स्नानासम्भवाद्दे-
व्युपलक्षकः प्रयागशब्दः'. The same verses occur in एका (आदि 39. 72-78). स्कन्द
(काशी० chap. 7, 63 and 65) says 'तद्विष्णोः परमं वर्यं ब्रह्मा पश्यन्ति क्षरयः । एतत्पञ्चत-
वेदे तत्प्रयागं पुनः पुनः ॥ इयं वेणी हि त्रिवेणी ब्रह्मणो कर्म यावत्ततः । तद्विष्णोः.....
क्षरयः ।—is क्र. I. 22.20.

dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-928 and vol. III, pp. 939, 948-949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmaśāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 10, 28, 15-17) mentions the view of Hārita which condemns suicide even as *prāyaścitta* for committing a *mahāpātaka* (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing. Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as *prāyaścitta* for *mahāpātakas* (vide Manu XI. 73, 90-91, 103-104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the *smṛtis*, *epics* and *purāṇas*. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of *mahāpātakas* (viz. *brāhmaṇa* murder, drinking of *surā*, theft of *brāhmaṇa*'s gold and incest); vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-925 for *smṛti* and other texts. (2) Starting on the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna-gamana* or *mahāpathayātrā*) by a forest hermit (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order. (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the *Himālaya* or by jumping from the branches of the *Vata* tree at *Prayāga* (Aparārka p. 877 quoting *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Atri-smṛti* verses 218-219 q. by *Medhātithi* on Manu V. 88 and *Mit.* on Yāj. III. 6). (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life's work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a *Vedāntin*¹³⁷¹ and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in *Himālaya*. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers *Gangā* and *Yamunā*, at the *Vata* there and at some other *tīrthas*. (6) A wife dying by *sahagamana* or *anumarana*. As to *Sati*, the *Nāradya* (*pūrvārdha* 7. 52-53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. शरीरदुःखे सत्र विधिपूर्वमनाशकं। अथैव जीवितं ज्ञात्वा यो वै वेदान्तयो द्विजः ॥
अप्यर्च्यं देवतास्तत्र नमस्कृत्य कुर्वीत यः॥ ततः सिद्धो विष्णुं गच्छेद् ब्रह्मलोकं समात्मनः ॥ अष्ट-
भासन 23. 63-64, तत्र refers to *हिमालय* as the context shows.

young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purāṇas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the *saṅgama* or near Vata) secured mokṣa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four *puruṣārathas* (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kalidāsa held the view that, though mokṣa or *kaivalya* or *apavarga* requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred saṅgama led to mokṣa even without 'tattvajñāna.' In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925-927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśaḥ-karṇadeva, Candella Dhaṅgadev and Cālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tūṅgabhadra have been given. The king Kumāragupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāṇa 107. 9-10 (=Padma, Ādi-khaṇḍa 44.3) which states¹³⁷² 'the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.'¹³⁷³ The Rājataranginī VI 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (*prāyopaveśa*).

1372. गङ्गायल्लनयोर्मध्ये कर्षाग्निं यस्तु साधयेत्। अहीनाङ्गे हारोगश्च पञ्चोद्वय-
समन्वितः। यावन्ति रोमकूपानि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिनः॥ तावद्ब्रह्महत्याणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥
मत्स्य 107.9, कूर्म I. 38. 3-4, नारदीय, उत्तर, 63.154 (reads करीषाग्निं तु धारयेत्), पद्म
I. 44. 9 (reads पञ्चाग्निं यस्तु). कर्षाग्निं is short for करीषाग्निं for metrical reasons.
कूर्म I. 38.3 reads 'करीषाग्निं च साधयेत्.' Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200,
the Absaid Stone Inscription of आदित्यसेन of मगध, which states that his
fifth ancestor Kumāragupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of
dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. श्रीरसरयवतधरो यः प्रयागगतो
धने। अम्भसीय करीषाग्नौ मगः स पुण्यपूजितः॥ p. 203 (of the text). धने means धने
सरपयि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about
suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya
and other purāṇas.

1373. The Ain-i-Akbari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol. I. p. 531 and p. 802 of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhyaya). These are five in number viz. (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on fire and consuming himself therein; (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to plunge into water at the *Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama*, enumerate one's sins and pray till alligators come and devour the man; (5) cut his throat at Allababad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated¹³⁷⁴ as follows: 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda¹³⁷⁵ are Vāj. S. 40. 3 (= Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness; those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds.' This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uttara-rāmacarita, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 2. 6. 7 'one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world'. By 'the words of the people' are meant smṛti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14. 12, Vas.^{1375a} 23. 14-15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 56 (ātmatyagīnaḥ patitāś-ca naśaucodakabhājāḥ).

1374. न देववचनात्त न लोकवचनादपि । मतिरक्रमणीवा ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥
वनपर्व 85.83, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63.129, एक (आदि 39.76 reads न देव०), अग्नि 111.8
(reads मतिरक्रमणीयान्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति). मत्स्य. 106.22 reads न देववचना...
प्रयागमरणं प्रति) and एक, आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागमरणं प्रति. The कुर्मपुराण 1. 37.14
is न मातृवचनात्त न...दपि । मति...प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥; एक, आदिखण्ड 33.64 reads न
लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव मुदधादतः । मतिर्न क्रमणीवा स्वाहविहृत्यति प्रति ॥. This
entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to
Kāśī, one should not heed the words of one's parents or elders or of the
people (dissuading him from going).

1375. अहूर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन ह मसाहृताः । तस्ते मेधाभिगच्छन्ति ये के आत्महृणो
जनाः ॥ वाज. सं. 40.3; The ईशावास्योप. reads अहूर्या (sunless). Vide for
आत्महृण् the sūtra of बलिष्ठ quoted below. यो वा ज्ञात वचांणि जीवति स हेतवः-
वृत्तमाप्नोति...तस्माद् ह न पुरापुनः स्वकामी मेधाहलोकं हत उ वा लोकाः । सायणभा.
X. 2. 6. 7 q. by मेधासिधे on मनु V. 88 (आत्मनस्वयानि चैव निवर्त्तते ह्यकस्मिन्) and VI. 32. The printed text of मेधासिधे and कुल्लूक reads स्वःकामी (desiring
heaven).

1375 a. य आत्मस्वायामिहस्यो भवति सविच्छानां प्रेतकर्मच्छेदः । काष्ठजललोह-
पक्वान्नाशकविबरज्जुभिर्न आत्मानमवसाहयति स आत्महा भवति ॥ बलिष्ठ 23. 14-15.

There is no doubt that some of the smṛtis, the Mahābhārata¹³⁷⁶ itself and some purāṇas do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few purāṇa passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the Kūrma state 'That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Whoever dies in the Gaṅgā whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell'.¹³⁷⁷ The Kūrma is quite clear 'Mokṣa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in Benares mokṣa can be secured in a single birth' (I. 32. 22). The Padma¹³⁷⁸ is quite emphatic 'a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges secures on death heaven and 'mokṣa'. A verse of the Skanda asserts 'He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.' The Kūrma (I. 38. 3-12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The Mahābhārata has a *parva* called Mahāprāsthānika in which it is narrated (chap. 1. 24) that Yudhiṣṭhira with his four brothers, queen Draupadī and a faithful dog, started on the Great Journey towards the Himālaya and that they fell down dead one after another, Draupadī being the first and Bhīma the last.

1377. वा वसिष्ठोऽगुक्तस्य संन्यस्तस्य मनीषिणः । सा गतिर्यजतः प्राणान् गङ्गापद्मनसङ्गमे ॥ अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां यो विपद्यते । स द्युतो जायते स्वर्गे नरकं च न पश्यति ॥ कूर्म. I. 37. 16, 39. The first verse is read in पद्म, सुहितलङ्घ 60.56 as वा वसिष्ठोऽसंन्यस्तस्य मनीषिणः । सा...गङ्गायां तु गतिरिणः ॥. नारद (उत्तर) 43.97 is the same as पद्म.

1378. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतोऽपि वा । गङ्गायां च द्युतो मर्यः स्वर्गे लोकं च विन्दति ॥ पद्म, सुहित, 60.65 q. by त्रिस्थली. p. 47. यथा कथंविधीर्हस्मिन् प्राणसंशयं करोति यः । तस्यात्मघातदोषो न प्राप्नुयादपिस्तानपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 22.76. The कल्पतरु 00 तीर्थ p. 258 quotes from वायुपुराण 'यो बाह्मिनाग्निमयसो वीराध्यानं (० ध्यानं ?) यतोपि वा । सन्मन्त्रक मन्त्रः पूर्वं मन्त्रस्तु जायतेऽन्ये ॥ त्वमग्ने वदस्व त्वं ह्यधामहोदधिरस्व सर्वं माकताः क्षिप्रमीदृशे । त्वं वातेपांसिसमग्रे यस्त्वं प्रस्थिमायीरूपः पातयन् माम् ॥'. The mantra as printed makes no sense. The editor should have separated the words properly even if the mss. were unsatisfactory. It appears to be Rg. II. 1. 6 (= Tri. S. I. 3. 14. 1) त्वमग्ने वदस्व अहुरो महो दिवस्त्वं त्रयो माकतं पुंस ईदृशे । त्वं वातेपांसिर्नसि शोमयस्त्वं पूषा विभक्तः पांसि क्षु त्वमा ॥.

the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsaang (about 629-645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol. I, pp. 232-234). The Kalpataru on Tirtha (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātrā (pp. 258-265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and *mokṣa* by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tirthas. Vanaparva¹³⁷⁹ speaks of suicide at Prthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar). The Brahmapurāṇa¹³⁸⁰ calls upon *dvijas* who are intent on securing *mokṣa* to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kṣetra. The Lingapurāṇa¹³⁸¹ says 'if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains *mokṣa* as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this'. The Padma promises¹³⁸² a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kaverī (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāśī or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included 'starting on the Great Journey' and 'suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire' (vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958-59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted¹³⁸³. Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c.) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to wilful death and that the Khila verse ('Sītāsīt' quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. उत्तमं सर्वतीर्थानां वसत्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम् । पृथुर्वके जटवपरो नैव श्वो वरणं तपेत् ॥ वीतं सनत्कुमारेण व्यासेन च महात्मना ॥ वनपर्व 83. 146, 147 q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 180 (reads श्रुतं मे सर्वम्).

1380. तस्मात्सर्वमयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः । देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यः सप्तर्षीसाधिकादिभिः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 177. 25; vide also ब्रह्मपुराण 68. 75 and 177. 16-17.

1381. श्रीशैले सत्यजेद् देहं ब्राह्मणो दग्धकिल्बिषः । श्रवपते नात्र सन्देशो क्षयिष्ठके यथा क्षुभम् ॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्धे 92. 168-169).

1382. अग्निवेशं यः कुर्याद्यश्च कुर्यादनाशनम् । अनिवर्तिका यतिसत्य यथा मे शङ्करोऽबधीत् ॥ पद्म., आदि. 16. 14-15.

1383. Vide a learned paper on 'suicide at Prayāga' by Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol. X, pp. 63 ff.

83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmanas but only to the other three varṇas. ¹³⁸⁴

Both the Gangāvakyaṭī (pp. 304-310) and the Tir. C. (pp. 47-52) hold that all varṇas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tir. Pr. holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346-355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmana should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarjya verses and that members of the other varṇas may do so. The Tristhalīsetu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47-55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of mokṣa or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that this suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden ^{1384a} to brāhmanas as some think (since Agni 111. 8 reads 'na vedavacanād vipra'), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health ¹³⁸⁵ may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one's old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga. ¹³⁸⁶ It is refreshing to find Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, perhaps

1384. शूद्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्या अस्त्रजाश्च तथाधमाः । एते रज्जेशुः प्राणान् वै वञ्चयित्वा हिंजं नृप । एतित्वा ब्राह्मणस्तत्र ब्रह्महा वात्महा भवेत् । q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 52, which remarks that these verses are not found in any authoritative source and they involve a contradiction, in as much as क्षत्रिय and वैश्य are allowed to kill themselves though they are *dr̥viṣas*. This is q. also by भट्टोजि in त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 33.

1384 a. तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिषाद्विपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि । इदं शीघ्ररुतेर्लुप्तः—इत्याद्युपक्रम्य मध्येन्महापथं वापि तुषारगिरिमादरात् । प्रयागवदशास्त्राणां वेदस्यायं करोति वा ॥ इयं वेदविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामातेः । उसमागमामुद्योकात्वात्म-याती भवेत्कचित् ॥ एतेषामधिकारस्तु सर्वेषां सर्वजन्तुषु । नराणामथ नारीणां सर्वधर्मेषु सर्वदा ॥ त्रिस्थली° p. 53.

1385. तस्माद्वतुरादेरनातुरादेश्व सर्वस्याधिकारः । किं तु ब्रह्मो पितरो तदणीं भार्गवोऽयमपरश्च विद्या न अधिकारः । एवं क्षिया अपि गर्भिण्या बालापत्याया भर्त्राजन्तुजाताया वा नाधिकार इत्यादि ज्ञेयम् । त्रिस्थली° p. 55.

1386. काश्यादिमरणाशुकरित्यत्र प्रयोजकत्वे पञ्चमी । तज्जन्यादात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्षोत्पत्तेः । ज्ञानेन विना मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात् । 'अत्र हि जन्तोः...कृत्स्नारकं ब्रह्म ग्याचते' इति श्रुतेः । यद्वा काश्यां देहावसाने कश्चोपदेशश्रुतेस्तु ज्ञानापेक्षा न तु सर्वत्र । प्रयागमरणादौ विनैवात्मसाक्षात्कारमप्यगोचरात् । ...तद्वसत् विना ज्ञानेन मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात् । तीर्थम्.

(Continued on the next page)

the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga, exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common sense.¹³⁸⁷ Nārāyanabhaṭṭa probably followed traditions several hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide that 'it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of distinction does, but only vaiśyas and śūdras. Burning oneself is forbidden to brāhmanas and kṣatriyas by a special law. Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges.' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II. p. 170). The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

(Continued from the last page)

p. 313; the passage of the जाबालोपनिषद् is: अविमुक्तं वै कुक्षेत्रं देवानां देवयजनं सर्वेषां भूतानां ब्रह्मसदनम्। तस्माद्यत्र कश्चन गच्छति तदेव मर्येत तदविमुक्तमेव। इदं वै कुक्षेत्रं देवानां...सदनम्। अत्र हि जन्तोः प्राणैर्भूतकर्ममाणेषु चन्द्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे येनास्तरवृत्तीभूत्वा मोक्षीभवति। In the Bhau Daji collection of mss. at the Bombay Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अविमुक्तनिर्दिशसार (cat. No. 1047) which contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the Jābālopaniṣad passage quoted and also some other passages from the same. In this work कुक्षेत्र occurring in जाबालोपनिषद् is explained as 'कुस्तिं रावयतीति कुक्ष पादं तस्य क्षेत्रमात् इति कुक्षेत्रं पापमाशनमित्यर्थः' and देवयजनं as ब्रह्मोपास्तरधानम्.

1387. काम्यमन्त्रश्च मरणम्। अत्र तु सर्ववर्णानामधिकारः। गङ्गावा. p. 305 and तीर्थचि. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of प्रयागमरण in both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थचि. quotes the verses न वेदवच्छता from the पञ्चपुराण while the गङ्गावा. quotes them from the मत्स्य. It appears probable that the तीर्थचि. borrows from the गङ्गावा. since वाचस्पति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyāpati who helped विश्वासदेवी in composing गङ्गावा. Both were closely connected with the several kings and queens of the कामेश्वर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I. A. vol. VII. at p. 53 Prof. G. C. Basu while describing a newly found ms. of a work called ज्वालिनीकृतपञ्चिनी ascribed in the colophon to विद्यापति states that that work mentions the द्वैतानिर्णय of वाचस्पति. So it is not unlikely that विद्यापति helped विश्वासदेवी by taking a part from the तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 739-740, Journal of Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVI, New I. A. vol. VII pp. 49 ff, I. H. Q. vol. XX. (1944) pp. 211 ff for the date and works of विद्यापति and H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 404-405 for the date of वाचस्पति.

should perform his own śrāddha upto the offering of pinda if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a saṅkalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Viṣṇu. On his death, his relatives have to observe āśauca only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.¹³⁸⁸

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by *tattvajñāna* and by suicide at a tirtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to *saṁsāra* by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himālaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purāṇas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e.g. Matsya 180. 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the Matsyapurāṇa itself (182. 22-25) which ¹³⁸⁹ says: At the time of death, when the vital

1388. बृहदः शीघ्रस्मृत्युत्पन्नः प्रत्याख्यातमिच्छकक्रियः। आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु भुवःस्य न-
शनादिभिः। तस्य शिरात्रमाशौचं द्वितीये स्थाप्यसञ्चयश्च। तृतीये तुल्यं कृत्वा चतुर्थे आशुना-
चरेत्॥ अत्रि 218-219 q. by मेधा० on मनु V. 89. कल्प० (on आशौच p. 87) quotes
these slightly differently and remarks वैधे तु देहस्याग्रे बृहदः...माशौचं कर्तव्यं चोदक-
क्रिया इति वचनाद्भक्त्येवोदकादिक्रिया.

1389. The स्कन्दपुराण, काशी० has the following verses which repeat what
the Matsya (182. 22-25) says viz. Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man
dying at Kāśī the knowledge of *brahma* that will save his soul. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन
मुच्यन्ते नाप्यया जन्तवः कश्चिद्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तदुरयजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं
काशीरक्षिस्थितिभामिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं यास्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्॥ chap. 32, verses
115-116; साक्षाम्बोको न चंतासु पुरीषु शिवभाषिणि। स्कन्द, काशी० 8.3 (अगरय tells
लोपासुदा). The मत्स्य० verses are: अन्तकाले मनुष्याणां क्षिप्तमानेषु मर्मेसु। वायुना
पेर्यमाणानां स्मृतिर्नैवोपजायते। अविमुक्ते ह्यन्तकाले भक्तानामीश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्मभिः पर्य-
माणानां कर्णजायं प्रपच्छति। मणिकर्णौ त्यजन्देहं गतिमिष्टां ब्रजेश्वरः। ईश्वरमेतितो याति
ब्रह्मपामकुतात्मभिः॥ 182. 22-25. The words अन्तकाले ... जायते refer to the
general rule. The verses अविमुक्ते state the special case of death in Avimuktā.
The त्रिशुली० p. 297 quotes these verses and reads अविमुक्ते त्वन्तकाले.

parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body) by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the time of death in Avimukta (Vārāṇasi) Lord (Śiva) himself whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations of their actions). A man dying near Manikarnikā pool reaches the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not pure.' In the Kāśikhapada it is expressly stated that mokṣa does not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśī &c.). But in spite of these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal meaning of hundreds of Purāṇa passages is that mokṣa results from dying at Prayāga or in Kāśikṣetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable antiquity. In the 4th century B. C. Kalanos, the Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa, when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J. W. McCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (New Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386-392. Strabo informs us of a gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and consigned himself to flames (vide 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 389). Hiouen T'sang (Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' vol. I. pp. 232-234) refers to suicide at Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the greatest emphasis on 'ahimsā' (non-injury), encouraged religious suicide (called 'Sallekhanā') in certain cases¹³⁹⁰.

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśimṛti-mokṣa-vicāra of Suresvara (pp. 2-9), the Tristhalisetu (pp. 50-55) and the Tirthaprakāśa (pp. 313-318) discuss at some length how mere death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārāṇasi or Prayāga would lead to mokṣa. Considerations of space prevent a complete statement of their views. Their arguments are briefly as follows:—Karma is of three kinds, viz. *sañcita* (collected in former births), *prārabdha* (that has begun to

1390. Vide I. A. vol. II. p. 322 'Jain Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola', where some verses are quoted from the Ratnakaraṇḍa of which the following one may be noted: उपसर्गे दुर्मिक्षे जरासि रुजायां च निष्पत्तिकारे । धर्माच्च तत्कृमिोचनमाहुः सल्लेखनामार्थाः ॥

operate by giving the soul the present body) and *kriyamāṇa* (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gīṭā¹³⁹¹ declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of *brahma*), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all *karma* and that *mokṣa* results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (*sañcita*) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes *brahma* was due to that part of his *karma* which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized *brahma* he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra. The Matsyapurāṇa says:¹³⁹² those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of *kulpas*. Therefore all those who die in any way at¹³⁹³ Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death. That leads to *tattvajñāna* (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to *mokṣa*. In rare passages it is expressly stated that *mokṣa* cannot¹³⁹⁴ be immediately secured

1391. यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवंविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति । छा. उप. IV. 14. 3; भिषते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः । क्षीयन्ते चारय कर्माणि तस्मिन् हृदे परावरे ॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद् II. 2. 8; यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसारकुर्वतेऽर्जुन । ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसारकुर्वते तथा ॥ भगवद्गीता ॥ IV. 37.

1392. अग्निवेशं ये कुर्तुर्विमुक्ते विधानतः । प्रविशन्ति सुखं ते मे निःसन्दिग्धं वरामने ॥ कुर्वन्मयज्ञानं ये तु मज्जकाः कृतनिश्चयाः । न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पोदिशतरपि ॥ मत्स्य. 183. 77-78 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थे p. 21.

1393. 'ज्ञानादेव तु कैवल्यम्' इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यो ज्ञानाभावे मोक्षाभावोऽप्येव-
राकष्यस्वरूपदिहसारकादेवात्रात्मज्ञानोत्पत्तिः । तदुक्तं काशीखण्डे । ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते मायया
अन्तवः कश्चित् । ब्रह्मज्ञानं तद्देवाहं काशीसंस्थितभागिनाम् । विशामि तारकं मास्ते मुच्यन्ते ते
तु तत्कामात् । विस्मयी ० p. 292 which quotes काशीखण्ड 32, 115-116. Similar
statements occur in काशीखण्ड 21, 98 विपत्तानां च अमृतानां यत्र विम्वेश्वरः स्वयम् । कर्णे
आये प्रकुर्वते कर्मनिर्मूलनक्षमम् ॥ and काशीखण्ड 61, 117-118, 64, 98. The गरुडपुराण
(विम्वेश्वर, 6. 60-61) says 'तीर्थराजस्ततः काशी महादेवो दयामिधिः । मृतानां यत्र अमृतानां
कर्णे जपति तारकम् ॥'.

1394. साक्षात्प्रेक्षो न चैतादृश पुरीषु विद्यमानिनि । स्कन्द, काशी 8. 2 (अगरय to
लोपाहृता) । तारकं प्रणवः तारयतीति तारः स्वार्थे कप्रत्ययः । संसारसागराणुत्तारकं तारकं
च तद् ब्रह्म इति तारकं ब्रह्म उच्यते । काशीवृत्तिमोक्षाविचार p. 3.

(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Suresvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable *om* which is a symbol of *brahma* as stated in the Tai. Up. (I 1.8 *Om-iti brahma*) and the Gītā (8, 13 *Om-ityekākṣaram brahma*). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmātpañīya Upaniṣad and ¹³⁹⁵ the Padmapurāṇa the mantra is 'sri-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tirthas that fall under Prayāga. The most important of them is the famous Vata (banyan tree) called Aksaya-Vata (the imperishable Vata). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vata and in the Saṅgama he goes to the city of Viṣṇu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vata. The Kūrma¹³⁹⁶ says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vata, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tirthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described : (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumnā and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Ādi 39. 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrma I. 37. 19), (2) Pratiṣṭhāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrma I. 37.22, Padma, Ādi. 43, 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratiṣṭhāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvata (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrma I. 37.28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Hamsaprapatana to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrma I. 37. 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Ādi 39. 80 and 43. 32; (5) Koṭitirtha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrma I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Ādi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavati, the Vedī of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106.46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Ādi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāśvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Ādi 39. 80); (8) Urvaśipulina, suicide at which

1395. रामतापनीये तु श्रीराममन्त्र एव तारकशब्दार्थ उक्तः। मुमुक्षोर्देहिने कर्णे यस्य कस्यापि वा स्वयम्। उपदेशसि मन्मन्त्रं स मुक्तो भविता शिवः। एते तु श्रीशब्दपूर्वकश्चिरादुक्ते रामशब्द एव तारकतयोक्तः। मुमुक्षोर्मणिकर्ण्यन्तर्येदकनिवातिनः। अहं दिशामि ते मन्त्रं तारकं ब्रह्मवाचकम्। श्रीरामरामरामेति एतत्तारकमुच्यते॥ त्रिरथली० p. 291.

1396. बहूल्लं समभिष्व यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्। स्वर्गलोकानतिक्रम्य बहूलोकं न गच्छति। कूर्म. I. 37.8-9 q. by तीर्थवि० p. 48. The same is एष, आदिशब्द 43.11 (reads सर्वलोकान्).

led to ¹³⁹⁷ various rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42, ¹³⁹⁸ Padma, Ādi 43. 34-43, Agni 111. 13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Rṇapramooana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I 38. 14, Padma, Ādi 44. 20); (10) Mānasa on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Ādi 44. 2, Agni 111. 14); (11) Agnitīrtha on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Matsya 108. 27, Kūrma I. 39. 4, Padma, Ādi 45. 27); (12) Virāja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Ādi 45. 29); (13) Anaraka ¹³⁹⁹ to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I 39. 5).

The Purāṇas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāṇa (105. 8-12) asserts: ¹⁴⁰⁰ A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

1397. उर्वशीपुलिने दुष्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे। परित्यजति यः प्रणाञ्च कृणु तस्यापि वत्सलम् ॥ वटिर्बसहस्राणि वटिर्बसहस्रानि च । संव्यते पितृभिः सार्धं स्वर्गलोके नराधिप ॥ उर्वशी तु महा पश्यत्स्वर्गलोके नरोत्तमः । पूज्यते सततं पुत्राः सविन्ध्वर्धकिनरीः ॥ ततः स्वर्गत् परित्यजः क्षीणकर्मा विभ्रान्धुतः । उर्वशीसहस्रानां तु कन्यानां लभते शतम् ॥ मध्ये नारीसहस्राणां बहूनां च पतिर्भवेत् । वृक्षग्रामसहस्राणां भोक्ता भवति धूमिपः ॥ काञ्चिद्विपुराण्येन सुमोक्षी मतिवृद्धयते । शुक्या तु विपुलाभोगास्तत्तीर्थे लभते पुनः ॥ सुक्लान्वरधरो नित्यं नियतः संवते-
रिद्वयः । एकं कालं तु सुखानो मासं भूमिपतिर्भवेत् ॥ सुवर्णालङ्कतानां तु नारीणां लभते शतम् ।

पुष्पिण्यामलङ्कृतायां महाभूमिपतिर्भवेत् ॥ धनधान्यसमायुक्तो वाता भवति नित्यतः । शुक्या तु विपुलाभोगास्तत्तीर्थे लभते पुनः ॥ मत्स्य. 106. 34-42 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 34-42 with some variations. The first two verses are कूर्म I. 37, 26-27 and all occur नारदीय (उ.) 63. 140-149.

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvāṣipulīna are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Saṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of kingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399. In मत्स्य. 108. 29 we read तीर्थे निरञ्जनं नाम वज्र देवाः सवासवाः which appears to be a misreading. एष्विने धर्मराजस्य तीर्थे त्वनरकं स्मृतम्. कूर्म. I. 395.; the अग्नि 111. 14 mentions a तीर्थे called वानरक (or वासरक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of त्वनरकं (तु + अनरकं). मत्स्य. 108. 27 तीर्थे तु नरकं स्मृतम् seems to be a misreading for त्वनरकं. Several tīrthas called अनरक are known. Vide पद्म, आदि 27.56 and list.

1400. देशस्थो यदि वारण्ये विदेशस्थोऽपि गृहे । प्रयागं स्मरमाणोऽपि यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत् ॥ अङ्गलोकः नवाभ्योति वदन्ति ऋषिपुङ्गवाः । सर्वकामफला वृक्षा मही च चिरम्पयी । क्षययो नूनयः सिद्धास्तत्र लोके स गच्छति ॥ जीसहस्राहते रम्ये मन्वाकिण्यास्तदे सुभे । मोक्षते ऋषिभिः कार्यं कुरुतेनेह कर्मणा ...ततः स्वर्गात्परिभ्रष्टो जम्बूद्वीपपतिर्भवेत् ॥ मत्स्य. 105. 8-11 q. by गङ्गाधरः p. 310; verses from जीसहस्रा are quoted from कूर्म by विश्वामि-
p. 25.

trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and *munis* and *siddhas*; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages; when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvīpa.

At most famous tirthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha. The Kalpataru (on tirtha), the Gaṅgāvākyaṇī, Tir. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devīpurāṇa, the gist of which is as follows : Śrāddha should be performed at tirthas, but there is no offering of *arghya* and no *āvāhana* (since pītṛs are deemed to be always present at tirthas, as the Kāśīkhanda says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmaṇas being satiated, nor *vikāra*.¹⁴⁰¹ If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer pīṇḍas made from barley meal or may offer *saṃyāva* (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery.¹⁴⁰² It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, crows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place. A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pītṛs. Some of the works such as the Tristhalīsetusārasaṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji provide that after performing a pārvanaśrāddha at a tirtha and after making offerings of pīṇḍas to one's ancestors one should offer a single pīṇḍa to one's other relatives with the following mantra : 'Here I offer pīṇḍa to deceased persons of my father's family, and of my mother's family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

1401. अर्चमावाहनं चैव द्विजाङ्गुष्ठनिवेक्षणम्। वृत्तिपथं च विकिरं तीर्थभास्त्रे विवर्जयेत्॥ q. by त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 18; देवाश्च पितरो यस्मादुद्धृता सर्वा स्थिताः। आवाहनं चिरम् (मन्त्रः?) तेषां तत्र ततो न हि॥ काशीखण्ड 28.9; तीर्थे आहुतं प्रकुर्वीत पञ्चाक्षरेण विवेकतः। आमाक्षरेण द्विरप्येन कण्डमूलफलैरपि॥ सुमन्तु q. in त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 20.

1402. सकामिः पिण्डदानं तु संयायेः पापक्षेपेन तु। कर्तव्यद्वयविधिर्द्वयं पिण्याक्षेपेन दुष्टेन च। आहुतं तत्र तु कर्तव्यमर्चमावाहनमजितम्। अर्चनासमयकालानां मेव दृष्टिहस्तं च यत्। आहुतं तत्तैर्यदि शोकं पिबुणां मीतिकाकम्।...कालेवाप्यप्यथाकाले तीर्थे आहुतं तथा नरैः। मातेरेव सदा कार्यं कर्तव्यं पितृवर्णयम्। पिण्डदानं च तच्छस्त्रं पितृयामतिवृत्तम्। विलम्बो मेव कर्तव्यो न च विघ्नं समाचरेत्। पञ्चपुराण V. 29. 212-218, q. by पुष्टीचन्द्रोद्धार folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कण्व on तीर्थ p. 10, तीर्थचि. pp. 10-11, ब्रह्मवा. p. 129. Vide स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 58-60 for some of the verses and भारद्वाज (अक्षर) 52. 41-42 for last two verses.

who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the *piṇḍa* (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (*piṇḍa*) reach inexhaustively'! (Vāyu 110. 51-52). After this he should offer another *piṇḍa* for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54-55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a *saukālpa* that he would perform *śrāddha* and should offer a single *piṇḍa* with the mantra (in Vāyu 110. 23-24) 'I offer this *piṇḍa* to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father's mother, grandfather's mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter's father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively'!

The *Anuśāsana-parva*, the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Nāradya* (*uttara*) 63. 19-20 and 36-38 and others highly praise bathing at the *saṅgama* in the month of *Māgha* ¹⁴⁰³. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; *sūdras*, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word 'namaḥ' (Tri. S. p. 39). Similarly, the *Padma*, *Kūrma*, *Agni* and other *Purāṇas* wax eloquent over a bath for three days in *Māgha* saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows. ¹⁴⁰⁴ There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p. 33. The various views are: the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, *Rathasaptamī* and the full moon day of *Māgha*; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of *Māgha*; the first three days of *Māgha*; the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of *Māgha*; any three days in *Māgha*.

1403. वृक्षतीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिकोट्यस्तथापराः। समामृच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36-37; षष्टितीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टितीर्थशतानि च। माघमासे गमिष्यन्ति गङ्गा-यमुनसङ्गमे॥ कूर्म I. 38. 1; मत्स्य 107.7 is very nearly the same.

1404. गवां कोटिपदानाद्यत् त्रयहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम्। प्रयागे माघमासे तु एवमाहुर्मनी-विजः॥ अग्नि. 111.10-11; गवां शतसहस्रस्य सम्यग्दत्तस्य तत्फलम्। प्रयागे माघमासे तु त्रयहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम्॥ पद्म, आदि 44. 8, कूर्म I. 38.2.

CHAPTER XIII

KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśī does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śākyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purāṇas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banares during the last hundred years.¹⁴⁰⁵ It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras. I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras. The Śatapatha Br. quotes ¹⁴⁰⁶ a Gāthā which states that Śatanika, son of Satrājī, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāsis, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhṛtarāstra Vicitravīrya is called Kāśya. In the Gopatha Br. we have ¹⁴⁰⁷ the combination Kāśī-Kośalāḥ. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned: 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Ewee (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the Hindus' by M.A. Sherring with a learned Introduction by Dr. F.E. Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs; 'Benares, the sacred city' by E. B. Havell (1903) with many fine illustrations; 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs.

1406. तदेतद्वाचयामिगीतम् । शतानीकः समस्तासु मेधेयं सात्राजितो हयम् । आदत्त यज्ञं काशीनां भरतः सत्यतामिवेति । शतपथब्रा. XIII. 5.4.21.

1407. विचारी ह वै काशन्धिः कश्यपस्याध्वर्युणश्च पुत्रो मेधावी मीमांसकोऽनूचान आस । स ह स्वेनातिमानेन मातुषं वित्तं मेयाय । तं मातोवाच । त एवैतद्वचनबोधंस्त इममेव कुपयन्नादे-
वद्वचनमर्थेषु काशीकौशलेषु...उदीच्येववचनमवृण्ति । गोपथ, पूर्वभाग 2.9.

Cambridge History of India (vol. I. p. 117) remarks that in the Brāhmaṇa period Kāśī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varanāvati. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 1) and the Kauṣītaki¹⁴⁰⁸ Up. (IV. 1.) there is the story of the proud Bālāki Gārgya going to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, with the assurance that the former would expound *brahṃa* to the latter. In Pāṇini IV. 2. 116 Kāśī heads a *gaṇa* (Kāśyādibhyas-than-ithau). Under Pāṇini IV. 2. 113 we get the form 'Kāśiyāḥ.' It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the ṛṣi of Rg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Pratardana Kāśirāja. In *tarpaṇa*, the Hir. Gr. (II. 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāśīśvara along with Viṣṇu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Rgveda. In Rg. I. 130. 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Rg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purāṇas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 4 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 54 (vol. II. p. 223) we find the illustration 'Kāśī-Kosalīyāḥ.' The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāśī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B. C. Kāśī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.¹⁴⁰⁹ From the above passages it is clear that Kāśī was the name of a country long before the Satapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B. C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pāṇ. IV. 1. 176 (striyām-avanti-kuntī-kurubhyas-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvantīn-udayana—), but Avanti or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayīni (as in the well-known verse 'Ayodhyā...Avantikā'). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A. D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārāṇasī in the kingdom of Kāśī (Legge's tr. p. 94). This shows that about 400 A. D. Kāśī was still the name of the district and Vārāṇasī was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya it appears that Kāśī had then become the name of the city (and was also

1408. इतथात्ताकिर्होद्वागो गार्ग्य आस सहीवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्चं ब्रह्म ते प्रवाणीति।
बृह. उप. II. 1.1.

1409. इह समाने आवासे विस्तारे पटस्त्वान्वाचो भवति काशीकस्यास्यो माधुरस्यः। ब्रह्म-
भाष्य, vol. II. p. 413 (on Pāṇ. V. 3.35).

the name of the country). In the *Anuśāsana-parva* (chap. 30) it is said that Haryaśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis ¹⁴⁰⁹ and was harassed and killed by the Vītahavyas in the *Doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājas bhyasicyata) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Sudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārāṇasī thickly populated with men of all varṇas on the northern bank of the Gomati. This legend shows that Kāśi was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārāṇasī was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the *Udyogaparva* also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāśis. ¹⁴¹⁰

The *Harivamśa* (I. chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārāṇasī. ¹⁴¹¹ It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aila. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Gr̥tsamada. From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāśayaḥ. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāśa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadrāsreṇya, who first was Lord of Vārāṇasī. Then Śiva sent his *gana* Nikumbha to destroy Vārāṇasī which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years. When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Śiva resided there. It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadrāsreṇya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed. Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama. Ajarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśie, again established Vārāṇasī. This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārāṇasī had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (chap. 92) and the *Brahmapurāṇa* (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Ajarka and the vicissitudes of Vārāṇasī.

1409 a. कसिष्वपि सुपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः । हर्षश्च इति विरुपाक्षो बभूव
अक्षतां वरः ॥ अमुकसप्तम 30 10.

1410. महावीर्यो महाबालः काशीनामीश्वरः बभूव । दिवोदास इति कथातो भैमसेनिर्ज-
रायिका ॥ उद्योग 117.1.

1411. सौदेवस्य कालीको दिवोदासोऽप्यविष्यत्... वाराणसीं महातेजा निर्ममे शङ्क-
शतनाम् ॥ निमग्नचित्तम्यामी वैशङ्क्यैस्तमाकुलाद् । नैकाङ्ग्योऽवचरतीं सङ्कल्पविभाषणाद् ।
वङ्गनाया उत्तरे कृते वगन्ते राजसत्तम । गोमत्या क्षितिजे कुरुं शङ्कस्यैवामरापतीद् । अमुकसप्तम
30. 15-18.

In the *Mahābhāṣya* Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārāṇasī is alongside of Gaṅgā and on Pāṇ. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārāṇasī Jitvarī.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B. C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī (vide *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, S. B. E. vol. XI p. 99 and *Mahāsudassanasutta*, *ibid.* p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E. vol. XI p. 153 and vol. XIII p. 90, *Mahāvagga*, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmadatta of Banaras figures in many *jātaka* stories. Hardly any part of the *jātaka* tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B. C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmadatta kings several centuries before Christ. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmadattas and 100 Kāśīs and Kuśas.¹⁴¹² But the very fact that Brahmadattas are separately mentioned from the Kāśīs largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśī. In the *Kalpasūtra* it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Caitra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S. B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvira died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (*ibid.* p. 266). Aśvaghosa appears to identify Vārāṇasī with Kāśī when he says in his *Buddhacarita* 'Having entered Vārāṇasī, the Jina (Buddha) illumining the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśī with excessive interest.'¹⁴¹³ The *Buddhacarita* further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vanārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. कलमेकं धर्तराज्ञा कर्णवर्जितमेकयाः। कसं वै महादत्तानां वीरानां कुरवा कसं द।
ततः कसं च वज्जालाः कसं काशिकुलादयः॥ मत्स्य. 273. 72-73.

1413. वाराणसीं प्रविष्ट्वा च जाता सम्भासयस्मिन् । अकार काशीदेशीयाद् कीदृका-
कास्तचित्तः॥ बृहत्संहिता 15. 101.

169), which is probably the Varanā. It is thus clear that Vārānasi and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāṇa 45.110 *Kāśī-kośalāḥ* figures among the countries of Madhyadeśa.

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa we have the story of Paundraka Vāsudeva who challenged Kṛṣṇa and asked the latter to surrender his *Cakra* and other symbols. He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Paundraka and Kāśīrāja attacked Kṛṣṇa who killed Paundraka and cut off Kāśīrāja's head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śaṅkara and secured from him a *Kṛtyā* (ogress) which entered Vārānasi. Kṛṣṇa's discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Vārānasi together with its king, his servants and citizens. In this account from the Viṣṇupurāṇa (V. 34) the names Kāśī, Vārānasi and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 207 and is briefly referred to in Sabhāparva, chap. 14.18-20 and chap. 34. 11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purāṇas about Kāśī and Mahādeva, various conclusions¹⁴¹⁴ have been drawn by writers, viz. that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upaniṣadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purāṇas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man's appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purāṇas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A. S. Altekar's 'History of Benares,' pp. 2-7. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 29) states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-kṣetra; is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nāradiyapurāṇa it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz. that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.

legende contained in the purāṇas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some *paurāṇic* legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purāṇas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purāṇas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 30.65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. Was Kṛṣṇa a non-Aryan god originally? Gaṇeśa's left tooth was shattered by the missile of Paraśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. The sage Bhṛgu curses Viṣṇu, Gautama curses Indra, Māṇḍavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, Brahmāṇḍa II. 27. 21-25).

In several purāṇas Kāśī or Vārāṇasī has been lauded and described at great length. Vide Matsya 180-185 (411 verses), Kūrma 1.31-35 (verses 226), Lingapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga, chap. 92, verses 190), Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 33-37, verses 170), Agni 112, Skanda, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 6 ff., Nāradya (uttara, chap. 48-51). The Kāśīkhaṇḍa alone has about 15000 verses¹⁴¹⁵ on Banaras and its sub-tīrthas. In the Padmapurāṇa the sages are said to have asked Bhṛgu five questions, viz. what is the greatness of Kāśī, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśī) can be secured. In the Skandapurāṇa,

1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherring's work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr. Wilson for holding that the greater part of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Gazni and holds that it is later than the Gaznvide invader. Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons. The work of Alberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Gazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. 1 p. 22): 'This is the reason why Hindu Sciences...have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.' The Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārāṇasī

Kāśikhanda¹⁴¹⁶ (chap. 26.2-5) the following questions are asked, viz. from what time this holy place Avimukta became highly famous, how it received the name Avimukta, how it became the way to *mokṣa*, how the pool of Maṇikarnika became an object of worship to the three worlds, what was there formerly (when) the Ganges was not there, how it came to be called Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Rudrāvāsa, how it came to be Ānandakānana (the forest of bliss) and then Avimukta and Mahāśmaśāna (the great cemetery).

Banaras has been known for centuries under five different names viz. Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states that Śaṅkara first called it Ānandakānana and then Avimukta.¹⁴¹⁷

(Continued from the last page)

from the Skandapurāṇa and holds the latter work to be as authoritative as the Matsyapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa and other Purāṇas. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara was composed about 1110 A. D. (vide Prof. Aiyangar's Introduction to Tīrthakāṇḍa pp. XVIII-XIX). Therefore a century or two at least before 1100 A. D. there existed a Skandapurāṇa, part of which contained a eulogium of Banaras. Unfortunately the present printed Kāśikhanda of the Skanda does not agree with the quotations from the Skanda given by the Kalpataru. A curious state of things is divulged as regards the quotations from Skanda in the Kalpataru. For example, on pp. 36-37 of the Kalpataru on Tīrtha, about 19 verses are quoted from Skanda which occur verbatim in the Liṅgapurāṇa, chap. 92. 120-142 (with the addition of some half verses). Similarly, on p. 44 of the Kalpataru three verses are quoted from Skanda, which are the same as Liṅga. 92. 87-89. On p. 42 Kalpataru quotes one verse about Goprekāśvara from Skanda which is quoted from the Liṅgapurāṇa by Tri. S. p. 171. Some of the Purāṇas say that the Skanda has 81101 verses (Matsya 53. 42-43). But the Skanda printed at the Venkatesvara press contains several thousand verses more. It appears that there were different recensions of the Skanda. The Tri. S. quotes verses from specific chapters of the Kāśikhanda which are generally found in the printed work. Vide p. 193 (for chap. 30), 190 (for chap. 32), p. 144 (for chap. 34), p. 160 for chap. 45, p. 154 for chap. 49, pp. 157 and 200 for chap. 61 etc.

1416. किं माहात्म्यं कथं वेद्यं सेव्या कैश्च विज्ञोत्तम। परिमाणं च तस्याः किं केनोपायेन लभ्यते॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 72; अविमुक्तमिदं क्षेत्रं कदाचन्य भुवस्तले। परं प्रथितमापन्नं मोक्षदं चाभवत्कथम्॥ कथमेवा त्रिलोकीड्या गीयते मणिकर्णिका। तत्रासीत्किं पुरा स्वामिन् यदा नामरनिम्नगा॥ वाराणसीति काशीति वद्वामस इति प्रभो। अवाप नामधेयानि कथमेतानि सा पुरी। आनन्दकाननं रम्यमविमुक्तमनन्तरम्। महादमशानमिति च कथं खयातं शिखिध्वज॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26. 2-5.

1417. अस्यानन्दवनं नाम पुराकारि पिनाकिना। क्षेत्रस्यानन्दहेतुत्वादविमुक्तमनन्तरम् स्कन्द, काशी० 26.34 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 89 (reads निरन्तरं).

A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purāṇas and other works. And first comes Kāśī. It is derived from the root *kāś* 'to shine.' The Skandapurāṇa ¹⁴¹⁸ says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāṇa (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vārāṇasī is derived in several Purāṇas from the names of two streams Varanā ¹⁴¹⁹ (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī-khaṇḍa) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purāṇas are Vārāṇasī and Avimukta. In the Jābālopaniṣad ¹⁴²⁰ the words Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsī are brought together in an esoteric sense. "Atri asked Yājñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yājñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varanā and Nāsī. Varanā is so called because it

1418. काशीतेऽत्र यतो ज्योतिस्तदनाख्येयमीश्वरः । अतो नामापरं चास्तु काशीति प्रथितं विभो ॥ स्कन्द, काशीः 26.67 q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 88; प्रापयामास तां गङ्गां देवीपिः पुरतश्चरन् । निर्वाणकाशनायत्र काशीति मथिता पुरी । स्कन्द, काशीः 30.5; काशी ब्रह्मेति विख्यातं तद्विभो जगद्भूतः । अविमुक्तं तदेवाहुः काशीति ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 88.

1419. वरणायास्तथा चास्या मध्ये वाराणसी पुरी । यत्र, आदि 33.49, कूर्म I. 31.63 (reads हस्या); वरणासी नदी पावतावच्छृङ्खलनदी (झुण्कनदी?) तु वै । मत्स्य 183.62; अस्मिन् वरणा यत्र क्षेत्ररक्षाकृती कृते । वाराणसीति विख्याता तद्वारण्य मन्त्रमते । अस्मिन् वरणायाश्च सङ्गमं प्राप्य काशिका । स्कन्द, काशीः 30. 69-70; वरणा च नदी नासी मध्ये वाराणसी तयोः । अग्नि. 112.6. नासी appears to be a misreading for चासी. In काशीखण्ड 30.18 there is a pun on the word अस्मि (a sword, the river) 'अस्मि महासिख्यां च प्राप्य सम्मतिखण्डनीम् ।'; दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वास्मि वरणां सुराः । क्षेत्रस्य मोक्ष-निक्षेपरक्षानिर्हृतिमायुः ॥ क्षेत्रस्य पश्चादिग्भागे तं देहलिबिनायकम् । काशीखण्ड 30. 20-21; वरुणा (वरणा?) च असी चापि द्वे नद्यौ सुरवस्तुभे । अन्तरालं तयोः क्षेत्रं मध्ये (वध्या?) न विज्ञते कश्चित् । पद्म V. 14.191. वध्या means हत्या. The रामनपुराण, after stating that काशीक्षेत्र is between वरणा and आसी (3.28 ff) contains a poetic description of वाराणसी with श्लोका quite in the style of Bāṇa 'तारावणे कुलीनत्वं मेधे वृत्तच्युतिर्विभो' (v. 38).

1420. अथ हैनमग्निः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यम् । य एषोऽनन्तोऽन्यत् आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति । तद्वोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । सोऽविमुक्त उपारयः । य एषोऽनन्तोऽन्यत् आत्मा सोऽविमुक्ते प्रतिष्ठित इति । सोऽविमुक्तः कास्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणायां नारायां च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । का वै वरणा का च नासीति । सर्वाग्निद्वयकृतान्द्वोषान्वारयतीति वरणा भवति । सर्वाग्निद्वयकृतान्द्वोषाणां नाशयतीति तेन नासी भवतीति । कृतमञ्जाराय स्थानं भवतीति । ध्रुवो-
र्ध्नाय च यः सन्धिः स एव धोलोकस्य पररय च सान्धिर्भवतीति । जाबालोप- 2nd para.

wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāśi destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked: what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i. e. the upāsana (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose." Here it will be seen that Varanā and Nāśi are the names (and not Varanā and Asi). The Vāmanapurāṇa employs the form Asi (15.50-53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle 'na' (for which 'a' is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purāṇas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort).¹⁴²¹ In the Līṅgapurāṇa another derivation is suggested:¹⁴²² "avi means 'sin'; that holy place is devoid of sin". The Kāśikhaṇḍa (39.74) states that originally the *kṣetra* was called Ānandakānana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his *liṅga* there.

Vārāṇasī is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Ānandavana or Ānandakānana.¹⁴²³ It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons. As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from *saṃsāra*, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there. Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Manikarpikā *ghāt* near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मुने प्रलयकालेपि न तत्क्षेत्रं कदाचन । विमुक्तं हि शिवाय्यां यदविमुक्तं ततो विदुः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26.27 q. by विश्वली० p. 89; लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 45-46 विमुक्तं न मया यस्माद्यमोदयते वा कदाचन । मम क्षेत्रमिदं तस्मादविमुक्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ almost the same verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 48.24: vide मत्स्य. 180.54 and 181.15, अग्नि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग. I. 92. 104.

1422. अविशब्देन पापस्तु बेदोक्तः कथयते द्विजैः । तेन मुक्तं मया जुष्टमविमुक्तमतोच्यते ॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 92.143.

1423. यथा प्रियतमा देवि मम त्वं सर्वसुन्दरि । तथा प्रियतरं क्षेत्रम्मे सदानन्दकाननम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32.111: अविमुक्तं परं क्षेत्रं नानुनां मुक्तिदं सदा । सेवेत सततं धीमान् विशेषा-न्मरणान्तिके ॥ लिङ्ग. I. 91. 76.

The Skanda says: ¹⁴²⁴ 'śma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna." The Padmapurāṇa ¹⁴²⁵ makes Śiva say: 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery: becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world'. Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārānasi as Śmaśāna. The Kāśikhaṇḍa states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i. e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśī, Vārānasi and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purāṇas, in some passages a distinction is made between these as to extent. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārānasi is bounded by the Varanā and Asi on the north and south, ¹⁴²⁶ the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Vināyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāṇa ¹⁴²⁷ states: 'that kṣetra is two *yojanas* and a half east and west and half a *yojana* broad north and south; out of this Vārānasi extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśikṣetra which according to the Padmapurāṇa ¹⁴²⁸ comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyameśvara-linga

1424. इमं शब्देन ज्ञातः शोकः ज्ञानं ज्ञानलुब्धक्यते। निर्वृत्तान्ति इमं ज्ञानार्थं मुने शब्दार्थ-
कोविदाः। महात्मस्य च भूतानि मलयं समुपास्थिते। शरतेत्र शवां सूत्या इमं ज्ञानं तु ततो महत्।
इत्यम्, काशी. 30. 103-4; वाराणसीति काशीति वज्रावास इति द्विज। महात्मज्ञानमित्येवं
शोकमामन्दकाननम्। *ibid* 30. 111.

1425. इमं ज्ञानमेतद्विख्यातमविमुक्तमिति श्रुतम्। कालो भूरा जगदिदं संहारमप्यत्र
हृष्यति॥ पञ्च. I. 33. 14; परं गुह्यं समाख्यातं इमं ज्ञानमिति संज्ञितम्। मत्स्य. 184. 5; इमं ज्ञान-
मिति विख्यातमविमुक्तं शिवालये। मत्स्य. 184. 19; क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं चैव इमं ज्ञानार्थं तथैव च।
मत्स्य. 184. 26; *vide also* मत्स्य. 182. 6; महात्मज्ञानमासाद्य यच्च वैवाहित्यकथते। पुनः
इमं ज्ञानमप्यत्र न क्वापि लभते पुनः। काशीखण्ड 31. 130.

1426. दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्नद्यो वरणासि च पूर्वतः। जाह्नवी पश्चिमे चापि पाशपाणिर्गणेश्वरः॥
पञ्च, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिशली° p. 100, तीर्थम. p. 175.

1427. द्विषोऽजनमपार्थं च तत्क्षेत्रं पूर्वपश्चिमम्। अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः
इत्युक्तम्। वाराणसी तदीया च वायव्यपुरुषाक्षी (हृष्णकपर्दी?) तु वे। एष क्षेत्रश्च विस्तारः शोकः
क्षेत्रेण धीमता॥ मत्स्य. 184. 50-52.

1428. मध्यमेश्वरमारुप यावदेहलिविद्यमम्। सूत्रं संस्थाप्य तद्विष्णुं भ्रामयेन्मण्डलाकृति।
तत्र या आपति रेखा तन्मध्ये क्षेत्रमुत्तमम्। काशीति यद्विष्णवेक्षस्तत्र मुक्तिः गतिश्चिता॥ काश्यां ह
परमं क्षेत्रं विशेषफलसाधनम्। वाराणसीति विख्यातं तन्मार्गं मिगद्वानि वः॥ पञ्च, पातालखण्ड q.
by त्रिशली° p. 100, तीर्थम. p. 175.

with the shrine of Dehali-Gaṇeśa. The Matsyapurāṇa (in chap. 183.61-62) makes it two yojanas in extent. Agni 112. 6 also does the same. But that is only approximate. The actual distance covered by a yojana varied. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 145-146 n. 185. Rhys Davids in 'Numismata Orientalia' (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pāli texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles. Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (i. e. 800 *hastas* or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara.¹⁴²⁹ There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kāśikhanda Avimukta^{1429a} is said to be five *krośas* in extent. But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kāśī. The innermost¹⁴³⁰ circle in the holy Kāśīkṣetra is defined as that between Gokarṇeśvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmeśvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Lingapurāṇa¹⁴³¹ says: 'this kṣetra is declared to be four *krośas* (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana'. The Nāradiyapurāṇa¹⁴³² puts the extent thus '(The kṣetra) extends over two *yojanas* and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south; god Śambhu declared the extent of the kṣetra between the rivers Varuṇā and Asi (which latter is) a dried-up stream.' In the Pādmapurāṇa¹⁴³³

1429. विश्वेश्वराख्यतुर्विधु धनुःसतयुगोमितम् । अविसृक्ताभिर्ध क्षेत्रं मुक्तिस्तत्र न संशयः । पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 101, तीर्थचि. p. 175. A धनुः is equal to four *hastas*. Vide note 1337 above.

1429 a. अविसृक्तं महाक्षेत्रं पञ्चकोट्यपरीमितम् । ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तद्वेकं हि ज्ञेयं विश्वेश्वराभिर्धम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 26. 31.

1430. गोकर्णेशः पश्चिमे पूर्वतश्च नङ्कामध्यमुखरे भारद्वाजः ॥ बह्मोद्यानी दक्षिणे संपादिहस्त-
नु योक्तं भवनं विश्वमर्तुः । पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 101; काशीखण्ड (74. 45-46) is similar 'पूर्वतो मणिकर्णेशो बह्मोद्यानी दक्षिणे स्थितः । पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्ण भारद्वाजस्त्वयोत्तरे' इत्येतदुत्तमं क्षेत्रमविसृक्तं महाकलम्'.

1431. अतुःकांक्षं अतुर्विधु क्षेत्रमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम् । बांजनं विद्मि चार्धङ्गि धृष्टकावेऽसुत-
प्रदम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्धे, 92. 99-100, तीर्थचि. p. 340 and त्रिस्थलीः p. 103 quote this verse as from स्कन्द.

1432. द्वियोजनमपार्धं च पूर्वपश्चिमतः स्थितम् । अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्थितम् ॥ वचनासी नदी यावदसिः क्षुण्कनदी क्षुमे । एष क्षेत्ररय विस्तारः योक्तो देवेन शम्भुना ॥ नारदीय (अनुर chap. 48. 18-19).

1433. पञ्चकोट्यप्रमाणेन क्षेत्रं वर्तं मया तव । क्षेत्रमध्याद्यद्या नङ्कामभिष्यति सरिद्धरा ।
तेन सा महती पुण्या दुरी इह भविष्यति । पुण्या चोदङ्कली नङ्का पञ्च प्राची सरस्वती । उद-
ङ्कली योजने द्वे मण्डली आङ्कली नदी ॥ पद्म (सुद्धिखण्ड 14. 194-196).

Brahmā is supposed to have said to Rudra 'I have given you a kṣetra of the extent of five krośas; when the best of rivers, Gāṅgā, will flow through this kṣetra, the city will be great and holy; the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option; ¹⁴³⁴ (or, as the Tir. C. suggests, the differences refer to different *kalpas* i. e. ages). It is clear that Vārānasi was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asi to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vināyaka to the west and the river Varanā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 *lis* (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 *lis* (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varanā and Asi. Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. (vol. II p. 44).

Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Vārānasi literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes: ¹⁴³⁵ a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i. e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures *mokṣa*. The Matsyapurāṇa ¹⁴³⁶ contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras: "Vārānasi is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of mokṣa for all beings. Mokṣa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection; this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tīrthas. All the sins ¹⁴³⁷ that a man may have

1434. अत्र लेङ्गस्कान्दालोचनया कृत्तिवासमध्यमेऽवरयोश्चतुर्विधु योजनमित्तम-
विमुक्तम् । पात्रे तु विद्मःस्वरात्सर्वतो धनुःशतद्वयमितम् । तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः ।
त्रिस्थलीः p. 103.

1435. अविमुक्तं समासाद्य तीर्थसेवी कुरुहह । दर्शनाद्वेदेवरय मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्याया ॥
प्रणामस्तुल्यं तत्रैव मोक्षं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ वनपर्व 84. 79-80.

1436. इदं शुद्धतमं क्षेत्रं सदा वाराणसी मम । सर्वेषामेव भूतानां हेतुर्मोक्षस्य सर्वदा ॥
मत्स्य. 180. 47 q. by तीर्थकल्पः p. 12 (reads जन्तूनां for भूतानाम्). This is the
same as लिङ्ग, पूर्णार्थ 92. 38; प्रयागे च भवेन्मोक्ष इह वा मत्परिग्रहात् । प्रयागादपि तीर्थो-
न्मयादिदमेव महत् स्मृतम् ॥ मत्स्य 180. 56-57 quoted by तीर्थकल्प. p. 13 with some
additions. It explains 'इदमेव महत्स्मृतमित्यल्पायासेनैवात्र मोक्षप्राप्तेः'. This is also
लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्णार्थ 92.48.

1437. अन्मान्तरसहस्रेण वत्पापं दूर्ध्वसञ्चितम् । अविमुक्तं प्रविष्टस्य तत्सर्वं व्रजति क्षयम् ।
... बाह्याणां क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वै वर्णसङ्कराः । कुमिल्लेष्ठाश्च ये चाप्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोगिनः ।
कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते क्षणं मिथे । अन्धार्थमोल्लिखः सर्वे ललाटाक्षा हवश्चजाः । शिवे
मम दुरे देवि मोक्षन्ते तत्र मानवाः ॥ मत्स्य. 181. 17-21 = पद्म. I. 33. 17-20, q. by तीर्थकल्पः
p. 15. The verse बाह्याणां occurs in जादवीय (उत्तर 48. 51-52).

accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters Avimukta; brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, *mlecchas* and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person,¹⁴³⁸ even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (Banaras) he does not again enter upon the path of *samsāra* (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure Yoga; but by dying (in Banaras) he secures the highest mokṣa in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner¹⁴³⁹ or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to Avimukta. Other women,¹⁴⁴⁰ that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world mokṣa¹⁴⁴¹ cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) Yoga; but in the case of those who reside in Avimukta Yoga and mokṣa are both secured. For planets,¹⁴⁴² lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta. Whatever¹⁴⁴³ evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknow-

1438. विश्वासकचित्तोऽपि एकधर्मरतिनरः। इह क्षेत्रं मृतः सोऽपि संसारं न पुन-
र्विरेत् ॥...जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु पुञ्जं योगमवाप्स्यत्। तमिहैव परं मोक्षं मरणादधिगच्छति॥
मत्स्य. 180. 71 and 74. इह क्षेत्रे—refer to Banaras and इह means अस्मिन् जन्मनि.
These two verses occur in लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92. 63 and 66 and काशीखण्ड 86. 122
is similar to the first verse.

1439. यदि पापे यदि शठे यदि वाऽधार्मिको नरः। मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो ह्यविमुक्तं
ब्रजेच्छति॥ मत्स्य 183. 11, q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 18. पञ्च (I. 33. 38) has the first half
and reads the second half as वाराणसीं समासाद्य पुनरिति सकलं कुलम्।

1440. अथा वाः कामचारिण्यः क्षियो भोगपराधनाः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता मच्छन्ति
परमां वसिम्॥ मत्स्य 184. 36.

1441. न हि योगाद्वते मोक्षः प्राप्यते ह्यविमानवैः। अविमुक्ते निवसतां योगो मोक्षश्च
सिद्ध्यति॥ मत्स्य 185. 15-16 q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 17.

1442. ब्रह्मक्षत्राचारानां कालेन पतनाद्भयम्। अविमुक्ते वृत्तानां तु पतनं नैव विद्यते॥
मत्स्य 185. 61 = काशीखण्ड 64.96 (reads कालेन पतनं भ्रमम्).

1443. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि क्षिया वा पुनरेव वा। वक्तिकिञ्चिद्गुणं कर्म क्लृते चैव
कुञ्जित्वा॥ अविमुक्तं प्रविश्य तत्सर्वं मत्स्यज्ञानेन॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 33-34; वर
काशीपुरीवासी म्लेच्छोऽपि हि क्षुभायतिः। नाश्वस्त्यो वीक्षितोपि स हि मुक्तेर्भाजयम्॥ काशी
85.18.

ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a *mleccha* resident in Kāśī is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a *dikṣita*, because he will not be a recipient of *multī*."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārāṇasī and the rivers. For example, the Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that Asi is the *Idā nādi*, Varāṇā is the *Pīṅgalā nādi*, Avimukta is *suṣūmnā* and Vārāṇasī is all the three.¹⁴⁴⁴ The *Līṅgapurāṇa*, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varāṇā and Matsyodarī (i. e. Ganges) are respectively the *Pīṅgalā*, *Idā* and *Suṣūmnā*.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the *Purāṇas*¹⁴⁴⁵ that at every step in the Kāśīkṣetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesamum seed in Kāśī which has not a *līṅga* (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśīkhaṇḍa names 64 *līṅgas* in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the *tīrthas* that are specifically named. Hiouen Tṣang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D. (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. II. p. 222). Alauddin Khilji boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

1444. सद्गोवाचेति जाबालिराकणेऽसिखिडा मता। वरणा पिङ्गला नाडी तदन्तस्त्व-
विष्णुकम्॥ सा सुषुम्णा परा नाडी त्रयं वाराणसी त्वसी॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 5.25; compare
नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 22-23; पिङ्गला नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता। शुष्का सरिच्च
सा ज्ञेया लोलाकौ यत्र तिष्ठति॥ इडानाम्नी च या नाडी सा सौम्या संप्रकीर्तिता। वरणा नाम
सा ज्ञेया केशणे यत्र संस्थिताः॥ आर्या मध्ये तु या नाडी सुषुम्णा सा प्रकीर्तिता॥ मत्स्योदरी
च सा ज्ञेया विष्णुं तत्प्रकीर्तिता॥ तिङ्गपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. p. 341, त्रिस्थली० pp.
78-79.

1445. तीर्थानि सन्ति भूयसि काश्यामत्र पदे पदे। न पञ्चनदतीर्थस्य कोट्यंशेन समा-
न्यपि॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 59. 118; तिलान्तरापि नो काश्यां भूमितिङ्गं विना कश्चित्। काशी-
खण्ड 10. 103.

of Raja Todarmal¹⁴⁴⁶. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson ('History of India,' vol. VII p. 184) is instructive: "It reached the ears of his Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmanas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. 'The Director of the Faith' consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabiū-lākhīr (i. e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viśveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and *Sardars* and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring¹⁴⁴⁷ pp. 41-42).

Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n. 1429 a). It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśī must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viśveśvara (vide Tri. S. p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years. The *linga* was probably removed from place

1446. Vide Altekar pp. 47-48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dānabhirāvali-prakāśa of Divākarabhaṭṭa, a daughter's son of Nīlakaṇṭha, who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

1447. Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless,

to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as *namaskāra* and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water¹⁴⁴⁸. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by *Devī Ahalyābāi* Holkar (Altekar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (*prādurbhāva*) of Viśveśvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viśveśvara removes it by a bath in Manikarnikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sanat-kumāra-saṁhitā in support¹⁴⁴⁹. What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about *lingas*. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati^{1449a} holds that Avimukteśvara linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but both the Tristhañi-setu (p. 296) and Tir. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī, 10. 93) mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *lingas*. Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tīrthas¹⁴⁵⁰ (Pañcatīrthi). According to the Matsyapurāṇa the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakāṇana of Viśveśvara are Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka,^{1450a}

1448. अत्र यद्यपि विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गं किञ्चिदपनीयतेऽन्यदानीयते च कालवशात्पुष्पै-
स्तथापि तत्स्थानस्थिते यस्मिन्कर्त्तुमश्विष्युजादि कार्यम्।.....यद्यापि स्लेष्ठाविदुष्टराजवशा-
त्तस्मिन्स्थाने किञ्चिदपि लिङ्गं कदाचिन्न स्यात् तदापि मद्रक्षिणानमस्काराद्याः स्थानधर्मा
भवन्त्येव। तावदेव च नित्ययात्रासिद्धिः। स्नापनादयस्तु साधिष्ठाना न भवन्तीति निर्णयः।
त्रिस्थली- p. 208; vide also तीर्थपञ्चाङ्ग p. 219 (which states that there is no
sāstric authority for this, but only usage of śiṣṭas).

1449. विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गेऽप्युद्गस्यस्पर्शनिबन्धनो दोषो नास्ति प्रत्यहं तेनैव पूजया तज्जिरा-
करणात्। तदुक्तं तत्रैव (सनत्कुमारसंहितायां)। ब्राह्म मुहूर्ते मणिकर्णिकायां स्नात्वा समाराधयति
स्वमेव। अस्युद्गस्यस्पर्शविशोधनाय कलौ नराणां कृपया हिताय॥

1449 a. अविसृक्तश्मशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविसृक्तेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथ-
नाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम्। तीर्थचि. p. 360.

1450. The Pañcatīrthi has received the highest judicial notice in
Maharani Hemanta Kumari v. Gauri Shankar 68. I. A. 53 at p. 57.

1450 a. Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśī; vide
Kāśīkhaṇḍa 10.83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāśmā ca prañamya ca punaḥ punaḥ)
and 46.45-46, where the shrines of the twelve *Arkas* in Kāśī are enumerated
as लोलार्क, उत्तार्क, साम्बादित्य &c.

Kesava, Bindumādhava and Maṇikarnikā.¹⁴⁵¹ In modern times the five essential tirthas called Pañcatirthī are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha ghāt, Maṇikarnikā, the Pañcagaṅgā ghāt and the confluence of the river Varanā (called Bārṇā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāśikhapṇḍa.¹⁴⁵² The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāśikhapṇḍa¹⁴⁵³ furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāśī became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himālaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāt has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākātaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten Āśvamedha sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāśvamedha-ghāt¹⁴⁵⁴ at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A. D.-350 A. D. p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

1451. तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने। दशाश्वमेधं लोलार्कः केशवो चिन्मू-
माधवः। पञ्चमी तु महाभेदा मोक्षयते मणिकर्णिका। एभिस्तु तीर्थैर्वैश्वं वप्यते शिवमुक्तकम् ॥
मत्स्यः 185. 68-69.

1452. प्रथमं चास्मिन्भेदे तीर्थानां प्रवरं परम् । ततो दशाश्वमेधाख्यं सर्वतीर्थनिवे-
दितम् । ततः पादोदकं तीर्थमादिकेशवसंनिधौ । ततः पञ्चनदं पुण्यं स्नानमात्रादप्यौघत् ।
एतेषां पञ्चतीर्थानां चतुर्णामपि सत्तमः । पञ्चमं मणिकर्ण्याख्यं मनोवयवशुद्धिदम् । पञ्चतीर्थी
नरः स्नात्वा न देहे पाञ्चभौतिकम् । गृह्णाति जातुचिन्तादयं पञ्चारूपो वाभिजायते । काशी०
106.110 and 114 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 261, which explains 'यदि देवग्रहणं तदा
पञ्चारूपः शिव एव भवति कर्मनिवन्धनो देहो नास्तीति भावः.'

1453. तत्पार्कस्य मनो लोलं यदासीत्काशिशर्त्तने । अतो लोलार्क इत्याख्या काश्य
आता विवस्वतः ॥ लोलार्कस्त्वस्मिन्भेदे दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 46. 48-49.
The shrine of लोलार्क is referred to in E. I. vol. V. p. 117 of Vikrama era
1208 (1151 A. D.), a grant of गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kanoj.

1454. 'असंभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्भवमशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजर्वाणां पराकमा-
धितभागीरथ्यमलजलमूधाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभूयस्मानानां भारशिखानां महाराजश्रीभव-
नागदीहिजस्य...' E. I. vol. III. p. 258 (Dudia plates of प्रवरसेन II) and Fleet's
Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of प्रवरसेन II) p. 236 and p. 245
(Siwani plate of the same king).

the Daśāśvamedhaghāt at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāśvamedha, vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa 52. 83 ff. and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that formerly the tirtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Aśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāśvamedha (chap. 52. 66-68). The Manikarnikā (also called Mukti-kṣetra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and ¹⁴⁵⁵ is the most holy among all the Banaras tirthas. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51-63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145-146): Viṣṇu dug with his discus a puṣkarinī, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Maṇi-karnikā. The word is ¹⁴⁵⁶ derived in two ways in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karnikā) of good men the Tāraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Manikarnikā north to south is said to be 105 *hastas* i. e. about 160 feet (Kāśīkhaṇḍa 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Manikarnikā pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed. The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri. S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Maṇikarnikā ¹⁴⁵⁷. Near the Maṇikarnikā pool is the temple of Tārakesvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called *tāraka* in the ear of

1455. तत्र तारकलतीर्थवरिष्ठः श्रीमन्मणिकर्णिकाया महेष्वा। त्रिपथली० p. 142; तत्रापि सर्वतीर्थानामुत्तमा मणिकर्णिका। नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 66.

1456. शुक्राकुण्डलयातेन तवाहितनयामपि। तीर्थानां परमं तीर्थं शुक्तिलोममहापटु वै॥ काशी० 26. 66, q. in त्रिपथली० p. 146; संसारविघ्नस्तमणिरत्र परमात् तारकं तज्जन-कर्णिकायाश्च। शिष्याभिधत्ते तद्विघ्नकाले तद्विघ्नसौ मणिकर्णिकाश्च॥ शुक्तिलोममहापटुः मणिसत्वरणाज्योः। कर्णिकेयं ततः प्रादुर्या जना मणिकर्णिकाश्च॥ काशीखण्ड 7. 79-80 q. by त्रिपथली० p. 148. In the 2nd verse मणि means ओष्ठ and the compound is dissolved as मणिस्यासौ कर्णिका च, the meaning being that मणिकर्णिका is the jewel among शुक्तिलोमस and it is as it were the कर्णिका of the lotus-like feet of मोक्षलक्ष्मी.

1457. तथा कैवं मन्त्रः। ओं ऐ ह्रीं श्रीं ह्रीं ओं मं मणिकर्णिके नमः। ओम्। इति। तथा कैवं मन्त्रः। ओं मं मणिकर्णिके यन्नात्मिके नमः। इति। त्रिपथली० p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काशीखण्ड 61. 97.

the dying man brought to the sacred pool^{1457a} (vide Kāśikhanda 7.78, 25. 72-73 and 32. 115-116). The Pañcagaṅgā *ghāt* is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz. the Kiraṇā,¹⁴⁵⁸ Dhūtapāpā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible). This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nāradyapurāṇa and the Kāśikhanda (59. 118-133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcanada he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz. Dharmanada, Dhūtapātaka, Bindutīrtha and Pañcanada in Kṛta and the following Yugas respectively. The Kāśikhanda in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiraṇā (59. 108-113) and Dhūtapāpā (59. 101-106). The river Varanā is the northern boundary of Vārāṇasī and the end of the *ghāṭs* on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varanā with the Ganges. That the *ghāṭs* have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhadvāla rulers of Kanoj (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D.), being devotees of Viṣṇu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Keśava *ghāt*. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madanapāla's grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājñī Pṛthvīśrikā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in *śaṃvat* 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), E. I. 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa¹⁴⁵⁹ at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā

1457 a. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नाम्मया जन्तवः कश्चित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये केचि प्रयागे वा सन्तुल्यः ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम् । दिशाभि तारकं याप्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32. 115-116; vide also काशीखण्ड 86. 48 and नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59-62.

1458. किरणा धृतपापा च पुण्यतोषा सरस्वती। गङ्गा च यमुना चैव पञ्च नद्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ अतः पञ्चनदं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् । तत्राहो न सुखियाद्देहितां पात्रभौतिकीम् ॥ अस्मिन्पञ्चनदीनां तु सङ्गमिधौषधेदने। स्नानमात्राकरो याति भित्वा ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपम्... कृते धर्मनदं नाम त्रेतायां धृतपापकम् । द्वापरे चिन्दुतीर्थं च कलौ पञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 51. 15-18 and 35-36 and काशीखण्ड 59. 115-117 (reads देहं वा पात्र-भौतिकम्) and 136.

1459. देवभीमदाविकेशवदक्षिणमूर्ती ... अद्याक्षततृतीयायां युगावधिर्वर्षि ... आदि-केशवपदे स्नात्वा... पातुर्वैवस्य पूजां विधाय... पितृपिण्डयज्ञं. मिथश्च उपरि लिखितयामाः... गोक्षणकुशपूतकरतलोदकपुरं... मन्त्राः। E. I. 14 p. 197 at p. 198. For अक्षयतृतीया as one of the four युगावधितिथिः vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Keśava is expressly stated by the काशीखण्ड 10.82 (आदिकेशवमुक्तां च केशवा-भरितोष च). Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Ādikeśava-ghaṭ, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrims.

and Varanā bestowed on 500 brāhmanas 30 villages on the Aksayya-trītiyā of *saṃvat* 1156). Those rulers made grants at other ghāts and sacred spots also. For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff. (21 copperplates of Gāhaḍvālas, of which H in *saṃvat* 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapālamocana-ghaṭṭa at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north; grant L. p. 114 of *saṃvat* 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghaṭṭa of god Vedēśvara in Avimuktakṣetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛttivāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in *saṃvat* 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in *saṃvat* 1207 i. e. 1156 A. D. after a bath at Koṭitirtha on Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti). The Kāśi-khaṇḍa promises Varuṇa-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāts on the sacred rivers ¹⁴⁶⁰.

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośī by road. Lakṣmīdhara in his section on Tirthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośī road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road. Taking Maṇikarnikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called pañcakrośī. The word 'pañcakrośī' occurs very often in the Kāśikhaṇḍa (as in chap. 26, verses 80 and 114, chap. 55. 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows:—The pilgrim starts from the Maṇikarnikā-ghāt and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asi with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāṇḍava about six miles from Maṇikarnikā. The 2nd day's march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacandī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rāmeśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Śivapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapiladhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pīṭra. On the 6th day he walks from Kapiladhārā to Varanāsaṅgama and thence to Maṇikarnikā, a distance of six miles. It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapiladhārā to Maṇikarnikā. The pilgrim bathes, pays *dakṣiṇā* to the priest and then goes to the temple of Śakṣi-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim's having performed the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.

1460. बह्मसुण्यतद्विषयविर्षयवन्ति शिलादिभिः । तोयाधिमुखसिद्धयर्थं ये नरास्तेष्वभोजिनः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 12. 59.

There are numerous other sub-tirthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpi may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśikhanda, chap. 33. The Tri. S. (pp. 148-150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveśvara-līṅga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a *kunḍa* with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveśvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveśvara-līṅga and Viśveśvara granted the boon that the tirtha would be superior to all tirthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tirtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpi. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37-65) of the Kāśikhanda there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveśvara. He is the *Kotwal* or police Magistrate of Kāśī and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His *vāhana* is a dog. Vide Kāśikhanda, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Gaṇeśa. The Tri. S. (pp. 198-199) names 56 Gaṇeśas and indicates their locations, following Kāśikhanda, chap. 57.59-115 (*ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-Gajamukhān-etān-yaḥ saṁsmariṣyati*). In Kāśikhanda (57.33) the name Dhundhi applied to Gaṇeśa is derived from the root 'dhudhi' in the sense of 'searching' (*anvesane dhudhir-ayam prathitostī dhātuḥ*). Compare the Marathī verb *dhundane*.

The Tri. S. discusses at some length (pp. 98-100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśī or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśī and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśī the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purāṇas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśī should act. The injunction is that in Kāśī one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17-45) and Kāśikhanda, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vyāsa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśī, did not secure alms and

being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below ¹⁴⁶¹ when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśīkṣetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th *tithis* only. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa 96. 12-80 and 119-180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāśī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Vārāṇasī being a great tīrtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of pinḍas should be made.¹⁴⁶² The construction of *maṭhas* for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.¹⁴⁶³

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāt¹⁴⁶⁴ situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated *saṃvat* 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmaṇa named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghaṭṭa in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tīrtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāṇa, chap. 183. 84-103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Lingapurāṇa, pūrvārdha, chap. 92 verses 67-100, in Padma,^{1464a} Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 34-37,

1461. तीर्थं काशीर्धत्तां यातुं नगरं क्षापयाम्यहम् ॥ मा भूत्विषीदेषी विद्या मा भूत्विषीदेष धनम् । मा भूत्विषीदेषं सकलं व्यासो वाराणसीं क्षापय ॥ आविष्टो निवसतां जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । चित्तं सुजामि सर्वेषां येन सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ॥ मत्स्य 185. 21-23, q. by कल्प-०० तीर्थ (p. 28). The verse मा भूत् is काशीखण्ड 96. 125.

1462. मनुष्यैः पिण्डदानादि कार्यमन्त्रागतैः सदा । पिण्डदानं च तत्रैव सुपुत्रैः कार्यमावरात् । सुपुत्रास्तैः पित्राणां तु भवन्ति सुखदायकाः । q. by चित्रधरी. p. 129.

1463. मठानपि तपस्विभ्यः कारयेत्स्वात्र योऽर्पयेत् । जीवन्मोक्षायसंयुक्तान् सोऽपि सर्वकलाञ्जयः ॥ q. by चित्रधरी. p. 133.

1464. Dr. Altekar (pp. 28-29) notes that at present a *ghaṭ* and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāt, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocaneśvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32. 3-29 about Omkāra and other Liṅgas are the same as Padma I. 34. 1-25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I. 34. 2-16 are the same as Padma I. 37. 1-19 (with a few additions).

Kūrma I. 32. 1-12 and I. 35. 1-15 (tirthas) and in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 10. 86-97, chap. 33, chap. 53. 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous lingas and tirthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 73. 32-36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264-265) mentions 14 of these as Mahālingas, viz. Omkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Kṛttivāsas, Ratneśa, Candreśvara, Kedāra, Dharmesha, Vireśvara, Kāmesha, Viśvakarmesvara, Maṇikarpiśa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 39 that *yātrās* of these main lingas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 45-48 there is another series of fourteen great lingas different from those in chap. 73. 32-36. Fourteen āyatanas are named in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 60-62.¹⁴⁶⁴ Twelve out of these are specified as lingas in Lingapurāṇa I. 92.67-107. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tirthas of Banaras. In chap. 94. 36 of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa 36 principal lingas are referred to (14 Omkāraḍī, 8 Dakṣeśvaraḍī and 14 Śaileśaḍī). From considerations of space the other lingas and tirthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśī must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Maṇikarṇikā and visit Viśveśvara.¹⁴⁶⁵

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśī, comes to Kāśī and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśī commits sins in Kāśī but dies either at Kāśī or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Padma-purāṇa and Brahmapurāṇa states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśī.¹⁴⁶⁶ He who residing in Kāśī is always addicted to sins becomes a *piśūca* (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśī, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

1464 b. शैलेशः सद्यमेकेशश्च स्वर्तीनो मध्यमेश्वरः । हिरण्यवर्ध ईशाना गोमेको वृषभ-
ध्वजः । उपशान्तेशो ज्येष्ठो निवासेश्वर एव च । ह्युक्तो व्याघ्रलिङ्गश्च जम्बुकेश चतुर्वज्रश्च ।
ह्यने चतुर्दशैतानि महास्यायतनानि वै ॥ काशीः 73. 60-63 q. by. चिरस्थली० p. 263.

1465. यात्राद्वयं प्रयत्नेन कर्तव्यं प्रतिवासरम् । एका स्वर्गतरङ्गिण्यास्ततो विन्वेशितुः
परा ॥ काश्यां लिङ्गाग्नयेकानि काश्यां तीर्थाग्नयेकशः । तथापि सेव्यो विन्वेशः स्नातव्या
मणिकर्णिका ॥ काशीखण्ड 100. 101 q. in चिरस्थली० p. 266.

1466. अन्यत्र विहितं पापं नश्येत्काशीमिरिक्षणात् ॥ काश्यां कृतानां पापानां दास्येयं
तु यातना ॥ काशीखण्ड 33.115. Vide also काशीः 75.22 'काश्यां तु परकृतं पापं
तत्प्रेक्षाचपदप्रदम् ।'.

mokṣa. Those who being residents of Kāśi commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśi or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśi die there will be punished by Kālabhairava. Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśi) first undergo torments inflicted by the *ganas* of Śiva called Yāma, then undergo torments inflicted by Kālabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśi and secure release (from *samsāra*) at the end.

It is remarkable that the Kāśikhanda¹⁴⁶⁷ states that a little to the north of Kāśi, Viṣṇu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmakṣetra and that there Viṣṇu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Sārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśi at all.^{1467a}

The Kāśikhanda remarks 'For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God. Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.' This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century^{1467b}.

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I, p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

1467. किञ्चिद्विद्यायुद्धीरुषा च गत्वा देवेन चक्रिणा। स्वस्थिरयै कल्पितं स्थानं धर्मक्षेत्रमितीरितम्॥ ततस्तु सोमं रूपं शिवाय शीपतिः स्वयम्॥ ch. 58.71-72.

1467 a. अष्टौ मासा विहारस्य यतीनां संयतात्मनाम्। एकत्र चतुर्षु मासान् मासौ वा निवसेयुः। अपिभुक्ते प्रविष्टानां विहारस्तु न विद्यते।... मोक्षो ह्यसंशयस्तत्र पञ्चत्वं तु गतरस्य वै॥ मत्स्य 184. 32-34 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्द, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in विष्णुपुराण III, 9. 28 'एकरात्ररिपतिग्रामे पञ्चरात्ररिपतिः पुरे'.

1467 b. अङ्गावतां स्वभक्तानामुपसर्गे महर्षयः। नोपायान्तरमस्त्येव विनेशचरणो-
वृक्त्वा॥ ये व्याधयोऽपि दुःसाध्या बहिरन्तः शरीरगाः। अङ्गयेशोवकस्पर्शानि नश्यन्त्येव
नामयथा॥ काशीखण्ड 67. 82-83.

'high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to *Ain. A.* vol. II, p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to *Kāśikhanda*, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (*vidyānām sadanam Kāśī*). Vide Prof. Altekar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23-24 and *I. A.* vol. 41 pp. 7-13 and 245-253 for some learned families of Banaras.

CHAPTER XIV

GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about *Gayāwals* (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Buddha-Gayā' with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gayā, vol. XII and J. A. S. B. for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1-11 on 'Gayāśrāddha and Gayāwals'; Indian Antiquary, vol. X pp. 339-340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341-347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank 'Dakṣiṇamānasa' near the Viṣṇupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 pp. 63 ff Inscription of Yakṣapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimadhav Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89-111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with 'the antiquity of Gayā.' Some of the remarks of Dr. Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding 'maganda' in 'Pramagandasya' in Rg. III, 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of 'udantyāḥ' in the Ait. Br. as 'people of sunrise.' Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tirthas pp. 163-174, Tirtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati pp. 268-328, Tristhaḥśetu of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa pp. 316-379, Tirthaprakāśa pp. 384-452, Tirthendu-śekhara pp. 54-59, Tristhaḥśetu-sāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 36-38.

The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the *Tristhali-setu* and in modern times is the *Gayā-māhātmya* that occurs at the end of the *Vāyupurāṇa* (chapters 105-112 of the *Ānandāśrama* ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. Rajendralal Mitra assigned the *Gayā-māhātmya* to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. O'Malley was inclined to hold that the legend of *Gayāsura* was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the *Gayāwals* profess the *Vaiṣṇava* faith established by *Madhvācārya*¹⁴⁶⁸ and acknowledge as their spiritual head the *mahant* of *Hari Narasimhapura*; vide J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The *Gayāwals* are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. O'Malley himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of *Gayāwals* were 1484, that in Buchanan Hamilton's time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a *Gayāwal* counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure *Gayāwals*) and 153 females. *Gayā* is a place sacred to *Viṣṇu* and if the *Gayāwals* had to turn in medieval times for support to some great *ācārya* they would naturally choose to align themselves with the *Vaiṣṇava ācārya* *Madhva* rather than with *Śaṅkara*. Dr. Barua, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds that the *Gayā-māhātmya* is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. (vol. I, p. 64 of '*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*'). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of *Gayā* that appears in the *Vanaparva* and compares it with the fuller account in the *Gayā-māhātmya* and arrives at the rather startling conclusion 'The *Gayā* proper as known to the Epic (the *Mahābhārata*) is essentially a place sacred to *Yama Dharmarāja*, *Brahmā* and *Sivaśūlin*, and *Viṣṇu* and *Vaiṣṇavism* has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

1468. There is conflict about the dates of *Madhvācārya*'s birth and death. The *Uttarādi-maṭha* records give śaka 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śaka 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in *Madhva's* महाभारतसत्यविनिर्णय viz. that he was born in शतक्रति 4300. In a paper published in the *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. III for 1934 pp. 245 ff. the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.-1317 A. D.

Brahmayūpa, Śivaliṅga and Vṛṣabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion'. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua's conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the Rgveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Plati, is the reputed author of two hymns of the Rgveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In Rg. X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words 'astāvi jano divyo Gayena' (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of Rgvedic hymns. In the Rg. the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kāśyapa. Even in the Vedic Saṁhitās Asuras, Dāsas and Rākṣasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide Rg. VII 99.4, VII 104.24-25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gaya could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta¹⁴⁶⁹ while explaining 'idam Viṣṇu-vi cakrame tredhā nidadhe padam' (Rg. I. 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view 'He (Viṣṇu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śakapūṣi, Viṣṇu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurnavābha, on Samārohaṇa, on Viṣṇu-pada and on Gayaśiras.' Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha's *nirvāṇa* are accepted Aurnavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII-XXIII for Buddha's *nirvāṇa* being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429-400 B. C. ¹⁴⁷⁰ Gayaśiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469. त्रेधा निधत्ते पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपुषिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरोरसे-इति और्णवाभः । निरुक्त 12. 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by most Sanskrit scholars. Aurnavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide History of

11, 95, 9), in the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 85.4 (in the form Gayāśīrṣa), Vāmanapurāṇa (22.20 as the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Skanda I. 2. 13.21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I 21. 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus* went to Gayāśīrṣa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāśīrṣa). Traditions of Gaya as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gaya, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairanjana river (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII. 87-88) and p. 193 (chap. XVII. 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 192) speaks of Dharmāśāṭṭhī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter *nirvāṇa*. Viṣṇupada occurs in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 85.40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurnavābha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Viṣṇu's foot could be seen¹⁴⁷¹. Two of

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Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol. I p. 69 (English tr.). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāśīrṣa. Rajendralal in 'Buddha-gayā' p. 19 says 'Gayāśīrṣa is not the Brahmayoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāśīrṣa is the most sacred spot in Gayā.' Dr. Barua (vol. I, p. 246) 'Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayāśīrṣa or Gayāśīrṣa (Brahmayoni) in the south-west &c.'. Both are, however, agreed that Gayāśīrṣa is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII. p. 134 n. 1 about Cunningham's view that गयशीर is the ब्रह्मयोनि hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a king called Candrar at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads तेनारं गणितारं सुमिपतिना ... यक्षुर्विष्णुपदे गिते भगवतो विष्णोर्भजः स्थापितः (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called विष्णुपद. But there is nothing to show that there was a place called गयशीर near it. Hence विष्णुपद and गयशीर being taken together point out to Gayā. The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

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these, Viṣṇupada and Gayāsiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that 'Samārohaṇa' is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Samārohaṇa means 'mounting up' or 'ascending'. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgu. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds).¹⁴⁷² I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Viṣṇu's footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Viṣṇupada and Gaya-siras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82-103 and 95. 9-29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nāradiyapurāṇa (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayāsiras extends from Krauñcapada to Phalgutīrtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Pulastya's replies to Bhīṣma's question about tīrthas. First comes Puskara (verses 20-40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikāśrama, Agastyasaraḥ, Mahākālā, Kotitīrtha, Bhadravata (Sthānutīrtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kurukṣetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82-103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1-81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1-81 the author makes Dhaumya name

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gupta. Therefore Viṣṇu's footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A. D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. 11. 68.19 a विष्णुपद south of the river विपाका is mentioned.

1472. Dr. Barua regards नीलनादित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol. I. p. 246). But this appears to be wrong. It is an adjective of उद्यन्तं (पर्वतं) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called नीलनादित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उद्यन्त would mean 'the hill of sunrise,' not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both विष्णुपद and नयसिरस् were situated.

about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimiṣa, Śakambharī, Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhala, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Kujāmṛaka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā.¹⁴⁷³ It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tirtha. For this reason some tirthas are described twice in the Vanaparva. For example Naimiṣa is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59-64 and again in chap. 87. 6-7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82-103 and 87.8-12. We cannot at all presume

1473. The verses relating to गया in वनपर्व 84 are set out in full here :
 ततो गयां समासाद्य ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति कुलं चैव ससुन्दरेत् ॥ तत्राक्षयवदो
 नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विभुतः । तत्र दत्तं पितृभ्यस्तु भवत्यक्षयमुच्यते ॥ महानद्यामुपस्थित्य तर्पयेद्
 पितृदेवताः । अक्षयान्यामयात् लोकान् कुलं चैव ससुन्दरेत् ॥ ततो ब्रह्मसरो गत्वा धर्मारण्योपशो-
 भितम् । ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति प्रभातमेव शर्वरीम् ॥ ब्रह्मणा तत्र सपतिं दूयभेष्टः समुच्छ्रितः ।
 दूयं यदक्षिणीकृत्वा वाजयेयफलं लभेत् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र धेनुकं लोकमिदम् । एकरात्रो-
 वितो राजन् प्रपच्छेत् तिलधेनुकाम् ॥ सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा सोमलोकं व्रजेद् भुवम् । तत्र चिह्नं
 महाराजकथापि तुमहद् भुङ्क्ष्व । कपिलायाः सवत्सायाश्चरन्त्याः पर्वते कुतम् । सवत्सायाः
 पद्मानि स्म दृश्यन्तेऽद्यापि भारत ॥ तेषूपस्थित्य राजेन्द्र पदेषु ह्यपसत्तम । यत्किञ्चिद्ब्रह्म कर्म
 तत्प्रणयति भारत ॥ ततो युधवर्तं गच्छेत्स्थानं देवस्य धीमतः । स्त्रायीत भस्मना तत्र अभिगम्य
 हृषध्वजम् । ब्राह्मणेन भवेद्धर्णिं व्रतं द्वादशवार्षिकम् । इतरेषां तु वर्णानां सर्वपापं प्रणयति ॥
 उद्यन्तं च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गीतनादितम् । सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ ॥ तत्र
 सन्ध्यामुपासीत ब्राह्मणः संज्ञितव्रतः । तेन ह्यपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥ योनि-
 द्वारं च तत्रैव विभुतं भरतर्षभ । तत्राभिगम्य हृषयेत् पुरुषो योनिस्तद्वदात् ॥ कृष्णकुण्डादुभो
 पक्षौ गयायां यो वसेच्चरः । पुनार्यासत्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ एहया... हृषस्तुजेत् ॥
 ततः कल्प्स्व व्रजेद्वाजन् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं च महतीं व्रजेत् ॥ ततो
 गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र धर्ममयं समाहितः । तत्र धर्मो महाराज त्रितयमास्ते पुषिष्ठिर ॥ तत्र कूपोदकं
 कृत्वा तेन रमातः शुचिस्तथा । पितृदेवास्तु सन्तर्प्य शुकपापो विभं व्रजेत् ॥ पतङ्गरयाश्चमस्तत्र
 महर्षेर्भवितात्मनः । तं शविश्याश्चमं श्रीमच्छमशोकविनाशनम् । गवामयनयज्ञस्य फलं प्राप्नोति
 मानवः । धर्मं तत्रानिर्वाह्यं वाजिमेधमवाप्नुवात् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मस्थानमनुत्तमम् ।
 तत्राभिगम्य राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मणं पुरुषर्षभ ॥ राजह्वयान्श्वेधार्ग्यां फलं विन्दति मानवः । ततो
 राजहृष्टं गच्छेत् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप ॥ वनपर्व 84, 82-104. These verses are q. in the
 तीर्थस्थ. pp. 275-277 (except three), त्रिस्थलीसेतु pp. 321-323. It may be
 noted that the Padmapurāṇa, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 38 (verses 2-19) contains
 verbatim and in the same order the verses about Gayā in the Vanaparva 84,
 82-99 except that a word is changed here and there. There is hardly any
 doubt that one borrows from the other. Good grounds have been advanced
 by Mr. M. V. Vaidya in his paper 'Tirthayātrā in the Āraṇyakaparvan and
 the Padmapurāṇa' in the Kane Festschrift pp. 530-537. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar
 in the volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to Prof F. W. Thomas
 pp. 19-28 in his paper on 'Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata and
 the Padmapurāṇa' has shown that chapters 80-83 of the Vanaparva are taken
 over by the author of the Padmapurāṇa in chapters 10. 5 to chapter 39.120.

from the manner in which tirthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84. 82-103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anusāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84. 82-103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Āsmaprṣṭha (the same as Pretasīlā), on the hill Niravinda and of even a third brāhmaṇa murder in Krauñcapadī'.¹⁴⁷⁴ These three, Āsmaprṣṭha, Niravinda and Krauñcapadī, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109. 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śilāparvata and Nāradya (uttara 47. 83), Vāyu 108. 75 and Nāradya (uttara 46. 16) mention the hill Krauñcapada (Muṇḍa-prṣṭha was so called). Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātmya are mentioned by the Anusāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāṇa chap. 114-116 and the Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105-112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purāṇas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three *padas* of Viṣṇu furnished by Aurnavābha probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purāṇas such as Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 2-21), Garuḍa I chapters 82-86, and the Nāradya (uttara chap. 44-47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B. O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitrām padam' (chap. 82.81) for 'sāvitrīyāstu padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāṇa (in Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 13) reads 'Sāvitrām padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitrām padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Viṣṇu (Savitrī). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474. अश्मपृष्ठे गवायां च निरविन्दे च पर्वते । तृतीयां क्रौञ्चपदां च ब्रह्महत्यां विष्णुपदे ॥ अनुशासन 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अश्मपृष्ठे श्वेतशिलायां एकां ब्रह्महत्यां त्रयोधा निरविन्दे सुक्लृण्यहीने द्वितीयां क्रौञ्चपदीति सर्वेषां विष्णुपदा-द्विनाशप्रलक्षणं तेषु तृतीयां ब्रह्महत्यां सकृद्व्यां गत एव विष्णुपदे प्रती भवति'.

the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatā-bhi-saṃsprēya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to 'Sāvitra pada'. All these would surely be things that have an 'iconic suggestion'. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399-413 A. D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was 'all emptiness and desolation' (vide Legge's translation p. 87). It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A. D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p. 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien's day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A. D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsaang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmaṇa families (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vāyupurāṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mitra p. 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16 p. 63 ff. The verse¹⁴⁷⁵ set out below may be translated as follows: That wise (prince Yaśapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he dug up the famous Uttaramānasa lake and established a sattra (charity house for food) near the Akṣaya (vata). This inscription of the reign of Nayapāla was

1475. मौनदित्यसहस्रलिङ्गकमलार्घ्यद्वीपनारायणद्विसोमेश्वरकल्पाद्यभयजिज्ञासुद्विषाद-
यानां कृती । स यासादमचीकरद् दिग्विदां केदारदेवस्य च ख्यातस्योत्तरामानसस्य
जननं सर्वं तथा चाक्षये ॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (Narendra)
यक्षपाल son of विश्वादित्य edited in I. A. 16 at p. 65. Kielhorn translated 'this
wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven
called Maunaditya...He likewise had the famous Uttaramānasa tank dug and
established a sattra (hall of charity) to last forever'. Dr. Kielhorn is
wrong in his translation 'to last forever.' Dr. Barua read सयासाद्व as one
word and connects that one word with दिग्विदां (vol. I. p. 62n). One fails
to understand how दिग्विदां (genitive plural) is to be construed with यासाद्व
which according to Dr. Barua's construction is only part of a compound
word.

engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānasa was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānasa tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A. D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayā-māhātmya which speaks of Uttarmānasa must be much later than the 11th century A. D. But Dr. Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for the first time at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The tank can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttarmānasa tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāṇa 77. 108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A. D. in the Kalpataru on tirtha at p. 168), Vāyu 82. 21, Agni 115. 10. Therefore Uttaramānasa tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A. D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had silted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1040. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyu, chap. 105-112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāṇa, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A. D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anuśāsanaparva, Padma I. 38, the Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 44-47. Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse 'Gayāyām akṣayam śrāddham japahomatapāṃsi ca' Vāyu 108. 35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tirtha p. 167, and Vāyu 110. 29-30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37-38. So also Vāyu 82. 31-33 are the same as Vāyu 110. 51-53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (20-24) several sub-tirthas of Gayā are expressly mentioned viz. Brahmakuṇḍa, Prabhāsa, Pretapārvata, Uttaramānasa, Udici, Kanakhala, Dakṣiṇamānasa, Dharmāranya, Gadādhara, Mataṅga; so also chap. 77. 97-108 mention Gṛdhrakūṭa, hermitage of Bharata, Mataṅgapada, Muṇḍa-prṛṭha and Uttaramānasa. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhātmya are found quoted in the Smṛticandrikā ¹⁴⁷⁶

1476. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 346 for the date of the Smṛticandrikā.

The verses ब्रह्मकुण्ड...चतुर्विधा (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्महत्या...हिनस्वति (वायु. 105.13) are नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110. 63-64 are equal to नारदीय, उत्तर, 45. 64-66; Vāyu 110. 63-64 are the same as Nāradiya (uttara) 45.64-66; Vāyu 108.13-16 are the same as नारदीय (उत्तर) 45.2-4. Vāyu 110. 4-5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9-10. गरुडपुराण (I.

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(about 1150-1225 A. D.) on Śrāddha and Āsauca (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayāmāhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāṇḍavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimiṣa forest and the Gomati river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gayā and a holy pool called Brahmasaras; then comes a famous verse¹⁴⁷⁷ 'one should desire to have many sons if even

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85. 2-22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110. 34-60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nāradiya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common.

The स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (University of Mysore edition) on आशीच has towards the end a section on गयामाहात्म्ये, several verses of which occur in वायु. A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्मृतिच. p. 194) though ascribed to आविपुराण are almost the same as वायु 110. 2-3; the verses योगचार... बभूव (in स्मृतिच. on आशीच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु. 111. 35 and 37; स्मृतिच. p. 197 the verse मकरे वर्तमाने तु is the same as वायु 105. 48 and स्मृतिच. p. 199 the verse वा सा वेतरणी नाम is वायु 105. 44.

The Tirtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayāmāhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati's literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest). He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmāhātmya in a century or two. Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmāhātmya by Vācaspati may be indicated here. On pp. 285-286 the तीर्थचि. expressly quotes from the वायव्य verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105; वायु. 110. 2-3 are quoted as from वायु. in तीर्थचि. p. 7; on pp. 280-283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायुपुराण 108. 13-23, 28-30; on pp. 284-285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु. 110. 9-15 and 19-20, 56-59; तीर्थचि. pp. 288-293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110. 17, 21-24, 30-32, 34-55; तीर्थचि. pp. 298-301 quote वायु. 111. 1-22 (with additions and variant readings); similarly the वृक्षचिन्तोदय on वायु and त्रिरूपलीलेतु quote about 300 verses from गयामाहात्म्य and the त्रिरूपली. (pp. 356-359 &c.) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गयामाहात्म्य given by his predecessors. But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length.

1477. एतस्या बहवः दुष्टा परोक्षोपि भयां ब्रजेत् । वजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा
वृषदुष्टमेत् ॥ महानदी च तत्रैव तथा नयतिरे दुष्टः । वज्रास्ते कीर्त्यते विवेकस्त्वकारणो बहः ॥

(Continued on the next page)

one (of whom) goes to Gayā, or performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a *nila* bull' (the pitrs may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 87 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahā-nadi) Phalgu, the hill Gayāsiras, the Akṣayya Vata, where food offered to pitrs becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharmarāja i. e. Yama, verse 12), of Akṣayavata (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas,^{1477a} performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18-19). Vas. (XI. 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pitrs become (really) *putrin* (having a son) on account of such a son. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra, chapter 85,¹⁴⁷⁸ mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayāsīras, Akṣayavata, Phalgu, Uttaramānasa, Matangavāpi, Viṣṇupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as *gāthās* sung by pitrs. Yāj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smṛti (55-58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pitrs, to a bath in Phalgu and *tarpana* of pitrs in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) at Gayā and to Gayāsīrṣā. Śāṅkha (14. 27-28) refers¹⁴⁷⁹ to several tīrthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

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यत्र वृत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षयं भवति प्रभो। सा च पुण्यजला तत्र फल्युत्तमा महानदी ॥ वनपर्व 87. 10-12; राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनानुपमद्यते। नमो गयशिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी॥... अक्षियज्ञेन महता यन्नाक्षयवदो महान्। अक्षये देवयजने अक्षयं यत्र वै फलम् ॥ वनपर्व 95. 9-14. The verse एहं यथा occurs in numerous works such as the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 (last verse), the मत्स्य. 22. 6, वायु. 105. 10, कूर्म. II. 35. 12, पद्म. I. 38. 17 and V. 11. 68, नारदीय (उत्तर 44. 5-6).

1477 a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyaṇa I. 32.7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478. कुलेऽस्माकं स जन्तुः स्याद् यो न दद्याज्जलाजलीन् । नदीषु बहुतीयास्तु शीतलास्तु विशेषतः ॥ अपि जायेत सांस्माकं कुले कथिक्करोत्तमः । गयाशीर्षे वदे जाह्नवे यो नः कुर्यात् समाहितः ॥ एहं यथा...स्थजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 65-67. The verse अपि जायेत is quoted in कल्पतरु ca तीर्थ p. 173.

1479. It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddh' gayā' vol. I p. 66) read तीर्थे वामरकण्ठके in Śāṅkha and thought that Vāmarakaṇṭhaka was a holy place (instead separating as वा अमरकण्ठके).

become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smṛti speaks¹⁴⁸⁰ of the importance of Gayā as follows: In whosoever name a piṇḍa is offered at Gayāśiras, whether for oneself or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from *saṁsāra*). The Kūrmapurāṇa remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayā on some other business and offers śrāddha, he thereby saves his piṭṛs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurāṇa (22. 4-6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 163) speaks of Gayā as piṭṛtīrtha and as the best among tīrthas where Brahmā himself dwells and also has the verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrāḥ'.

In the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyupurāṇa, chapters 105-112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Śvetavārāhakalpa Gaya performed a sacrifice and Gayā was named after him¹⁴⁸¹, that piṭṛs hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayā saves the piṭṛs from hell¹⁴⁸². At Gayā a man should offer piṇḍas to his father and others and even to himself but without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brāhmaṇa-murder are removed by the performance of śrāddha at Gayā. A piṇḍa offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayā leads that person to the imperishable *brahma*¹⁴⁸³. Mokṣa is fourfold (i. e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, śrāddha at Gayā, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kurukṣetra and śrāddha at

1480. गयाशिरं तु यत्किञ्चिज्जाह्ना पिण्डं तु निवेद्य । नरकस्था विधं पाप्मि स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयुः ॥ आत्मनो वा परस्वपि गयाकूपे यत्स्ततः । यजाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तं जयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥ लिखितस्मृति verses 12-13; compare अग्नि 115. 46-47 शमीवृक्ष-प्रमाणेन पिण्डं दत्त्वा गयाशिरः । नरकस्थाः...माप्नुयुः ॥

1481. वायु. 105. 7-8, अग्नि. 114. 41 'नयेति आकरोद्यानं ब्रह्म बभूवुस्त्रियम् । गयादुरी तेन नाम्ना ॥' Both are quoted by त्रिरचली pp. 340-341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एतव वा ब्रह्मः पुत्रः (वायु. 105. 10) q. in 2. 1477. A verse is quoted by the त्रिरचली p. 319 which defines what makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवतो वाच्यकरणात् ... त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मजोऽप्यथो वापि गयादुरी वदा ब्रह्म । यजाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तस्यैव ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् । नामगोत्रैः सप्तवार्यं पिण्डपातनमिवयेत् । वायु. 105. 14-15; the half verse यजाम्ना ...शाश्वतम् is अग्नि 116. 29.

Gayā renders the others unnecessary ¹⁴⁸⁴. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one's birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmanas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pitrs are gratified. Tonsure ¹⁴⁸⁵ and fast are to be observed at all tirthas except in Kurukṣetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā. An ascetic ¹⁴⁸⁶ (sannyāsin) should not offer pindas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Viṣṇupada. The (whole) Gayākṣetra is five krośas in extent and Gayāsiras is one krośa and all the tirthas of the three worlds are centered in these two ¹⁴⁸⁷. At Gayā one may offer (to pitrs) pindas by means of *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jag-gery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing ¹⁴⁸⁸ a seat for the pindas, the offering of pindas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmanas); but there is no invocation of pitrs, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals). Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tirtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

1484. ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाभाजं गोपहे मरणं तथा । वासः पुंसां कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरेवा चतुर्विधा ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानेन किं कार्यं ... यदि पुत्रो गयां व्रजेत् ॥ गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्डं दद्याद्विचक्षणः । वायु. 105. 16-18; compare न कालादि गयातीर्थे दद्यात्पिण्डांश्च निरयशः । अग्नि. 115. 8. ब्रह्मज्ञानं...चतुर्विधा ॥—is also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.20. Both occur in अग्नि. 115. 3-4 and 5-6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनपुराण 33. 8.

1485. मुण्डनं चोपवासश्च ... विरजां गयाम् ॥ वायु. 105.25, q. in n. 1301 above where various readings also are noted.

1486. दण्डं प्रदक्षिणेद्विधुर्गयां गत्वा न पिण्डदः । दण्डं न्यस्य विष्णुपदे पितुभिः सह हृष्यते ॥ वायु. 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by ती. म. p. 390.

1487. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं कोशमेकं गयाशिरः । तन्मध्ये सर्वतीर्थानि त्रैलोक्ये यानि सन्ति वै । 105.29-30 and 106. 65 q. by त्रिरघली० p. 335, ती. म. p. 391; अग्नि. 115. 42 has the half verse पञ्चक्रोशं and also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.16. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tirthas as five krośas in extent.

1488. पिण्डासनं पिण्डदानं पुनः मत्स्यमेजनम् । दाक्षिणा चाजसकृत्पस्तीर्थभादेष्वयं विधिः ॥ नावाहनं न विष्णुधो न दोषो दृष्टिसम्भवः ।...अन्यत्रावाहिताः काले पितरो याम्ययं प्रति । तीर्थे सदा वसन्त्येते तस्मादावाहनं न हि ॥ 105. 37-39. The verses नावाहनं... दृष्टिसम्भवः, पिण्डासनं...विधिः are repeated in वायु. 110. 28-29.

avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitaraṇī has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Akṣayavatā and gratify the (Gayā) brāhmaṇas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.¹⁴⁵⁹

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful *asura* 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolāhala. The gods, anxious and tormented by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Viṣṇu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Viṣṇu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Viṣṇu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c. The gods said 'let it be so' and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura's holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolāhala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born *ṛviks* (about 40 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura's head a *śilā* (stone slab) that was in Yama's house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura's body together with the *śilā* still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immoveable on the *śilā*. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Viṣṇu and requested him to make the body and *śilā* stable. Viṣṇu gave his own *mūrti* and though it was placed on the *śilā* it still moved. Then Viṣṇu sat on the *śilā* in three forms viz. Janārdana, Puṇḍarika and Ādi-Gaḍādhara, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pitāmaha, Phalgviśa, Kedāra and Kanakeśvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣmi (as Sītā), Gaurī (as Māṅgalā), Gayatrī

1459. गयामो न हि तत्स्थानं यत्र दीर्घं न विद्यते । वायु. 105. 46 = अग्नि. 116.28,

and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gadā (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called *Ādigadādhara*.¹⁴⁹⁰ Gayāsura complained 'why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Viṣṇu (why torment me with the mace?).' Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose 'As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the *śilā*! Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tirthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five *krośas* in extent and in Gayāsiras which is one *krośa* and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c.) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c.)! Those to whom *śrāddha* with *piṇḍas* is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like *brāhmaṇa*-murder be destroyed at once.' The gods said 'Let it be so.' Then Brahmā gave to the *brāhmaṇas* Gayā (with its extent of five *krośas*), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the *brāhmaṇas*, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in *Dharmāranya* and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the *brāhmaṇas* bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the *śilā*¹⁴⁹¹ that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called *Dharmavratā*. Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform *tapas* for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marīci, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. *Dharmavratā* asked him to request her father Dharma. Marīci approached Dharma who

1490. वायु. 105. 60 mentions why Viṣṇu is called *आदिगदाधर* 'अद्यया गद्यया भीतो यस्माद्वैद्यः स्थिरीकृतः। स्थित इत्येष हरिणा तस्मादादिगदाधरः॥' q. by *विश्वली* p. 338. In वायु. 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the *Śilā* is briefly narrated in the *Agnipurāṇa* also (chap. 114. 8-22), often using the very words that occur in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.

gave her in marriage to Marici, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marici being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband's feet and got up to receive with honour her husband's father. In the meanwhile Marici awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marici but said 'Mahādeva will curse you'. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed *tapas* and Marici also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Viṣṇu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marici being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tirthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tirthas on the śilā and offer pinḍas and śrāddha should be able to go to *brahmaloka*, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the Mss. In the Ānandāsrama edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed Aśvamedha and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Viṣṇu and others 'promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitrs'. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the śilā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called Muṇḍaprsthā (lit. the back of the head) which gave Brahmāloka to pitrs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called Prabhāsa, of Rāmatīrtha near the place where the great river (Phalgu) and Prabhāsa hill meet, the hermitage of Bharata, of Matangapada, of the *bali* to be offered to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the dogs of Yama, viz. Śyāma and Śabala, of the Udyantaka hill near the left of Śilā, of Agastya-kuṇḍa, and numerous other holy places such as Grdhrakūṭa hill, the her-

mitage of Cyavana, the river Punahpunā, Krauñca-pada, Janārdana on Bhasmakūṭa.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaiṣṇava ('Bodh-Gaya' pp. 15-16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purāṇas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāna (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Viṣṇu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāṇa (l. 16. 59-60 and 91-92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nṛsiṃha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him a Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Viṣṇu and entered Vaiṣṇavitānu; while Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 7-8) speaks of his fight with Naranārāyaṇa. In Pali works (e. g. Aṅguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197-204) he is called Pahārāda and *asurinda* (asurendra). Vide Aṅguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Viṣṇu, vide Brahma-purāṇa, chap. 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāna, son of Bali and the fight of Bāna helped by Śiva with Kṛṣṇa, vide Brahma chap. 205-206 and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V. 33. 37-38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in 'Bodh-Gaya' pp. 14. 18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O' Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua criticizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I. pp. 40-41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people's minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gaya¹⁴⁹² or Namuci or Vṛtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikrama and the interpretation of Aurnavābha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

1492. It is not clear whence Dr. Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gaya is represented as a demon like Vṛtra. In the Rg. at least Gaya is not a demon like Vṛtra.

theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous *pīṭh* centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a *post facto* attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his *gadā* (mace) was produced and how the tīrtha called Gadāśila became a destroyer of all sins. There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, *daityas*, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛṣṇa and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viṣṇu killed Heti with the Gadā. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114. 26-27 and Nāradiya (uttara) 47. 9-11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because^{1492a} he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the śilā on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gadā, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Muṇḍapṛstha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Akṣayavatā, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādigadādhara. The Viṣṇupada, Rudrapada, Brahma-pada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.¹⁴⁹³ The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

1492 a. Vide note 1490.

1493. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the वायुपुराण. The holy rivers are, कल्या often called महानदी (अग्नि. 115. 25), इन्द्रकुल्या, मधुकुल्या (these two, वायु 109. 17), मधुना (106. 75), अग्निशिरा (from उद्यन्त hill, 108. 59), कापिला (108. 58), वेतरणी (105. 44 and 109. 17), देविका (112. 30), आकाशमङ्गल (अग्नि. 116. 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are; नृपासिन्धु (109. 36, अग्नि. 115. 26 and 44), मुण्डपृष्ठ (108. 12, 109. 14), वनाक्ष (108. 13 and 16, 109. 14), उद्यन्त (वनपर्व 84. 93, वायु 108. 59, 109. 13), वरमकुट (109. 15), अरविन्दक (109. 15), मातकुट (111. 22, अग्नि 115. 25), धूमकुट (109. 15), शैवकुट (109. 15).

(Continued on the next page)

fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Viṣṇu and went to Viṣṇu-loka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon. Brahmā said 'we (gods) shall not abide in the śilā without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.' ¹⁴⁹⁴ Viṣṇu said 'be it so' and Viṣṇu stood on Gayāśiras in the Adigadādhara form and as Janārdana and Puṇḍarikākṣa. Śiva also praised Viṣṇu (Vāyu 109. 43-50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of 'vyaktāvyakta' symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43-45). What is meant is Viṣṇu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyakta in Viṣṇupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhaḥṣetu p. 365, prati-māsvārūpi vyaktaḥ).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform *tarpana* and *śrāddha* according to one's own recension of the Veda, but without *arghya* (water for showing respect) and *āvāhana* (invoking). In the after-

(Continued from the last page)

आविपाल (109. 15), कौञ्जपाद (109. 16), रामशिला, भेतशिला (110. 15, 108. 67), नग (108. 28), ब्रह्मयोनि (नारदीय 11. 47. 54). The principal bathing places are: कल्हतीर्थ (111. 13, अग्नि. 115. 25-26 and 44), रामतीर्थ (108. 16-18), शिलातीर्थ (108. 2), गदालोल (111. 75-76, अग्नि. 115. 69), वैतरणी (105. 44), ब्रह्मसरः (वनपर्व 84. 85, वायु 111. 30), ब्रह्मकुण्ड, (110. 8), उत्तरमानस (111. 2 and 22), दक्षिणमानस (111. 6 and 8), कश्मिणीकुण्ड, भेतकुण्ड, निःक्षरा (निःक्षीरा) पुष्करिणी (108. 84), मतङ्गवायी (111. 24). The sacred sites are: पञ्चलोक, सप्तलोक, वैकुण्ठ, लोहवृण्डक (all four, in 109. 16), गोमन्थार (111. 35-37 where there were mango trees established by ब्रह्मा), धर्मारण्य (111. 23), ब्रह्मयूप (अग्नि. 115. 39 and वनपर्व 84. 86). The sacred trees are: अक्षयवट (वनपर्व 84. 83, 95. 14, वायु 105. 45, 111. 79-81, अग्नि 115. 70-73), आम्र near गोमन्थार (111. 35-37), यूधकूटवट (108. 63), महाबोधिवृक्ष (111. 26-27, अग्नि 115. 37). The verse about the mango tree is famous 'एको मुनिः कुम्भकुशामहस्त आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं दधानः। आम्रं सिकः पितरं वृत्तं एका क्रिया ह्यर्थकरी मसिद्धा॥' वायु. 111. 37, अग्नि. 115. 40, नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 7, पद्म, वृष्टिखण्ड 11. 77. There are several other तीर्थ, such as कल्हतीर्थ, कल्हचण्डी, अङ्गारकेश्वर (all in अग्नि. 116. 29) which are not mentioned here.

The पद्म (stone slabs with foot prints thereon) are: वायु. 111. 46-58 mention 16 by name and refer to others generally. अग्नि. 115. 48-53 mentions at least 13. The पद्म mentioned by वायु: are विष्णु, इन्द्र, ब्रह्मा, कश्यप, दक्षिणाग्रि, शार्ङ्गस्य, आहवनीय, सप्त, आवसथ्य, शक्र, अमरस्य, क्रौञ्च, मातङ्ग, चर्ष, कातिकेय and गणेश. वायु. 111. 56 states that four out of these are most eminent viz. of कश्यप, विष्णु, इन्द्र and ब्रह्मा. नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 27 states that विष्णुपद्म and इन्द्रपद्म are superior, but ब्रह्मपद्म is superior to all.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Verses 2-3 and 4-5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1295 and 1264 respectively.

noon the pilgrim should go to the Pretasīlā, take a bath in the Brahmakupḍa, offer tarpaṇa to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapinḍas on the Pretasīlā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110. 10-12) and offer pinḍas to his ancestors. In Aṣṭakās, in Vṛddhisrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband.¹⁴⁹⁵ To the sapinḍas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a pinḍa made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-22). The pinḍas to be offered at Gayāsīras may be in size as¹⁴⁹⁶ big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of śāml leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and pinḍas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30-55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616-617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tīrthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the P'halgu water, performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Pretasīlā (which is a part of the Sīlā as stated in Vāyu 108. 15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers pinḍas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अहकासु च इक्षी च गयायां च सुतेहनि । मातुः आसं पृथक् कुप्याङ्गयत्र पतिना सह ॥ वायु. ॥ 110. 17 q. in. तीर्थप्र. p. 389 (reads अहकासु), तीर्थप्र. p. 298.

1496. सुहिमाश्रममार्गं च आर्द्रामलकमात्रकम् । क्षीरपत्रमार्गं वा पिण्डं इष्या-
द्वयमिरे ॥ उद्धरेत्सप्त गोत्राणि कुलानि सप्तहृद्धरेत् ॥ पितृमोहः स्वभार्याया भगिन्या बुद्धिदुस्तया ।
पितृव्यसुर्माधुव्यसुः सप्त गोत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ वायु. 110. 25-26. The विश्वली. p. 327
explains 'अत्र मातृगोत्रं मातामहगोत्रम् । भार्यागोत्रं स्वहृद्गोत्रम् । भगिनीबुद्धिपितृव्यसु-
मातृस्य सृणां गोत्राणि चकुले ता इसास्तद्वीयानि । एतेषामेव गोत्राणामेकोऽसं शतं कुलं
लक्षणेन सत्याः पृथगाः ॥'

this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *pretu*. It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17-22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgu meets the Prabhāsa hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and pinda there the persons for whom this is done become *pitr̥s* (being already free from *pretatva* by the śrāddha on *pretasīlā*). On a hill on the south of Pretasīlā one should offer a *balī* (food offered with kuśa, sesame and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śabala. On the next day after entering Gayā (i. e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata¹⁴⁹⁷ (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakuṇḍa and perform tarpana, śrāddha and giving of pindas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras 'pitā pitāmahaścaiva' (Vāyu 110. 23-24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and pindas to persons related in various ways with the mantras 'asmat-kule mṛtā ye ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34-55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gayā and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59-60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gayā the offering of pindas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata¹⁴⁹⁸.

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pūṇecīrthī rites¹⁴⁹⁹ (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasa, offers tarpana to gods, gives water and śrāddha and pindas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the *pitr̥s*. Then the pilgrim goes to the three tirthas which constitute Dakṣiṇamānasa, viz. Udicitīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Dakṣiṇamānasa

1497. On प्लेपर्वत and ब्रह्मकुण्ड, the त्रिस्थली० p. 355 remarks 'प्लेपर्वतो गयावायव्यदिशि गयातो गव्यृत्यधिकदूरस्थः। ब्रह्मकुण्डे प्लेपर्वतमूल ईशानभावे।'.

1498. सर्वस्थानेषु चैवं दद्यात्पिण्डदानं तु नारदः। प्लेपर्वतमारभ्य कुर्यात्तीर्थेषु च क्रमात् ॥ बापु. 110. 61.

1499. The five तीर्थs are उत्तरमानस, उदीचीतीर्थ, कनखल, दक्षिणमानस and मृत्यु. The त्रिस्थली० says (p. 360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i. e. there are not five baths on this day. Phalgutīrtha is the same as Gayāśīras and is defined in बापु 111. 22 'नामकृदावृद्धकृदाधूपाहुत्तरमानसात् ।

एतद्व्याप्तिरः शोकं कल्युतीर्थं तदुच्यते ॥. The अग्निपु. (115. 25-26) differs 'नामा-ज्जनार्वाक्यादृष्टाञ्जोत्तरमानसात् । एत ... च्यते ॥. गरुड. I. 83. 4 is 'नामाज्जनां ... तदुच्यते ॥. The त्रिस्थली० p. 359 reads मुण्डपुष्टाज्जनाधस्ताकल्युतीर्थमनुत्तमम् ।.

(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutirtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tirthas. The pilgrim performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha with pinḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in *mukti* for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (*muktir-bhavati kartṛṇām pitṛṇām śrāddhataḥ sadā*, Vāyu 110. 13). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadādhara himself in a fluid form.¹⁵⁰⁰ By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadādhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadādhara by a bath with *pañcāmṛta* after bowing^{1500a} to Vāsudeva, Saṅkaraṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañcatirthī rites (i. e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāranya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Matāṅgavāpi (which is situated in Dharmāranya), then he should perform *tarpaṇa*, *śrāddha* and *pinḍadāna* at the well called Brahmatirtha and also in the space between Brahma-tirtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharmasvara.¹⁵⁰¹ He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i. e. the sacred *pippala*) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115. 34-37 and Nāradiya (uttara) 45. 104 refer to these tirthas. On the third day of the Pañcatirthī rites (i. e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with pinḍas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his piṭṛs.¹⁵⁰² He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

1500. गङ्गापादोदकं विष्णोः कस्तुर्यादिगङ्गाधरः। स्वयं हि द्रवरूपेण तस्माद्गङ्गायिकं विदुः॥ वायु. 111. 16.

1500 a. Pañcāmṛta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadādhara is to be bathed. Vide नारद (उत्तर) 43. 53 'पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चायां तु विज्ञिष्यते.'

1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p. 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmasvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 11. 73, states that there are three aranyas for pinḍadāna viz. Puṣkarāranya, Naimisāranya and Dharmāranya.

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111. 27-29) addressed to महाबोधितरु do not occur in जित्यली० p. 361, which gives two other verses instead viz. अलङ्कृतं हृत्पाय सर्वदा अलविष्णवे। बोधितत्वाच्च वङ्गाय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः॥ एकादशोसि वङ्गाणां बहुनामहमस्तथा। नारायणोसि देवानां हृत्पायोसि पिप्पल॥ The जित्यली० remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found.

to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pīṭrs attain *mokṣa*. Here follows the verse ('eko munih' &c.) quoted above (n. 1493). Then a *bali* should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a *bali* to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111. 30-40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34-40 and Nāradya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthi rites (i. e. 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgu and should then perform śrāddhas at the several *padas* on Gayāsīras which is near Phalgutīrtha. Gayāsīras extends from Krauñcapāda up to Phalgutīrtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāsīras) becomes inexhaustible.¹⁵⁰³ Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Viṣṇupada. By performing a śrāddha with piṇḍas on Viṣṇupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣṇu. Then Vāyu 111. 47-56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmapada and 14 other *padas* expressly named by it.¹⁵⁰⁴ 'For whosoever by name a pilgrim offers a piṇḍa on Gayāsīras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures *mokṣa*.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthi rites (i. e. the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadāloa.¹⁵⁰⁵ By performing śrāddha with piṇḍas at Gadāloa he takes his pīṭrs and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Akṣayavaṭa he should perform a śrāddha

1503. कौञ्जपादोऽस्म्यतीर्थं यावत्साक्षाद्गयाशिरः । वायु. 111. 44. कौञ्जपाद is the hill कुण्डपट्ट as stated in वायु. 108. 75 'कौञ्जखण्डे हि मुनिमुण्डपट्टे तपोऽकरोत् । तस्य पादाङ्कितो यस्मात्कौञ्जपादवस्ततः स्मृतः ॥'

1504. The विष्णुपदी p. 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāsīras apart from the śrāddhas on Viṣṇupada and the other *padas*. गयाशिरसि यः पिण्डान्येवं नाम्ना तु निर्वपेत् । नरकरथा दिवं याति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुः ॥ वायु. 111. 73. Agni. 115. 47 has the latter half. Gayāsīras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it.

1505. This tīrtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Heti with it. हेत्यसुरस्य वन्धीर्षं गदया तद् द्विधा कुतब्धः । ततः प्रक्षालिता यस्मात्तीर्थं तच्च विष्णुकरे । गदालोलमिति कथारं सर्वेबाहुसमोत्तमम् । वायु 111. 75. गदालोल is in the stream of the river Phalgu.

and honour the (Gayā) brāhmanas established by Brahmā with offerings and food. When they are gratified gods together with pitrs become gratified.¹⁵⁰⁶ Then the pilgrim should bow to the Akṣayavata and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitāmaha. Agni 115. 69-73 and Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhaliṣetu (p. 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tirthas may be visited according to one's convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month; that the śrāddha at the Pretaśilā is to be the first and that at the Akṣayavata is to be performed at the end,¹⁵⁰⁷ and that although there is variation between the order in which tirthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa and other purāṇas, yet as the Vāyupurāṇa is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tirthas in any order¹⁵⁰⁸ except Pretaśilā and Akṣayavata. Gayāyātrā, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāṇa, refers to king Gaya who performed a *yajña* and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmanas to favour and the other that Gayāpuri be named after him and who then went to Viṣṇuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśālā (verses 7-15) who being sonless performed pindadāna on Gayāśrīṣa and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16-20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a *preta*, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of *preta*.¹⁵⁰⁹ Then verses 20-60 mention several other tirthas of Gayā such as Gayātrī-tirtha, Prāci-saraśvatī-tirtha, Viśālā, Leliḥāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये पुष्पाभूजयिष्यन्ति मयायामागता नराः । इत्यकाव्येर्धने आर्द्ध-
स्तेषां कुलसप्तं ब्रजेत् । नरकात्स्वर्गलोकाय स्वर्गलोकात्परां गतिम् ।' अग्नि. 114. 39-40.

1507. संसारदुःखमन्त्रायामोक्तायस्तथाय च । अक्षयवतश्चात्र च नमोऽक्षयवताय वै ।
कलौ माहेश्वरा लोका येन तस्माद्गदाधरः । लिङ्गकवोऽभयश्च च वन्दे जीमयितामहम् । वायु 111.
83-84; आर्द्धं वदन्ते कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम् । एकस्मिन् भोजिते विमे कोविर्भवति
भोजिता । किं पुनर्बहुभिर्भुक्तेः पितॄणां दक्षमक्षयम् ।... वदं वदेश्वरं नत्वा दूजयेद् भयितामहम् ।
अग्नि. 115. 71-73.

1508. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि मयायात्रा महाकला । अग्नि. 115. 74 q. by त्रिस्तली-
p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अग्निपुराण 115. 34-63, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.
26-50, मद्ग. 1. 84. 34-43, and the first about king विजाल in वराहपुराण 7.12B.

hermitage of Bharata, Mundapṛstha, Akāśagaṅgā, Vaitaraṇī and other rivers and sacred places. It winds up by saying that six Gayās confer *mukti* (by worship and piṇḍadāna at them) viz. Gayāgaja, Gayāditya, Gayātrī (tirtha), Gadādhara, Gayā and Gayāsīras.^{1509a}

The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 116. 1-34) has a long list of tirthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhaḥsetu pp. 376-378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tirthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣayavatā, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, *tāmbūla*, lighted lamp and piṇḍas to ancestors have to be offered. The Viṣṇupada temple is built over the footprint of Viṣṇu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu. The old town of Gayā was built round Viṣṇupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Viṣṇu's is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else. There are 45 *vedis* (or sacred places) at which the leisured pilgrim may offer piṇḍas in the Gayākṣetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen Tsaang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvelā where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe *tapas*, the Bodhi tree (Mahābodhitaru) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world. A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a. नयानजो नयानिहो नायत्री न नयधरः । नया नयानिरख्ये बद्ध नया मुक्ति-
दायिकाः ॥ वायु 112. 60 q. by सीर्यणि, p. 328 (reads बद्धनये मुक्तिदायकाः), त्रिस्थली
p. 372. This occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 39-40. नयानजः—probably refers to
the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.

and at Kandy in Ceylon a *pippala* tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The Gayāśīrṣa¹⁵¹⁰ is a set of rocky hills such as Gayāśīrṣa, Muṇḍa-prṣṭha, Prabhāsa, Grdhrakūṭa, Nāgakūṭa, ranging over one krośa (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p. 666) that the rites at the Aksayavata are the last in the pilgrimage to Gayā. The Gayāwal priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees. He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as *prasāda*, applies *tilaka* to the pilgrim's forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word '*suphala*' (the pilgrimage has been fruitful or successful), declares that the pilgrim's ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called Dhāmin, who alone (and not the ordinary Gayāwals) have the right of officiating at five *vedis* viz. at Pretaśīlā, Rāmaśīlā, Rāmakuṇḍa, Brahmakuṇḍa and Kakabali, that are situated on or about the two hills Rāmaśīlā and Pretaśīlā (vide Bengal District Gazetteers, vol. 12 for Gayā p. 66). They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular Gayāwals.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digests is about the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā. In the Vāyu and other Purāṇas it is frequently said that he who performs śrāddha at Gayā becomes free from the debt due to the pitrs¹⁵¹¹ or that what is offered to the pitrs at Gayā, Dharmaprṣṭha, Brahma-saras, or on the Gayāśīrṣa and under the imperishable Vata tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word 'pitṛ' is used. Therefore it follows that śrāddha is to be offered in Gayā to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to Gautama,¹⁵¹² the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered śrāddha. The difference arises with

1510. Gayāśīras and Gayā were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha's days. Vide the Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and Aṅguttara Nikāya (text) vol. IV, p. 302 'एकं समयं भगवा नयायां विहरति गयासीसे'.

1511. मातृकुण्डो गयासीसे पितृणामवृणो हि सः वायु 105. 30; vide also वायु 108. 60 and 90, 109. 41; 'गयायां धर्मवृष्टे च सरसि ब्रह्मणस्तथा। गयासीसे च ये चैव पितृणां वृणमवृणयन् ॥' मरवीय (उत्तर) 44. 54, मरवीय I. 83 42-43. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 167.

1512. पितरो यच्च पूजयन्ते तच्च मातामहा अपि। अविकेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषाकारकं व्रजेत् ॥ इति गौतमोक्तः। विरच्यतीं p. 349, quoted also in स्मृत्यर्चमार p. 56.

reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāṇa proposes an option (115. 10) that the *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Aparārka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayā-śrāddha.¹⁵¹³ According to the Smṛtyarthasāra¹⁵¹⁴ and Hemādri the Anvaṣṭakā-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i. e. mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the *devatās* will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the *devatās* of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz. the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors.¹⁵¹⁵ The Tri. S. ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle. The Prajāpati-smṛti (183-184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 *devatās* in a śrāddha. When there are twelve *devatās*, the *saṅkalpa* at the Pretasīlā-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.¹⁵¹⁶

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83. 18

1513. तत्तन्वाश्वकादित्रये स्त्रीणां आहुं पृथगेव । गयामहालयादौ तु पृथक् सह वा भर्तृभिरिति सिद्धम् । अपरार्क p. 432; गण्ड I. 84. 24 is 'आहुं तु नवदेवस्यं कुर्याद् द्वावश-
देवतम् । अश्वकास्तु वृद्धौ च गणायां सुतवासरे ॥ '

1514. तत्र मातृआहुं पृथक् प्रकृतम् । मातामहानां सपरकीकमेव । रसुर्यस्यसार
pp. 59-60; vide त्रिस्थली p. 349 for the view of हेमाद्रि.

1515. अत्र केचित्पितृवर्गमातामहवर्गस्यतया बहुदेवस्यमेवेत्याहुः ।... अत्र सर्वत्र मूल-
बन्धानि देशाचारतश्च व्यवस्थेति सामान्यविधयेवोक्तम् । त्रिस्थली p. 349. रघुनन्दन in
his तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व notes that this is the Mōh view.

1516. ओम् । अद्याहुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम्,
असुकगोत्राणां मातृ-पितामही-प्रपितामहीनामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामह-
प्रमातामह-वृद्धप्रमातामहानामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामही-प्रमातामही-वृद्ध-
प्रमातामहीनामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम् । त्रिस्थली p. 349. रघुनन्दन in his तीर्थयात्रा-
p. 287. These twelve are specified in गण्डपुराण I. 84. 43-47.

and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayāwals alone, and not other brāhmaṇas, however learned they may be; one should not consider the family or character or learning of Gayā brāhmaṇas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be remembered that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa¹⁵¹⁷ did not accept this for all śrāddhas t Gayā, but only as to the śrāddha under the Akṣaya-vata, since the Vāyu (111. 79-80) again refers under Akṣaya-vata to the worship of Gayā brāhmaṇas and since following the maxim of 'caturdhakarapa' laid down in Jai. III. 1. 26-27 the later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in the earlier passage. At Gayā one could offer pinda to oneself but without sesame.¹⁵¹⁸ The Tri. S. (p. 350) observes (relying on Vāyu) that when a man offers a pinda to himself, it should be in the hands of the image of Janārdana on Bhaṣmakūṭa¹⁵¹⁹ and that the pilgrim to Gayā can offer a pinda to himself only when it is certain that he has no son or other *adhikārin* for offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could offer a pinda¹⁵²⁰ to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in whosoever name a pinda is let fall at Gayā, that man attains everlasting *Brahma*. It is desired that anyone may offer a pinda to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra and the latter reaches the highest goal.'

There are several works, printed and in mss., that deal with the procedure of Gayāśrāddha. There is the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the Tirtha-yātra-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayā-

1517. गयायां तु निर्गुणा अयि तत्रत्या एव द्विजा भोग्या इति तु हेमाद्रिः । वयं तु बह्व-
प्रकल्पितान् विद्याभोजयेत्पूजयेदथ इत्यक्षयवदप्रकरणे पुनः अवनाञ्चतुर्धाकरणोपसंहारव्याये-
नाक्षयवदभाज्यनियमो न गयाभाज्यमात्रे । एवं च पिण्डाकारोपचयमुपगत इति । त्रिस्थली०
p. 352.

1518. आत्मनस्तु महाकुण्डे गयायां तु तिलैर्विना । पिण्डनिर्घणं कुर्यात्तथा आम्बत्र
कीदृजाः ॥ वायु. 83. 34 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 350 from स्मृतिरत्नावली; vide also वायु.
105. 12 and अग्नि 115. 68 'पिण्डो देयस्तु सर्वेष्वः सर्वैर्बहुलतारकैः । आत्मनस्तु तथा
देयो ह्यक्षयं लोकमिच्छता ॥'

1519. जनार्दनो भस्मकुण्डे तस्य इस्ते तु पिण्डवः । आत्मनोऽप्यववाप्येषां क्षयेनापि
तिलैर्विना ॥ जीवतां द्विषसिम्बं सर्वे ते पिण्डलोकायाः ॥ वायु. 108. 83; vide
महद्युताय 'जनार्दनस्य इस्ते तु पिण्डं दद्यात्सर्वकं नरः । एष पिण्डो मया दत्तो त्व इस्ते
जनार्दन । परलोकस्ततो मममहादयस्तुपतिष्ठताम् ॥'; compare नारद (उत्तर) 47. 62-65 for
very similar version.

1520. आत्मनोऽप्यप्यजी कापि गयायुमी यदा तथा । यस्मान्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं स नयेद्
ब्रह्म क्षान्दसम् ॥ आत्मनोऽपि सतुर्ध्वं पिण्डप्राप्तमिच्छते । येन केनापि कस्मैचित् पाति परमां
शक्तिम् ॥ वायु. 105. 14-15. Vide also वायु. 83. 38.

paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz. the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhava (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891-95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C. No. 245 of 1887-91). The procedure in the Tirthayātrā-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāṇa passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa¹⁵²¹ for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe. Then he should perform *tarpana*¹⁵²² to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above). Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words 'Om | adyetyādi Gayātirtha-prāpti-nimittaka-śrāddhamaham karisyē'. Then he should perform a *pūrvaṇa-śrāddha* (described above pp. 485-505) excepting the *āvāhana* and *arghya* rites. If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only piṇḍas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform śrāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform *ācamana*, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110. 10-12 'Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena śāśvatim'), contemplate on his piṭrs, perform *prāṇāyāma*, sprinkle water on the materials for śrāddha after remembering Pundarikākṣa (Viṣṇu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of śrāddha up to the payment of dakṣiṇā to brāhmanas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, face the south, place on the ground three kuśas and after reciting the *mantra* (Vāyu 110. 10-12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with *pādya* (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

1521. ओम् । अद्येत्यादि अश्वमेधसहस्रजन्यफलविलक्षणफलप्राप्तिकामः फलसुतीर्थे हनानमहं करिष्ये । This is the सङ्कल्प in तीर्थचिन्धि. p. 286 and तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 2.

1522. रघुनन्दन sets out the formulas of *tarpana* for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins 'तत्रामुकगोत्रोऽस्मात्पिता अमुकदेवशर्मा तुष्यतामिदं तीर्थोदके तस्मै स्वधा पितरं प्रीणयामीति सामगः । यजुर्वेदोक्तम् । ओम् अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकदेवशर्मास्तुष्यस्वैतस्मै तीर्थोदके स्वधा पितरं प्रीणयामि । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 3. The first is set out by तीर्थचिन्धि. p. 286 also.

(Vāyu 110. 20-21 'a brahma...tilodakam' with *om* prefixed), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a piṇḍa to his father of *pāyasa* or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotra pitar-amukadevaśārman, eṣa te piṇḍaḥ svadhā'. In this way he should offer piṇḍa to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 10-12), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an añjali of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses (Vāyu 110. 22-23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatiṣṭhatām' with *om* prefixed ^{1522a}) and should offer one piṇḍa made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called *Ṣoḍaśikarma*, which is as follows: Nineteen spots for piṇḍas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with *pañcagavya* one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 30-32 'asmat-kule mṛtā.....tilodakaiḥ'), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of *ṣoḍaśi* on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an añjali of water mixed with sesame and offer piṇḍas beginning from the first spot, each piṇḍa being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras (Vāyu 110. 34-55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110. 46 'anekayātana-samsthāḥ ye nitā o', and treating 52-53 as one mantra and 54-55 as one mantra)^{1522b}. He should offer 19 piṇḍas

1522 a. It should be noted that *om* is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

1522 b. The Tīr. C. (pp. 290-292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses (Vāyu 110. 51-53) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the *śrāddhaṣoḍaśi* should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaimini X. 5.14 states: 'अपूर्वास्तु तु संख्यास्तु विकल्पः स्यात्सर्वसामर्थ्यवशात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51-55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form. Raghunandana explains that although there are nineteen pīṇḍas still this is called śrāddhaṣoḍaśī as a technical term.¹⁵²³ It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words 'ye', 'te', 'tebhyah'. So this is 'Pum-ṣoḍaśī.' There is a 'strī-ṣoḍaśī' also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the *Vāyupurāṇa* itself.¹⁵²⁴ Otherwise there is no difference between the two (pumsōḍaśī and strīṣoḍaśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all pīṇḍas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.¹⁵²⁵ Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words 'O father and others! forgive me.' Then wearing the sacred thread in the *savya* form, he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (*Vāyu* 110. 59-60 'sākṣiṇaḥ santu,' and 'āgatosmi Gayām'). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer pīṇḍas on Pretaśilā, by making a saṅkalpa (like the one in note 1516 saying 'pīṇḍadānam' for śrāddham'). He should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode and repeat the verses in *Vāyu* (110. 10-12 and 110. 59-60) and should perform according to his *sūtra* the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing pīṇḍas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the pīṇḍas, the offering of pīṇḍas, re-sprinkling

1523. ऊनविशती बोधस्तत् पारिभाषिकं पञ्चाश्रवत् । तीर्थयात्रातस्तत् p. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

1524. एतेश्च सर्वमन्त्रैस्तु स्त्रीतिष्ठानां सख्यं च । पिण्डान् दद्याद्यथापूर्वं स्त्रीणां मात्रा-
विक्रमात् । वायु. 110. 56 ṇ. in त्रिस्थली. p. 356. स्त्रीबोधस्यां तु-अस्माकुले सुता ये
चेरपावाहममन्त्रादारम्य मित्राणि सख्य इति पर्यन्तं सम्भवत्स्त्रीलेङ्गमूहनीयम्, अन्यसु पुंकोष्ठ-
श्रीवत् सर्वम् । तिथिचि. p. 292. So instead of the मन्त्र 'अस्माकुले सुता ये च यतिपेषां
न विद्यते' (वायु. 110. 34), in the स्त्रीबोद्धशी the मन्त्र will be अस्माकुले सुता याश्च यति-
र्यासां न विद्यते । तासांमुद्धरणार्थाय इमं पिण्डं दद्यात्पहम् ॥ त्रिस्थली. p. 357 refers to
this स्त्रीबोद्धशी.

1525. ओम् । ये च वो येचास्मात्तास्तन् याश्च वो याश्चास्मात्तास्तन् ते चावाह्यन्तां तांश्चा-
वाह्यन्ताम् । तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु गोत्रान् पुत्रानभितर्पयन्तीरापो मधुमतीरिमाः ।
एवधा पितृभ्योऽसुतं दुष्टाना आपो देवीरभयास्तृप्यन्तु । तृप्यत तृप्यत तृप्यन्तेति । तीर्थचि. p. 293,
तीर्थयात्रातस्तत् pp. 10-11.

water, holding one's breath, loosening the knot of one's garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretasīlā) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Rāmatīrtha ¹⁵²⁶ (which is in the form of Prabhāsa-hrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a saṅkalpa (as given in the footnote) and after repeating the mantra 'janmāntaraśatam' (Vāyu 108. 18). He should then perform *tarpaṇa* and perform *śrāddha* or (if unable to offer *śrāddha*) offer only *piṇḍas* according to the procedure of his own *gṛhyasūtra*. He should offer as done in the Pretasīlā *śrāddha* twelve *piṇḍas* to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible *piṇḍa* and the *ṣoḍaśi-piṇḍas*. If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a saṅkalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra 'Rāma Rāma' (Vāyu 108.20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, *śrāddha* and *piṇḍadāna* his *pitṛs* become free from the condition of being *preta* (Vāyu 108. 21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refulgent Prabhāseśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāseśa with the mantra 'āpastvamasi' (Vāyu 108. 22). Then he should offer a *bali* of boiled rice to Yama with the words 'this is a bali, om! bow to Yama.' Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretasīlā he should recite the verse 'dvau śvānau' (Vāyu 108. 30) and offer a *bali* made up of some kind of cooked food with the words 'this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharmarāja?); salutation.' This offering of *bali* is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i. e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of *tarpaṇa* and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakūṇḍa ¹⁵²⁷ situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretapārvata, that is at the distance of a *gavyūti* from Gayā and that (Brahmakūṇḍa) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

1526. ओम्। अथेत्यादि सायजन्मान्तरशतकुतुबुक्तचिलयकामोऽस्मिन्नामतीर्थे स्नान-
महं करिष्ये। तीर्थेति p. 294, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 11-12. The मन्त्र 'जन्मान्तरः'
(वायु. 108. 18) is quoted by both.

1527. The सङ्कल्प at ब्रह्मकुण्डकान् is ओ अथेत्यादि त्रिधावीनां पुनरावृत्तिरहित-
ब्रह्मलोकयातिकामः प्रेतपतिं श्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 13.

The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i. e. where Brahmā performed his Āsvamedha). Then he should with the face to the south throw on Pretaparvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ye kecit' (Vāyu 110. 63 q. both by Tir. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ā-brahma' (Vāyu 110. 64).¹⁵²⁸

On the third day after entering Gayā come the rites of Pañcatīrthi described above (pp. 663-666). The pilgrim bathes¹⁵²⁹ in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'uttare mānase snānam' (Vāyu 111. 2-3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110. 20-21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads *kūṣas* with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one piṇḍa, of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kūṣas, honey, curds and water. Then he bows to and worships the Sun's image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'namostu bhānave' (Vāyu 111. 5). Then he repairs to Dakṣiṇamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udici tīrtha, in Kanakhala and then in Dakṣiṇamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 9-10) and then performs salutation and worship to Dakṣiṇārka, then makes a bow to Maunārka, then goes to Phalgu tīrtha situated to the east of Gadādhara and takes a bath and performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111. 19), visits Gadādhara and worships (with Vāyu 111. 21), then again goes to the five tīrthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpaṇa. Then he bathes the image of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatīrthi.

The various tīrthas to be visited after Pañcatīrthi have been mentioned above. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāṇa cited by Raghu-

1528. It may be stated once for all that there is a saṅkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpaṇa, that śrāddha is performed as on Pretasīlā with all details beginning from invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness. Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out.

1529. The सङ्कल्प is ओं अद्यैवादि पापक्षयपूर्वक-द्वयलोकादिसंसिद्धिपितृ-मुक्तिकाम उत्तरमानसे स्नानमहं करिष्ये.

nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Matāṅgavāpi, the pilgrim should go to Matāṅgeśa to the north of Matāṅgavāpi and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramāṇam devatāḥ santu &c.). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (āmram brahma-sarodhbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (namo brahmane &c.). The bali to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarāja-dharmarājau &c.). The bali to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra-vārūṇa-vāyavya &c.). As regards the *padas* the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Viṣṇupada and worship Viṣṇu with five upacāras¹⁵³⁰ with the mantra 'Idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame' (Rg. I. 22. 17). To the south of the vedi of Viṣṇupada he should perform the śrāddhaśoḍaśī (described above pp. 672-673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anṛpoṣham-rnatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several *padas* and remarks that the last śrāddha at the *padas* is that at Kāśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadālola-tirtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Akṣayavata is to be performed on the north side of the Vata near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82-83 (ekārṇave &c.) as the mantras for bowing to the Akṣayavata. Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tirthas, such as Gāyatri, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Mundapṛstha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitaraṇī (situated to the east of the Devanadī which is near Bhasmakūṭa) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsau Vaitaraṇī nāma &c.). After referring to several other tirthas such as Gopracāra, Ghṛtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāṇḍuśilā (which is in Campakavana near Pitāmaha) and perform śrāddha there. He notes that the four rivers and streams called Ghṛtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadī¹⁵³¹ (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Silā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730.

1531. In the वायुपुराण when speaking of नद्या the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110. 6), but it refers to कल्या. On वायु. 110. 6 (ततो गयामवेक्षे च पूर्वतोऽस्ति महानदी। तत्र तोर्यं समुत्पाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले॥) the विद्वत्पीठ p. 352 observes 'महानदीति कल्या नद्य नामधेयम्। तोर्यं समुत्पाद्येति शुक्लनदीत्याह्वानमुक्तव्यमेव तोर्यमुत्पाद्य'.

112.30) and a bath, tarpaṇa and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tīrthas such as Daśāśvamedha, Maṭaṅgapada, Makha-kunḍa (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūṭa. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūṭa the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārdana a pinda mixed with curds (but without sesame) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108. 86-90, ¹⁵³² 'eṣa pinda mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātṛśodāśī (which do not occur in Vāyupurāṇa and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayākṣetra, Gayā and Gayāśīras or Gayāśīrṣa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradya all assert that Gayākṣetra is five krośas ¹⁵³³ (in extent) and Gayāśīras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas like Kāśī and Prayāga as pañcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāṇa is concerned the Gayākṣetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśīlā to Mahābodhi tree as shown above. Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Muṇḍapṛṣṭha ¹⁵³⁴. Gayāśīras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutīrtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasīra (Pāli for Gayāśīrṣa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Aṅguttaranikāya, text vol. IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510.

Four of the most important and holy tīrthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tīrthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tīrthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tīrthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tīrthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tīrthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. पञ्चक्रोशं गयामेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गवाक्षिरः । वायु. 106. 65, अग्नि. 115. 42, भारवीय (उत्तर) 44. 16.

1534. मुण्डपृष्ठस्थं पूर्वस्मिन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमोत्तरे । सार्धं क्रोशार्धं मानं गयेति परिकीर्तितम् ॥ वायुपुराण q. by विश्वमी० p. 342. The printed वायु (105. 28-29 'मुण्डं कुपांश्च पूर्वस्मिन्') appears to have a corrupt reading.

the bestowers of *mokṣa*.¹⁵³⁵ They are Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (i. e. Haridvāra), Kāśī, Kāñol, Avantikā (i. e. Ujjayinī), Dvārakā. In some works it is Kāntī and not Kāñol that is mentioned. Badarinātha, Jagannātha Puri, Rāmeśvara and Dvārakā—these four are styled Dhāma. There are said to be twelve Jyotirlingas of Śiva, according to the Śivapurāṇa viz. Somanātha¹⁵³⁶ in Saurāṣṭra, Mallikārijuna on Srisailla hill (in Karnul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahākāla (in Ujjayinī), Parameśvara in Oṃkāra-kṣetra (an island in the Narmadā), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhīmāśankara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhīmā river) in Dākini, Viśveśvara in Banaras, Tryambakeśvara on the banks of the Gautami i. e. Godāvari (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmi, Nāgeśa in Dārūkavana, Rāmeśvara in Setubandha and Ghr̥ṣeśa in¹⁵³⁷ Śivālaya (i. e. the modern shrine at the village of Elura,

1535. अयोध्या मथुरा नागा काशी काञ्ची द्वारवन्तिका। एताः पुण्यतमाः प्रोक्ताः पुरीषास्तुमोक्षमाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 40. 91; काशी काञ्ची च मगधस्था संयोध्या द्वारवन्तपि । मथुरावन्तिका चेता सप्त पुर्यान् मोक्षदाः ॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड, 6. 68; काञ्च्यवन्ती द्वारवती काश्यपोध्या च पञ्चमी । मगधपुरी च मथुरा पुर्यः सप्त विमुक्तिदाः ॥ काशीखण्ड 23. 7; अयोध्या...वन्तिका । पुरी द्वारवती ज्ञेया सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण (वैतखण्ड) 38. 5-6. In the स्कन्द, नागरखण्ड 47. 4 काञ्ची occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in Brahmanḍa III. 13. 94-97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumāradhārā and Puṣkarinī. If the reading काञ्ची is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A. G. identifies it with Kotival 20 miles north of Gwalior.

1536. पृथिव्यां यानि लिङ्गानि तेषां संख्या न विद्यते ।...सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम् । उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोक्षदरे परमेश्वरम् ॥ केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे द्वाकिण्यां भीमशङ्करम् । शराणस्थां च विश्वेशं इयम्बके गौडमीतटे ॥ वैद्यनाथं त्रिवापुर्नी नानेशं द्वावकावने । सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं पुष्पेशं (पुष्पेशं ?) च शिवालये । द्वावशीतानि नामानि प्राप्तवन्त्यथ चः पठेत् । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत् । शिवपुराण IV. 1. 18, 21-24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of these, viz. about ओङ्कार (Dey p. 5), वैद्यनाथ (Dey p. 50 showing it is either Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paraligrāma near Satara), द्वावकावने (Dey, pp. 53-54). Each ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग has an उपलिङ्ग (vide शिवपुराण IV. 1. 34. 42). The बृहदारण्यकपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) I. 6. 31 has 'काशीविश्वेश्वरं लिङ्गं ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं मनुष्यये । तद् ब्रह्म परमं ज्योतिरामोति मनुजोत्तमः ॥' Vide 'the Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In JBBRAS, vol. X. pp. 4-6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirlingas and their locations are set out from morning Stotra.

1537. For Ghr̥ṣeśvara or Gr̥atāneśvara at the village Elura, vide A. S. W. I. vol. III pp. 82-83. The famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora is not the Ghr̥ṣeśvara linga.

7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāṇa (Kotidruda-saṁhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirlingas and chapters 14-33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve lingas. The Skandapurāṇa I (Kedārakhanda) chap. 7 verses 30-35 enumerate several lingas including most of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tirthas each of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all *siddhis* 1537a.

1537 a. अह वैष्णवक्षेत्राः । बदरिका-सालग्राम-पुरुषोत्तम-द्वारका-विल्वाक्षल-अनन्त-
सिंह-ओरङ्गः । अष्टौ क्षेत्राः । अभिषेक-गङ्गाद्वार-शिवक्षेत्र-रामेश्वरम् (?) -शिवसरस्वती-मत्स्य-
बाहुल-गजक्षेत्राः । साक्षा अष्टौ च ओम्बोधि-जाल-पूर्ण-काम-कोल-भीमोत्त-काञ्ची-महेन्द्राः ।
एते महाक्षेत्राः सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 119-126.

CHAPTER XV

KURUKṢETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

KURUKṢETRA (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the R̥gveda X. 33. 4 there is a reference to a king Kurukṣravana, son of Trasadasyu.¹⁵³⁸ The Atharva-veda mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife.¹⁵³⁹ In the times of the Brāhmanas Kurukṣetra had become a very holy land. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5. 13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kurukṣetra and at first excluded the two Aśvins from any share in it (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 275). The Maitrāyaṇī Sainhitā (II. 1. 4., devā vai sattramāsata Kurukṣetre) and the Tai. Br. (V. 1. 1., devā vai sattram-āsata teṣām Kurukṣetram vedir-āsit) also say that the Gods performed a *sattra* in Kurukṣetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmana period held *yajñas* to be the dharma *par excellence*, as stated in R̥g. X. 90. 16 (*yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan*). Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmana period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called dharmakṣetra and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be dharma (*yajña*, *tapas* &c.) it is stated that gods performed *sattras* in Kurukṣetra. The same Brāhmana mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Prātipliya (XII. 9. 3. 3, S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 269). The Tai. Br. (I. 8. 4. 1) informs us that the Kuru-Pañcālas went towards the east in winter (*śiśira*) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the Ait. Br. are far more instructive. The legend about Kavasa in which Sarasvatī helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The Ait. Br. (8. 1 or II. 19) calls that place, where Sarasvatī came rushing, 'Parisaraka'. In another place the Ait. Br. tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (*Ficus India*) was called Nyubja in Kuru-

1538. कुरुक्षवणमाहुरि राजानं त्रासदस्युस्य। मेदिहं वायतादुहिः ॥ ऋ. X. 33. 4.
कुरुक्षवण may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539. कुलायन् कुण्डन् कौरव्यपतिर्वदति जायया। अथर्ववेद 20. 127. 8.

kṣetra.¹⁵⁴⁰ Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas together with the Vāsa-Uśinaras (38. 3 = VIII. 14). The Tai. Ā. narrates¹⁵⁴¹ that the gods performed a *sattra* and Kurukṣetra was their altar (for the *sattra*). The southern side of that Vēdi (i. e. Kurukṣetra) was Khāṇḍava, the northern side was Tūṛghna, the hinder part was Paripah, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāṇḍava, Tūṛghna and Paripah were border parts of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kurukṣetra. The Śrautasūtras of Āśv. XII. 6, Lāṭyāyana X. 15 ff. and Kātyāyana¹⁵⁴² 24. 6. 5 ff closely follow Tāndya and other Brāhmaṇas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Śarasvatī *sattras* were performed such as Plakṣa Prasravapa where Sarasvatī starts, the Vaitandhava-brada of Sarasvatī, the tract called Paripah in Kurukṣetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplakṣāvaharapa.

In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I. 10. 1 ff) occurs the story of Uṣasti Cākṛāyapa who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibhyaḡrāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II. 10) explains that¹⁵⁴³ Devāpi and Śāntanu mentioned in Ṛgveda X. 98. 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of Rṣiṣeṇa, a king of Kuru. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 151 and IV. 1. 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from 'Kuru', the first in the sense of 'apatya', the second in the sense of 'king'.¹⁵⁴⁴

1540. तत्रैतांश्चमसान्पुत्रजंस्ते ष्यमोधा अभवन् स्तुज्जा इति हाप्येनानेतर्ह्यांश्चक्षते कुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा ष्यमोधानां तेभ्यो हान्येऽधिजाताः। ऐ. भा. 35.4 = VII. 30.

1541. देवा वै सत्रमासत।...तेषां कुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत्। तस्यै स्वाण्डवा दक्षिणार्ध आसीत्। तूर्णसुत्तरार्धः। परिणजयनार्धः। मरु उत्तरः। तै. आ. V. 1.1. Is तूर्ण an older form of कुक्षेत्र? कुक्षेत्र, modern Sugh on the old Jumna, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542. Vide कार्या. औ. 'शम्यायासे शम्यायासे वसन्तो यजमानाश्च यन्ति दक्षिणेन तीरेण। हवद्वायप्ययेऽपीनपित्र्यश्चक्रः। अग्नये कामयेहिः हस्ते प्राक्षवणे। अवभृथमय्यवयन्ति यमुनां कारपक्षं प्रति। अपरं ष्यर्णे नैतन्धवेऽग्निमिन्धीत। कुक्षेत्रे परिणहि स्थलेऽग्न्याधेय-मन्वारम्भणीयान्तं भवति। एतच्च हवद्वातीतीरेण। अवभृथमय्यवयन्ति यमुनां त्रिप्लक्षावहरेण प्रति। 24.6. 5-7, 10, 33-34, 38-39. Similar sūtras occur in लाट्यायनश्रौत X. 15.1, X. 17. 12, X. 18.13, X. 19.1, 4-5, 8-9. कार्यायनश्रौत XXIV. 6. 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV. 6. 34 to the third year of the सारस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते। देवापिश्वादिषेणः शन्तुश्च कौरुषी भ्रातरी बभूवुः। निबक्त II. 10.

1544. कुर्वादिभ्यो ष्यः। कुक्षेत्रादिभ्यो ष्यः। पा. IV. 1. 151 and 172,

The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kurukṣetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvatī and to the north of Dr̥śadvatī was included in Kurukṣetra and ¹⁵⁴⁵ that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kurukṣetra appears to be called Brahmāvarta in Vanaparva 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāṇa Kurujāṅgala is ¹⁵⁴⁶ the country between the Sarasvatī and Dr̥śadvatī, while Manu (II, 17, 18) defines Brahmāvarta as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dr̥śadvatī, states that Brahmarsideśa which is slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta comprises Kurukṣetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmāvarta is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kurukṣetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brāhmanas the most sacred Sarasvatī flowed through Kurukṣetra and that the place where Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert was called Vinasāna and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kurukṣetra is said to have been the *Vedi* (sacrificial altar) ¹⁵⁴⁷ of Brahṁā, then it came to be called Samantapañcaka (or syamanta—in some passages) when Paraśurāma made five pools of the blood of kṣatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pits and lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Samvarana ¹⁵⁴⁸, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *kroṣas* all round. Kurukṣetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

1545. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या द्रवहृत्युत्तरेण च । दे वतानि कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविधे ॥
वनपर्व 83.3. The same verse is वनपर्व 83. 204-205.

1546. सरस्वतीद्रवहृत्योत्तरं कुरुजाङ्गलम् । वामन 22.47; सरस्वतीद्रवहृत्योर्द्वेन नद्योर्ध्वतरम् । तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं यथकृते ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालाः क्षुर-
सेनकाः ॥ एव ब्रह्माविदेसो वै ब्रह्मावर्ताद्वनन्तरः ॥ मनु. II. 17 and 19. The extent of countries varied from age to age. पञ्चाल was divided into North and South. At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcāla was Kanoj. Śūrasena is the country of which Mathurā was the capital. अनन्तरः may mean 'slightly less than' or 'not inferior to or not different from.' The verse सरस्वतीद्रवहृत्योः occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 64.6.

1547. आद्येषां ब्रह्मणो वेदित्तमो रामज्ञवः स्मृतः । कुरुणा च यतः कुरुं कुरुक्षेत्रं तवः स्मृतम् ॥ वामन 22. 59-60. According to वामन 22. 18-20 there are five vedias of Brahṁā viz. समन्तपञ्चक (उत्तरा), यवाम (मध्यमा), यवाक्षिरः (पूर्वा), विरजा (दक्षिणा), पुष्कर (पश्चिमी). Vide वामन 22.20 and पञ्च IV. 17.7 for the form स्पमन्तपञ्चक.

1548. According to the विष्णुपुराण the genealogy is अजनीह-कला-संवरण-कुरु, about whom it says 'य इहं पर्वक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रं चकार' (IV. 19. 74-77).

to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed might be 'Dharmakṣetra' (domain of righteousness) and that those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of merit¹⁵⁴⁹. The war between Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was fought there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmakṣetra' in the opening verse of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāṅgala is said to be a very fit country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77. 93) and Kūrma II, 20, 33 and 37. 36-37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tshang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Sthāpaviśvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kurukṣetra) as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kurukṣetra is said to be five *yojanas* in radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāṇa)¹⁵⁵⁰. A somewhat corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some purāṇas¹⁵⁵¹ about the limits of Kurukṣetra viz. the territory between Tarantu and Kārantuka and between Macakruka (image of a *yakṣa*) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Paraśurāma)—this is Kurukṣetra, Samantapañcaka and the northern vedi of Brahmā. The result is that Kurukṣetra is referred to under various names viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada, Samantapañcaka, Vinasana, Sannihati (vide T. Pr. p. 463). For the boundaries of Kurukṣetra, vide Cunningham's A. S. R. of India, vol. XIV pp. 86-106 where he notes that Kurukṣetra was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipat. In the remote past Kurukṣetra was the centre of

1549. यावदेतन्मया कुक्षं धर्मक्षेत्रं तदस्तु वः। स्नातानां च द्यूतानां च महाद्वयफलं विह। वासनपुराण 22. 33-34. Compare Salyaparva 53. 13-14.

1550. वेदी प्रजापतेरेषा समन्तात्पञ्चयोजना। कुरोर्वै यज्ञशीलस्य क्षेत्रमेतन्महात्मनः॥ वनपर्व 129. 22; समाजगम च पुनर्मैत्र्याणो वेदिमुत्तरात्। समन्तपञ्चकं नाम धर्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्॥ आसमन्ताद्योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः॥ वासनपु. 22. 15-16. The नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 64. 20) states 'पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं द्रवास्तपक्षमोद्वमम्। इयमस्तपञ्चकं तावत्कुक्षेत्रमुदीहन्तम्॥'

1551. तरन्मुकारन्मुकयोर्व्यन्तरं रामहृदयानी च मन्त्रकुरय। एतत्कुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिकस्थिते॥ वनपर्व 83. 208, ज्ञानपर्व 53. 24. पक्ष. I, 27. 92 (reads तरणकारणकयोः), q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 179 (from the महाभारत). वनपर्व 83. 9-15 and 200 show that मन्त्रकुर was a पक्ष appointed as 'one of the द्वारपालs of कुक्षेत्र' by God Viṣṇu. Should we not separate the first word as तरन्मुक and अरन्मुक? In the नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 65. 24) we have रन्मुक as a sub-tīrtha under कुक्षेत्र. Vide तीर्थयक्षा pp. 464-465 for explanation of this verse. A. G. p. 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as तद्वन्मुकारन्मुकयोर्व्यन्तरं and remarks that Ratnuka is the Ratan *Jakṣa* (पक्ष) at the north-east corner of the circuit of Kurukṣetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar.

all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumná and later on Videha (or Mithilā) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kurukṣetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vanaparva 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kurukṣetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says 'I shall go to Kurukṣetra, and I shall reside in Kurukṣetra' is freed from sins¹⁵⁵². 'In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kurukṣetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal'¹⁵⁵³. Even the Ganges is compared to Kurukṣetra (vide note 1324 'Kurukṣetrasamā Gāṅgā'). The Nāradiya avers¹⁵⁵⁴ that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kurukṣetra there is no falling on the earth again (i. e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaparva in chap. 83 enumerates several tirthas on the Sarasvatī and in Kurukṣetra, they do not at all tally with the tirthas mentioned in the Brāhmaparas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vināśana which is mentioned in Vanaparva 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaparva account of Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tirthas in Kurukṣetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaparva 83. 85, Vāmana 49. 38-41, Nāradiya, uttara 65. 95) on

1552. ततो नष्टेन राजेन्द्र कुवक्षेत्रमभिहतम् । पापेभ्यो विमुक्तयन्ते तद्गताः सर्वजन्तवः ॥ कुवक्षेत्रं नमिष्यामि कुवक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् । य एवं सततं कृपात् सर्वपापैः मुक्तयते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 1-2. The commentator नीलकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुवक्षेत्र (on वनपर्व 83. 6) 'कुक्षितं रीतीति कुव पापं तत्र लेपनात् प्रापते इति कुवक्षेत्रं पापनिवर्तकं नक्षोपलधिस्थानत्वात् नक्षसङ्घम्'. 'सर्वज्ञ अन्तो येषु क्षत्रियाणां ते समन्ता रामकृतकथिरोद्भवाः, तेषां पञ्चकं समस्तपञ्चकम्'. Vide श्री. य. p. 463.

1553. मातःपरतरे पुण्ये धूमेः स्थानं भविष्यति । ... वांसोपि कुवक्षेत्रे वायुना संतुकीरिताः । अपि बुधकृतकर्माणं भवन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ शाल्य 53. 17, 22 q. in कल्प० (on तीर्थे) p 178. The verse वांसोपि also occurs in वनपर्व 83. 3.

1554. ब्रह्मक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भवम् । कुवक्षेत्रवृत्तानां तु न भूयः पतनं भवेत् ॥ मातृदीप II. 64. 23-24, वासन 33. 16 (last pāda is पतनं नैव सिद्ध्यते).

which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G. (pp. 334-335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāṇa (22. 50-55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a *yojana* in extent. Cakratirtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāṇa 42. 5, 57. 89 and 81. 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma. Vyāsasthali¹⁵⁵⁵ (named in Vanaparva 84. 96, Nāradya, uttarārdha 65. 83 and Padma I. 26. 90-91) is the same as modern Basthali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthipura (Padma, Adi. 27. 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujasghat where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bhārata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II, p. 219 states that Cakratirtha is the same as Asthipura and that in Alberuni's time it was the most famous shrine in Kurukṣetra. Prthūdaka on the Sarasvatī is very highly spoken of in Vanaparva 83. 142-149. 'They say¹⁵⁵⁶ that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukṣetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvatī) are holier than the river Sarasvatī and that Prthūdaka is holier than all the other tirthas on Sarasvatī. There is no tirtha that is better than Prthūdaka'. The Śalyaparva¹⁵⁵⁷ remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Prthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī would not be troubled by death next day (i. e. he would be free from birth and death). The Vāmanapurāṇa (39. 20 and 23) calls it Brahmayonitirtha. Prthūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I, p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in *saṃvat* 276 (of the Harṣa Era) i. e. 882-883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain

1555. सरस्वत्या नित्यं नमस्कृतं कुरुक्षेत्रं । व्यासतीर्थेति ख्यातं नैलाकथं
मनोहरम् ॥ कूर्म. II. 37. 29; vide ब्रह्माण्ड III. 13. 69 for a similar verse.

1556. पुण्यामाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रास्सरस्वती । सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च
पृथक्कम् ॥ पृथक्कार्थित्वम् नाप्यतीर्थे कुरुक्षेत्रं ॥ वनपर्व 83. 147, हान्तिपर्व 152. 11 (first
verse), पद्म (आदि. 27. 33, 34, 36) q, by कल्प- (on तीर्थे) pp. 180-181. The
वामनपुराण 22. 44 says 'सर्वेभ्यो मध्ये बहुपुण्यं पृथक् पृथक् पापहरं शिवं च । पुण्या नदी
शङ्खमुज्ज्वला प्रपाता जलोपप्लवङ्गा सुता जलादद्यात् ॥'

1557. सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्वजोदात्मनस्तपुश्च ॥ पृथक्के जप्यपरी नैनं श्यो मरणं
तप्तेत् । हस्त्यपर्व 39. 33-34; वामनपुराण 39. 19 has the same verse (last pāda is
read as नैतस्य मरणं भवेत्).

taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Viṣṇu in his Yajñavarāha *avatāra* built at Prthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāṇa (34. 3 ff) and Nāradiya (uttarārḍha 65. 4-7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sitāvana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90-91 for the *vanas*. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatīs, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puṣkara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kāñcanākṣī (in the Naimiṣa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20-21), Manoramā (in Audḍālaka's yajña in Uttarakosala, verses 22-25), Sureṇu (in Rṣabhadvipa in Kuru's yajña, verses 26-27), Oghavati (called by Vasistha in Kurukṣetra, verses 27-28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himālaya). In the Vāmanapurāṇa 34. 6-8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvatī are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvatī, Vaitaraṇī, Āpagā, Gaṅgā-Mandākinī, Madhusravā, Ambunadī, Kauṣikī, Dṛśadvatī and Hiraṇvatī.

Kurukṣetra was also called Sannihati or Sannihatyā. Vide those words in the list of tirthas. The Vāmanapurāṇa (32. 3-4) says that Sarasvatī springs from a plakṣa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6-22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvatī by Mārkaṇḍeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 261) states that the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvatī, that rises in the Mahikāntha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Pātan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Runn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p. 283).^{1557a}

MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathurā, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B. C. appears

^{1557a}. Vide A. S. R. of India, vol. 14 pp. 97-106 for an exhaustive list of tirthas in Kurukṣetra.

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (I, 167, *ekam samāyam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharati Gundāvane*) and *Majjhima* (II 84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megasthenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles¹⁵⁵⁸ (Hari-Kṛṣṇa?). The word 'Māthura' (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini's *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra*.¹⁵⁵⁹ Though Pāṇini's sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the *Varaṇādī-gaṇa* (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 82). Pāṇini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), the Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans of Yādavas to which Kṛṣṇa belonged (IV. 1. 114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III. 1. 138 and *vārtika* 'gavi ca vindeḥ sañjñāyam'). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who¹⁵⁶⁰ in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kamsa by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kamsa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Śaurya mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya on *Vārtika* 2 on Pāṇini II. 4. 7 (Śauryam ca Ketavatā ca Śaurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* speaks of Mathurā as Śauryapura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The *Ādiparva* (221. 46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

1558. Vide McCrindle's 'Megasthenes and Arrian' p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Sauraseni tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura?), while Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' (vide McCrindle's 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy', ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. *स्याद्योगाख्या हि माथुरवत्*। जे. I. 3. 21 on which *हर्बर* says यतो दृश्यते मथुरामभिप्रस्थितो माथुर इति मथुरायां वसन् मथुरायां निर्गतश्च. The *तन्त्रवार्तिक* (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न हेतुको देवदत्तो युगपत्पुत्रो च भवति मथुरायां च। महाभाष्य vol. I, pp. 18, 19 and 244; सप्तम्यर्थेऽपि वै वतिर्भवति तद्यथा। मथुरायामिव मथुरवत्। पाटलिपुत्र इव पाटलिपुत्रवत्। महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 192 (on पा. I. 2. 1) and vol. III, p. 299 (on पा. VII. 2. 62, *वार्तिक* 3). Vide note 1409 above where *माथुर* cloth is said to be inferior to *काशिक* cloth and my paper on 'Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya' JBRAS vol. 27 pp. 39-42 (1951) for other references. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च वलिं बन्धयन्तीति।... केचित्सभका भवन्ति केचिद्वायुदेवभक्ताः। महाभाष्य vol. II, p. 36 on पा. III. 1. 26 and *वार्तिक* 15; प्रयोक्तृर्ज्ञानविषये इति किमर्थम्। ज्ञानं कंसं किल वायुदेवः। महाभाष्य (vol. II, p. 119 on पा. III, 2. 111).

in those days. When Hamsa and Dimbhaka, brave commanders of Jarāsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumnā and when Jarāsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Kṛṣṇa says 'we shall again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14. 41-45). Ultimately Kṛṣṇa is said to have left Mathurā owing to the constant attacks of Jarāsandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā¹⁵⁶¹ (Sabhāparva, 14. 49-50 and 67). The Brahmapurāṇa, on the other hand, states that the Vṛspis and Andhakas on the advice of Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā through the fear of Kālayavana. Vide also Vi. V. 23. 8-15. The Vāyu (88. 185) states that Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurā in Madhuvana while the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kāṇḍa 70. 6-9) informs us that Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurā a fine and prosperous city. In the Ghata-jātaka (Fausböll, vol. IV. pp. 79-89 No. 454) Mathurā is called Uttara Madhurā (to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Pāṇḍyas in the south) and the story of Kamsa and Vasudeva is narrated, which differs in some material points from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the Raghuvamśa XV.28 it is mentioned as Madhurā and as founded by Śatrughna. Hiouen Tshang states that in Mathurā there existed in his day three *stūpas* built by Aśokarāja, that there were in Mathurā five Deva temples, 20 *sanghārāmas* (Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p 179). James Allan (in 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. CXVI) states that the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. to the middle of the first century B. C. For some ancient coins from Mathurā, the Cambridge History of India, vol. I p. 538 and plate V (No. 5-10) may be referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurā' by F.S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurā.¹⁵⁶² The famous inscription of Khāravela (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) includes among the exploits of that king of Kāliṅga the retreat of the Yavana king Dimita to Madhurā (i. e. Mathurā). Several

1561. वयं चैव महाराज जरासन्धमयात्तदा । मथुरां सम्पत्तिवज्यं क्त्वा द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ॥ सभा 14. 67; ततो ब्रह्मपुण्ड्रकाः कृष्णं पुरस्कृत्य महामतिम् । समेता मन्त्रयामास्तुर्पञ्चनर्य मयात्तदा । कृत्वा विनिश्चयं सर्वे पलायनमरोक्षयम् । विहाय मथुरां रम्यां मानयन्तः पिनाकिनम् । कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीत्सवः ॥ अष्ट 14. 54-56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's learned paper on 'Mathurā in Ancient India' in J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. XIII (for 1947) pp. 21-30.

Inscriptions of such Kuṣāṇa rulers as Kaniska, Huviska and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of 'Mahārāja-rājātirāja Kanikkha' in *samvat* 8 (E. I. vol. 17. p. 10) ¹⁵⁶³; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kaniska in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviska in *samvat* 33 (E. I. vol. 8 pp. 181-182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śoṇḍāsa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brahmi inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194-210). There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarṇa by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailālaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390). From the Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāṇa was composed. The Vāyupurāṇa ¹⁵⁶⁴ informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayāga, Śāketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni's India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Māhurā (Mathurā) is crowded with brāhmanas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen T'sang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāṇa furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūsa in the city of Mathurā ¹⁵⁶⁵. Mathurā has been

1563. The generally accepted date for Kaniska is 78 A. D. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 23 (1937) pp. 113-117 (by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri).

1564. नव नाकास्तु (नागास्तु ?) भोक्षन्ति एरिं चम्पावतीं नृपाः । मधुरां च एरिं रम्यां नागा भोक्षन्ति सप्त वै । अमुण्क्तं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधास्तथा । एताम् जनपदान्सर्वान् भोक्षन्ते क्षत्रवंशजाः ॥ वायु 99. 382-83, Br. III. 74. 194. Vide Jayaswal, 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) pp. 3-15 for the Nāga dynasty.

1565. अष्टपुर्मधुरा काचिद्भामोक्तो भरतोवधीत् । कोटित्रयं च शैलूषपुत्राणां निशितैः शरैः ॥ शैलूषं क्षत्रगन्धर्वं सिन्धुतीरनिवासिनम् । अग्नि 11. 8-9. शैलूष also means an

(Continued on the next page)

the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāṇa devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tirthas (chap. 152-178). The Brhan-nārādiya, chapters 79-80, Bhāgavata X and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V-VI devote much space to Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana and Kṛṣṇa's exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 29. 46-47) says 'Yamunā gives mokṣa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Viṣṇu'. In the Varāhapurāṇa (152. 8, 11) Viṣṇu says 'There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous kṣetra of mine that confers *mukti*; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me'. The Padma says 'Mathuraka is a name extremely dear to Viṣṇu'. The Harivarṇa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here 'Mathurā is the hump (i. e. the most eminent spot) of Madhyadeśa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i. e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce'.¹⁵⁶⁶

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 20 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst¹⁵⁶⁷. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Nārādiya (uttarārdha) chapters 79-80 mention numerous tirthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161 6-10) and Nārādiya (uttarārdha 79. 10-18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tāla, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra,

(Continued from the last page)

actor. Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and other actors? The Nāṭyaśāstra chap. 17. 47 (G.O.S.) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my 'History of of Sanskrit Poetics' p. 40 (1951).

1566. तस्माग्माधुरकं नाम विष्णोरेकान्तबल्लभम् । पद्म. IV. 69. 12; मधुदेवस्य ककुद्दं धाम लक्ष्म्याश्च केवलम् । हार्दकं पृथिव्याः स्वालक्ष्यं यद्वत्तदनवाप्ययम् ॥ हरिवंश, विष्णु-पर्व 57. 2-3.

1567. विंशतियोजनानां तु माधुरं परिमण्डलम् । तस्यच ये यधुरा नाम धुरी सर्वोत्तमोत्तमा ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 79. 20-21.

Khādira, Mahāvana, Lohajāṅgha, Bilva, Bhāṇḍira and Vṛndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Growse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purāṇas but only by later works. Vṛndāvana¹⁵⁶⁸ was to the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamunā and was five yojanas in extent (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 6. 28-40, Nāradiya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Kṛṣṇa's adventures and love-making. The Padma IV. 69. 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuntha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vṛndāvana as Devī Dākṣāyaṇī.¹⁵⁶⁹ In Kālidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvamśa VI, while describing Suśeṇa of the Nipa family, king of Śūrasena, Vṛndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraratha, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana¹⁵⁷⁰ hill, which Kṛṣṇa lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 11. 15-25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa (164. 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vṛndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14. 18) says that the very ancient king Pṛthu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-vamśa and the Purāṇas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Hari-vamśa (Viṣṇuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Talavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamunā, while it is south-east of Govardhana. Kālidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvamśa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

1568. The पद्म (पाताल 75. 8-14) puts an esoteric interpretation on कृष्ण, गोपीस and कालिन्दी. The गोपपत्न्यः are योगिनीs, कालिन्दी is सुषुम्न, कृष्ण is सर्व-व्यापक and so on.

1569. Dey (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vṛndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vṛndāvana described in the Purāṇas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamunā, while modern Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river. But the references he gives for this last statement viz. Viṣṇupurāṇa 5. 18. 33 and Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nāradiya (II. 80. 6-7) appears to say that Vṛndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamunā and Nandigrāma.

1570. यमी पुण्या नदी यत्र पुण्यो गोवर्धनो गिरिः । तस्मिन् हन्वावनात्पुण्यमण्यं भुवि विद्यते ॥ कालिकात्मप्रसीतानां विषयास्तत्त्वतोत्तमाः । मान्यद् हन्वावनात्सेष्पमास्ति लोकेष्वपि विभुः ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 80. 104-105.

Kṛṣṇa was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vṛndāvana out of fear of what Kamsa might do. The great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya visited Vṛndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmṛta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitanyacandrodaya, both by Kavikarṇa-pūra or Paramānandadāsa). In the 16th century Vṛndāvana became a centre of Caitanya's *bhakti* movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the *Gosvāmīs* of Vṛndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' (1942) pp. 83-122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vṛndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh's work on Vallabhācārya p.161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.¹⁵⁷¹

The Sabhāparva (319. 23-25) narrates that Jarāsandha threw his mace from Girivraja (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 yojanas before Kṛṣṇa and the place where it fell was thence called *Gadāvasāna*. I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vṛndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birth-place of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also 'Picturesque India' by W. S. Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNĀTHA)

Much has been written about Puruṣottamatīrtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works in English may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter's 'Orissa'

1571. Vide Elliott and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians' vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the 'Ma-Asir-i-Ālamgiri' is translated to the effect that: "Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of 'Dehra Kesu Rai' (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque."

vol. I pp. 81-167, Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 99-144, R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' (in two volumes, 1930), Gazetteer on Puri, vol. XX pp. 409-412.

There are four most important tīrthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuvaneśvara (or Cakratīrtha), Jagannātha (or Śaṅkha-kṣetra), Koṇārka (or Padma-kṣetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadākṣetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purāṇas, Puruṣottama-tīrtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41-70, about 1600 verses), in the Bṛhannāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 52-61, 825 verses). Among digests, the Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Puruṣottama-tīrtha (pp. 53-175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Puruṣottama, Raghunandana's Puruṣottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāṇa) and the Tīrthaprakāśa (pp. 561-594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) does not describe Puruṣottama-tīrtha in its Tīrthakāṇḍa, though it speaks of a few little known tīrthas like Lohārgala, Stutasvāmin and Kokāmnukha.

Raghunandana in his Puruṣottama-tattva quotes a verse¹⁵⁷² (which as printed is corrupt) from the Rgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (*alākṣmī*) and means 'O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it'. Then he states that the Atharva-veda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyana's inter-

1572. तथा 'आदौ यद्वाह हवते सिन्धोः पारे अपूरुषम् । तद्वालभस्व दुर्दृष्टो तेन वाहि परं स्थलम् ।' अथ भाष्ये सांख्योपनिषदौ । आदौ विमकुदेवेन वर्तमानं... अपूरुषं निर्मातु-
शक्तित्वेन तद्वालभस्व दुर्दृष्टो हे होतः... । अपूर्वदेवि । आदौ... सिन्धोर्मध्ये अपूरुषम् । तदा
... स्थलम् । अत्रापि तथैवार्थः । मध्ये तीरे । पुरुषोत्तमस्य (Jiv. vol. II. p. 563). The
first verse is really Rg. X. 155.3 अदौ... अपूरुषम् । तदा रभस्व दुर्दृष्टो तेन यच्छ पर-
स्तरम् ॥'. सायण takes this vedic verse as referring to पुरुषोत्तम in the words
यद्वाह दारमयं पुरुषोत्तमाख्यं देवताशरीरं... हे दुर्दृष्टो दुःखेन हननीय केनापि हन्तुमशक्य
हे स्तोतः आरभस्व अवलम्बस्व उपास्वैत्यर्थः'. सायण mentions a predecessor's inter-
pretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (*alākṣmī*) and
asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapegoat) and to go to a far-
off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is
natural and suits the context very well. I could not trace the verse in the
Atharvaveda.

pretation, Raghunandana connects this Rgveda verse with Puruṣottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannātha contained in the Brahmapurāṇa. In Bharatavarṣa there is a country called Oṇḍra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-maṇḍala¹⁵⁷³ (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of *mukti*, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten yojanas in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Puruṣottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Puruṣottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avantī (Ujjayinī) in Mālava (modern Mālva). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, śāstras, epics, purāṇas and Dharmasāstras came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayinī with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the kṣetra of Vāsudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Puruṣottama or¹⁵⁷⁴ Jagannātha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed Aśvamedha there, erected a great temple (prāsāda) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vāsudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vāsudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vata tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brāhmaṇas (who were really Viṣṇu and Viśvakarmā) appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate (Viśvakarmā) will manufacture the image. Three images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and given to the king and Viṣṇu further conferred the boon that the pool called

1573. Virajākṣetra extends a little beyond Jāipur on the river Vaitaraṇī in Orissa. On 'Kaliṅga, Oṇḍra and Utkala' vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. pp. 42-58.

1574. उत्तमः पुरुषो वरमात्समात्स पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ब्रह्म. 45.52; अस्मिन्नापत्तये पुण्ये विष्णुपते पुरुषोत्तमे । इन्द्रमीलमयी भेदा प्रतिमा सार्वकामिकी ॥ 45.71; इन्द्रमीलमयो विष्णुर्धरात्से पाटिकावृतः । अन्तर्धानमत्तं यत्वा ततो विष्णुपुरं ब्रजेत् ॥ ब्रह्म 58.3.

Indradyumna (where the king bathed at the end of his *Āśva-medha*) will be known by the king's name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to Indraloka, and that whoever offered *piṇḍas* on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.¹⁵⁷⁵ The *Skandapurāṇa* contains a *Puruṣottamamāhātmya* in a sub-section called *Utkala-khaṇḍa* in its section *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa*, where the story of Indradyumna is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place *Puruṣottama* was called *Nīlācala* in very ancient times, that *Kṛṣṇa* worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*¹⁵⁷⁶ an *Indradyumna* is named among a host of *cakravartins*. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II, 35, 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to *Puruṣottama* (*tīrtham Nārāyaṇasyānyat-nāmnā tu Puruṣottamam*). *Rajendralal Mitra* ('Antiquities of Orissa') surmises that there were three periods in the history of the *Puruṣottama-kṣetra*, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the *Vaiṣṇava* period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that *Puri* was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

1575. Vide Hunter's *Orissa* vol. I. pp. 89-94 for a somewhat different account based on *Kapīlasamhitā*, the most important points of which are that *Viṣṇu* shows to Indradyumna as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma*, while the image of *Subhadrā* had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by *Rajendralal Mitra* in 'Antiquities of Orissa' II, pp. 122-123. The story of इन्द्रद्युम्न occurs in नारदीयपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 52, 41-93, 53-57, 58, 1-21, 60-61. नारदीय agrees very closely with the *Brahmapurāṇa* and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

1576. परेऽप्ये महावधुर्धराश्वकवतिनः केचित् सुपुमभरिषुमेन्द्रपुमकुबलाश्व-
यौवनाश्वप्रचक्षाश्वपतिशशिषिहृदिश्वाम्भरीवन्नकुसरीयथितयथनरपयोक्षसेनादयः। नै-
त्रायण्युप. I. 4.

of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Aśoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I pp. 84-100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khandagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, the procession of the car of Jagannātha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I, p. 131-132) and the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II, pp. 122-126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' pp. 510-511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewell thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Trisūlas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannātha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvatī and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannātha. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāṇa gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Puruṣottama-ksetra forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.^{1576a} The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (bhoga-mandira), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the *naṭa* mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a *calra* ¹⁵⁷⁷ and a flag. The

1576 a. जैवभाववसानां च बाह्यार्चयतिवेद्यकम् । अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे पुण्ये निर्मले पुरुषोत्तमे ॥
 शिवस्यायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत् । प्रतिष्ठेय तथा तत्र तव स्थाने च शङ्करम् ॥ ततो ज्ञात्वापि
 लोकेऽस्मिन्क्षेत्रमूर्त्तिं हरीश्वरो । यत्पुत्राश्च जगन्नाथः स पुनस्तं महात्मनिम् ॥ ... नावयोरस्मिन्
 किञ्चिद्वैकल्याणं द्विधा कृतं ॥ यो वदः स स्वयं विष्णुर्गो विष्णुः स महेश्वरः । ब्रह्मपुराण 56.
 64-66 and 69-70.

1577. The *calra* surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa itself 'यत्रां करोति कुण्डस्य अद्भुता यः समाहितः । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोकं
 ब्रजेतः ॥ चक्रं दद्याद्देवैरात्मा यत्सार्धेपरि संरिपतम् । सहस्रं कुण्डले पापाकारो यस्याः प्रणम्य
 तत् ॥ chap. 51. 70-71 = नारदीय (उ.) 55 10-11.

temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nīlagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called *śimha-dvāra* (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste¹⁵⁷⁸ is observed. Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Puri priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the *Mahāprasāda* is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical śrāddhas among Vaiṣṇavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II p. 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (*rathayātrā*) which is the most important of the 24 high^{1578a} festivals at Puri. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his 'Orissa', vol. I, pp. 131-134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āśāḍha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuḍa as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadrā, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha's car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a *padma* (lotus) as a crest; the 3rd car is that of Balarāma resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

1578. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I, pp. 135-136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes. Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a. विद्यानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called *हादशयात्राययोग्यमाण* on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with जयन्त्याय (vide No. 2429 in MM. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of mss. vol. III.)

the country-house of Jagannātha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannātha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp. 133-34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. p. 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannātha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalāṭendu Kesari (623-677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara; the next oldest is Mārkaṇḍeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha (vol. II. p. 112). Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannātha temple in Puri' (J. A. S. B., vol. 67 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328-331) quotes two verses from the Gaṅgavaṁśa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gaṅgeśvara alias Coḍagaṅga built the great temple of Puruṣottama¹⁵⁷⁹. As Coḍagaṅga's coronation took place in śaka 999 (i. e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the *prāsāda* of Jagannātha was built about 1085-1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Puruṣottama at Puri' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209-215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle *Mādalā-pāñjī* attributes the construction of Puruṣottama Jagannātha not to Coḍagaṅga but to his great-grandson Anaṅga-bhīma III, who also installed an image of Puruṣottama in a temple at Vārāṇasī-Kāṭaka (modern Cuttack)

1579. प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य स्वयतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षमस्तस्येत्याद्यद्यप्येकपक्षितमयं श्लोकेऽयं पञ्जेऽन्यतः ॥ These verses establish that the shrine of Puruṣottama existed long before the date of the inscription and that the kings who preceded Coḍagaṅga did not care to build a befitting temple. It appears that Coḍagaṅga built only the minor sanctum and the Jaganmohana i. e. the first maṇḍapa (vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. p. 251).

which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. III. pp. 312-315). These Gaṅga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvaneśvara (ancient Ekāmra), Konārka and Puri, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, pp. 109-110) and Hunter ('Orissa' vol. I pp. 100-102) note that Anāṅga-bhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in *śaka* 1119 (i. e. 1198 A. D.).¹⁵⁸⁰

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants. They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the 'sweeper of Jagannātha' (vide Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I. p. 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tirthas,¹⁵⁸¹ viz. the pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, the Vata tree (identified with Kṛṣṇa), Balarāma, the sea and Indradyumna pool. A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārkaṇḍeya is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa, chapters 52-56 and in Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56. 72-73 Viṣṇu asks Mārkaṇḍeya to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as 'Mārkaṇḍeya's pool'. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57. 3-4), then he should perform *tarpaṇa*, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara) and worship him with the Mūlamantra¹⁵⁸² viz. 'Om namaḥ Śivāya', then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurāṇic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool and visit to the temple of Śiva, repair to the sacred Vata, circum-ambulate it

1580. 'शकाब्दे रघुशुभांशुरूपनक्षत्रनायके । प्रसादं कारयामासानङ्गभीमेन धीमता ॥. Vide Mitra's work vol. II. p. 110 and 'History of Orissa' by R. D. Banerji vol I. p. 248 for the date of Coḷagaṅga's accession taken from his own inscription of *śaka* 1003 (1081 A. D.).

1581. मार्कण्डेयं वटं कुण्डं रोहिणेयं महादधिम् । इन्द्रद्युम्नसरश्चैव पञ्चतर्थाविधिः स्मृतः ॥ ब्रह्म 60. 11.

1582. मूलमन्त्रेण संपूज्य मार्कण्डेयस्य चेश्वरम् । अपोरेण च भो बिम्बाः प्रणिपत्य प्रसादयेत् ॥ त्रिलोचन नमस्तेस्तु नमस्ते शशिभूषण । त्राहि मां त्वं विरूपाक्ष महादेव नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 7-8 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 18-19. The *गी. चि.* p. 88 states that the अपोरमन्त्र is 'ओं अपोरेण्यो पोरेशो वीरतरेभ्यः, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः'.

thrice, worship it with the mantra¹⁵⁸³ noted below. It may be noted that the Brahmapurāṇa 157.17 expressly states that the Vata is Viṣṇu Himself in that form (nygrodhākṛtikam Viṣṇuṃ prapīṭya). The Vata is also styled Kalpavṛkṣa (Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuḍa standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and then worship Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarsaṇa and Subhadra with mantras. The mantras for Saṅkarsaṇa are verses 22-23 of Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 and that for Subhadra is chap. 57. 58.¹⁵⁸⁴ The mantra to be used in the worship of Kṛṣṇa is either of 12 syllables (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) or of eight syllables (om namo Nārāyaṇāya). Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 verses 42-51 specify the various rewards of seeing Kṛṣṇa with devotion and wind up by promising mokṣa.¹⁵⁸⁵ A bath in the sea at Puri is always commendable, but particularly on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62 deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except one verse being quoted by Tir. C. pp. 126-128). The Indradyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694-95). The pilgrim has to bathe in the Indradyumna pool, perform *tarpaṇa* for gods, sages and *pitṛs* and offer *pīṇḍas* to his ancestors (chap. 63. 2-5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara (E. I. vol. II, p. 330) of *śaka* 1059 i. e. (1137-38 A. D.) there is a clear reference to Puruṣottama.¹⁵⁸⁶

The Brahmapurāṇa chap. 66 speaks of the Guṇḍicāyātrā for seven days on the bank of the Indradyumna pool in a *maṇḍapa* where reside (temporarily) Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarsaṇa and Subhadra. The Tir. C. which quotes the whole of that chapter (pp. 157-159), calls it Guṇḍikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

1583. ओं नमोऽयत्कुरुपाय महामलयकारिणे । महद्भक्तोपविष्टाय न्यग्रोधाय नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ अमरस्तुं सदा कल्पे हरेस्वायतनं वट । न्यग्रोधे हर मे पापं कल्पवृक्ष नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 13-14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24-25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमस्ते सर्वे देवि नमस्ते क्षुभसौख्यदे । त्राहि मां पद्मपद्माक्षि कारयायानि नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 58 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 64.

1585. किं कार्यं बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्मनोविभ्रमकारकैः । ओं नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधकः ॥ ब्रह्म. 60. 24 = नारदीय (उ.) 56. 35 ; किं याव बहुभोक्तेन माहात्म्ये तस्य भो हिजाः । दण्डा दण्डं नरो भक्त्या भोक्तुं याप्नोति दुर्लभम् ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 51 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 57.

1586. कत्वा श्रीकुरुक्षेत्रं (भग)वयो द्दधः श्रुतिहायर्षं पाराशरतटे पटीयसि लसन्नम्बु-ग्रहान्नेहसि । सर्वस्य वित्तसारं तपितपितुस्तोमः करोह्यसितैस्तोयैः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाय क्षयम् ॥ verse 12 of E. I. II. at p. 334.

candrodaya ¹⁵⁸⁷ it is styled Gundicā at the very beginning. It appears that Gundicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from *gundi*, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II, pp. 138-139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Purusottama is referred to in Brahmapurāṇa: ¹⁵⁸⁸ 'those who give up their body (life) in Purusottama-kṣetra after mounting up the Vāṭa tree or do so between the Vāṭa and the ocean reach without doubt mokṣa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Purusottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures mokṣa. Therefore men desiring mokṣa should by all means give up life at that holy place'.

The Brahmapurāṇa winds up by saying 'it is thrice ¹⁵⁸⁹ true that that kṣetra (Purusottama) is the greatest and highest

1587. सूत्रधारः। भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य गुण्डिकायात्रायां ... गजपतिना प्रताप-
रद्रेणादिष्टोस्मि। ... सोऽयं नीलगिरिःश्वरः सविभक्तो यात्रा च सा गुण्डिका। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय I.
(B. I. series). The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of the Yātrā should be गुण्डि and का and वा may have been easily confused by the copyists of mss. The नारदीय (उ.) chap. 61.40 ff quotes the whole of ब्रह्म chap. 66 but reads गुण्डिका. The ब्रह्मपुराण reads 'ससाहं सरसस्तीरे तव राजन् भविष्यति। शुद्धिवा (गुण्डिका?) नाम यात्रा मे सर्वकामफलप्रदा॥ ये मां तत्राचरिष्यन्ति श्रद्धया मण्डपे स्थितम्। सङ्कर्षणं सुभद्रां च विधिबन्धुसमाहिताः॥ ... न तेषां दुर्लभं किञ्चित् फलं यस्य यदीप्सितम् 166. 8-9 and 12. Some writers such as Nilāmbardāsa in his 'Deul-tola' state that Gundicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen (Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p. 161). I owe this last reference to the kindness of Dr. Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. देहं त्यजन्ति पुरुषास्तत्र ये पुरुषोत्तमे। कल्पवृक्षं समासाद्य शुक्रास्ते नात्र संशयः॥ वटसागरयोर्मध्ये ये त्यजन्ति कलेवरम्। ते दुर्लभं परं मोक्षं प्राप्नुवन्ति न संशयः॥ पथि इमंज्ञानं गृहमण्डपे वा रथपाददेशेऽपि यत्र कुत्र। इच्छन्निष्कङ्कपि तत्र देहं संत्यज्य मोक्षं लभते मनुष्यः॥ तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यो सम्पद्योक्षा-
भिकाङ्क्षिभिः॥ ब्रह्म 177. 16, 17, 24, 25. The first three are quoted by ली. चि.
p. 175.

1589. सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं क्षेत्रं तत्परमं महत्। पुरुषार्थं सङ्कुट्टं दृष्ट्वा सागरारम्भः-
समाप्तम्। ब्रह्मविद्यां सङ्कुञ्जात्वा गर्भवासो न विद्यते। ब्रह्म 70. 3-4 (= नारद, उत्तरार्ध 52. 25-26) quoted in ली. चि. p. 56 which reads सागरारम्भःसङ्कुञ्च्यम् and remarks 'एतत्क्षेत्रदर्शनस्य, सागरारम्भासि मरणस्य, तथा ब्रह्मविद्यापोषस्य च प्रत्येकं गर्भवासाभावः फलमित्यर्थः.'

tirtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Puruṣottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of *brahma*.

The great Vaiṣṇava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Puri in 1515 A. D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudradeva, ruler of Orissa (1497-1540 A. D.). In the drama Caitanyacandrodaya of Kavikarṇapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.¹⁵⁹⁰ This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Viṣṇu as a deity in Puri and Orissa (vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 109). Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sārvabhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is 'dārubrahma' (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is 'narabrahma' (Godhead in human form).¹⁵⁹¹ The Caitanyacaritāmṛta (a poem) of Kavikarṇapūra in cantos 14-18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Puri and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith ('Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I. p. 322, Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 65) in describing the special *snāna* (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

1590. अतःपरं चैतनं न वीक्षते मां न धारयित्वे-वत् जीवनं च । चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 5th Act p. 187.

1591. 'भगवन्, जगन्नाथस्य भवतश्च कृष्णचैतन्यत्वमविवक्षितमेव तथाप्यस्ति कश्चिद्भेदः । असौ दासश्च भवान् नरश्च ।' सार्वभौम in चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 167.

Jyeṣṭha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as *chowrie*-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa.¹⁵⁹²

NARMADĀ

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII. 9. 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Pāṭava Cakra and sthapati (a chief) and whom the Sṛñjayas expelled (SBE. vol. 44 p. 269)¹⁵⁹³. Revā is another name for Narmadā¹⁵⁹⁴ and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā. A *vārtika* on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Mahīsmat (as the name of a country) from 'Mahiṣa'. This is generally identified with Māhīsmatī (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C.). The Raghuvamśa VI. 43 speaks of Māhīsmatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i. e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186-194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40-42 verses 189), Padma Ādikhaṇḍa (chap. 13-23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tīrthas thereon^{1594a}. The Matsya (194. 45) and Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kāṇṭaka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agnipurāṇa (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand. The Nāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 77)

1592. धुनीनां वेदज्ञव्यदेन मन्त्रज्ञव्यदेस्तथापरैः । नानास्तोत्ररवैः पुण्यैः सामज्ञान्दीपवृद्धितैः ।
इयामैवेत्याजनेश्वरैः कुचभारापनानिभिः । पीतरक्ताम्बराभिश्च माल्यदामापनानिभिः ॥ ... आनरे
एतदण्येभ्यः शीज्येते रामकेशवौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 65. 15, 17, 18.

1593. रेवोत्तरसह्य ह पाटवं चाकं स्थपतिं सुखया अपरुद्धयुः । ज्ञतपथजा. XII. 9. 3. 1.

1594. रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका । अमरकोश.

1594 a. It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz. Kalpataru on tīrthas (pp. 198-205) quotes verses only from the Matsyapurāṇa, chapter 186-189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.

says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tīrthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kaṇṭaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27-28).¹⁵⁹⁵ The Vanaparva (in chap. 188, 103 and chap. 222, 24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godāvari and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89, 1-3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country¹⁵⁹⁶, that it is endowed with *priyaṅgu* creepers and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānra fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Matsya and Padma declare¹⁵⁹⁷ that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra (85, 8) in enumerating a list of tīrthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said¹⁵⁹⁸ to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amarakaṇṭaka that is said to be the abode of God Mahēśvara and his spouse (Matsya 188, 91). The Vāyupurāṇa declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pitrs and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible¹⁵⁹⁹. The Matsya and Kūrma both say

1595. Though रेवा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण in V. 19, 18 enumerates them separately (तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा) and the वामनपुराण (13, 25 and 29-30) states that the Revā springs from विन्ध्य and नर्मदा from ऋक्षपाद. सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानि गदितानीह वायुना। द्विषि भुङ्गन्तरिक्षे च रेवायां तानि सन्ति च। नारदीय (उ.) 77, 27-28; vide note 1268 above for similar eulogy of the Ganges.

1596. Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarat and Kathiawar together. In the Udyogaparva Dvārakā is called Ānarta-nagari (7, 6). As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarat and Kathiawar.

1597. पुण्या कनकले गङ्गा कुक्षेत्रे सरस्वती। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ त्रिभिः सारस्वतं शीघ्रं ससाहेन तु यादुनम्। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ मत्स्य. 186. 10-11 = पद्म, आदिषण्ढ 13, 6-7 = कूर्म II. 40, 7-8. Vide note 1271 above and compare नारदीय (उत्तरार्ध 77, 30-31) for the 2nd verse.

1598. नर्मदा सरितां श्रेष्ठा रुद्रदेहाद्भिनिःसृता। तत्रयेत्सर्वभूतानि श्वावराणि चराणि च ॥ मत्स्य 190, 17 = कूर्म II. 40, 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17, 13).

1599. विदुषां दुहितुः पुण्या नर्मदा सरितां वरा। तत्र ज्ञातृणां दत्तानि अक्षयानि भवन्त्युत ॥ वायु 77, 32.

that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas¹⁶⁰⁰. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tirtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i. e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kūrma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakantaka which is to the western side of the country of Kalinga.¹⁶⁰¹

The Viṣṇupurāṇa provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra 'Salutation to Narmadā in the morning! salutation to Narmadā at night! O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents'¹⁶⁰² he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kūrma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tirthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakantaka) does not return (to this saṁsāra).¹⁶⁰³

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptional references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i. e. 484-85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III, at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśalyā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35-39), Eraṇḍī (Matsya 191. 42-43, Padma I. 18. 44), Ikṣu-nādi (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāveri (Matsya 189. 12-13,¹⁶⁰⁴ Padma I. 16. 6).

1600. योजनानां शतं सार्धं श्रूयते सरिदुत्तमा । विस्तारेण तु राजेन्द्र योजनद्वयमायता ॥
कूर्म II. 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24-25. The अग्नि also (113. 2) gives the same measurements.

1601. कलिङ्गदेशपश्चार्धे पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके । पुण्या च त्रिषु लोकेषु रमणीया मनोरमा ॥
कूर्म. II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186. 12.

1602. नर्मदायै नमः शतनर्मदायै नमो निशि । नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं आहि मां
विचक्ष्यतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण IV. 3. 12-13.

1603. अनाशकं तु यः कुर्वात्सिमस्तीर्थे नराधिप । नर्मवासे तु राजेन्द्र न पुनर्जायते
पुमान् । मत्स्य. 194. 29-30; परित्यजति यः प्राणांश्च पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके । वर्षकोटिशतं सार्धं
चक्रलोकं गृहीयते ॥ मत्स्य. 186. 53-54.

1604. The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Omkāra is situated is called Kāveri (Bom. G. vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Omkāra.

Many sub-tirthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Mahēśvara-tirtha (i. e. Omkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bāpāsura (Matsya 188. 2 ff, Padma I. 15. 2 ff), Śukla-tirtha (highly praised in Matsya 192. 3 ff about which it is said that the *rājarsi* Cānakya ¹⁶⁰⁵ attained perfection there), Bhrgutirtha (at the very ¹⁶⁰⁶ sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to *samsāra*), the Jāmadagnya-tirtha (where the Narmadā ¹⁶⁰⁷ falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakantaka is a tirtha that dispels all sins including brāhmaṇa-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189. 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhismatī, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhismatī is to be identified with Omkāra Mādhātā, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Aśoka (about 247 B. C.), one of which was sent to Mahiṣamanḍala. Dr. Fleet in his paper 'Mahiṣamanḍala and Māhismatī' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425-447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahiṣamanḍala and Māhismatī. Māhismatī was well-known to the Mahābhāṣya, ¹⁶⁰⁸ from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayinī could reach Māhismatī the next morning. Kālidāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvamśa VI. 43). Māhismatī is mentioned as being on

1605. शुक्रतीर्थं महापुण्यं नर्मदायां व्यवस्थितम् । चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षिः सिद्धिं तत्र समागतः ॥ मत्स्य. 192. 14 = पद्म. I. 19. 13-14 (reads चाणिक्यो). शुक्रतीर्थं is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजर्षिः probably means here राज्ञः ऋषिः and not राजा चासी ऋषिश्च.

1606. उपासते भुगोस्तीर्थं तुष्टो यत्र महेश्वरः ।... दर्शनात्सर्वस्य तीर्थस्य सद्यः पापक्षय-मुच्यते ।... तत्र रमात्वा विद्यं यान्ति ये सुतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ मत्स्य. 193. 49-50, 52.

1607. ततो गच्छेद्य राजेन्द्र नर्मदोदधिं सङ्गमम् ॥ जामदग्न्यमिति ख्यातं सिद्धो यत्र जनार्दनः ॥ मत्स्य. 194. 34-35.

1608. चित्रिकरणे माप्यर्थे कुदुस्ताण्डिजं वक्तव्यः ।... उज्जायिन्याः परिधतो माहिसमस्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सम्भावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति । महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 10 (चित्रिकरणे मापि) on पा. III. 1. 26. चित्रिकरणे means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayinī on foot he would reach Māhismatī the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles.

the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23-24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 21, Padma II. 92: 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

GODĀVARĪ

No mention of Godāvari has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bāvari, who was a purohita of Mahākosala and then of Pasenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvari and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvastī (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The *Vārtika* 'Sāṅkhyāyā nadi-godāvari-bhyām ca' on Pān. V. 4.75, expressly mentions Godāvari and has in view 'Saptagodāvara'. The two Epics and Purāṇas contain numerous references to it. The Vanaparva¹⁶⁰⁹ mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The Aranyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pañcavati' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvari and about two yojanas from Agastya's hermitage. It is in the Brahmapurāṇa that the Godāvari and the subsidiary tirthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70-175. The Tirthasāra (a part of Nṛsiṃha-prasāda) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116-118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the Brahmapurāṇa, which fact shows that the chapters on Gautamī in the present Brahmapurāṇa were part of the Brahmapurāṇa at least some centuries before 1500 A. D. Vide my paper in J.B.B.R.A.S. for 1917 p. 27-28. The Brahmapurāṇa generally refers to the Godāvari as Gautamī.¹⁶¹⁰ It is stated by the Brahmapurāṇa that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called Gautamī and to its north Bhāgirathī. The Godāvari is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

1609. कस्यामाख्यायते पुण्या द्विती गोदावरी नदी । बह्वारामा बहुजला तापसाचरिता शिवा ॥ वनपर्व 88.2; इतो द्वियोजने तात बहुमुलफलोदकः । देशो बहुसुगः भीमान् पञ्चवत्यभिषिञ्चतः ।... गोदावरीः समीपे च मैथिली तत्र ररपते ॥ रामायण III. 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे गङ्गा गौतमी सा निगद्यते । उत्तरे सापि विन्ध्यस्य आगीरश्यभिधीयते । ब्रह्म. 78. 77 q. in तीर्थेसार p. 45.

tirthas on it.¹⁶¹¹ Dapḍakāranya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and *mukti* and the country embraced by the Gautami is specially the holiest.¹⁶¹² A verse occurring in several purāṇas states 'These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvari and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana'.¹⁶¹³ Brahmapurāṇa (chapters 74-76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Gaṇeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Nārada-purāṇa (uttarārdha 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised *tapas*, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama's hermitage, that he brought Gaṅgā to his hermitage, that he sowed śali grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37-44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnavi to Dapḍaka and the river became Godāvari. The Kūrma (II. 20, 29-35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvari is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautami or Śiva who is full of compassion.¹⁶¹⁴ The Brahmapurāṇa describes about a hundred tirthas on the Godāvari, such as Tryambaka (79.6), Kuśāvarta (80, 1-3), Janasthāna (88.1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsaṅgama

1611. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च योजनानां शतद्वये । तीर्थानि सुनिर्धार्य सन्भावयन्ति गौतमः ॥ ब्रह्म० 77. 8-9.

1612. धर्मबीजं मुक्तिबीजं दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते । विशेषाद्गौतमीक्षिप्रो देशः पुण्य-
तमोऽभवत् ॥ ब्रह्म० 161.73.

1613. सहायस्थानस्य चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामाय कृत्वायां स प्रदेक्षो
मनोरमः ॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमावनः । मत्स्य. 114. 37-38 = वायु 45. 112-113
(reads सहाय्य चोत्तरार्धे तु and नाम सुरराजेन निर्मितः) = मार्कण्डेय 54. 34-35 = ब्रह्माण्ड
II. 16. 43 (सहाय्य चोत्तरार्धे तु and तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्). ब्रह्म 27. 43-44
read सहाय्य चोत्तरे यस्तु and गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य महात्मनः ।

1614. सर्वदुःखापनोदाय ह्यमेव प्रकीर्तितम् । गौतमी वा पुण्यनदी सिनो वा कवणा-
करः ॥ ब्रह्म. 124. 93.

(106) and Nivāsapura¹⁶¹⁵ (106. 55), Vañjarāsaṅgama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavatī and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut *stūpa* (about 200 B. C.) records the gift of Gorakṣitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka.¹⁶¹⁶ This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāṣya¹⁶¹⁷ speaks of Nāsikya as a city. The Vāyupurāṇa (45.130) mentions Nāsikya as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Paṇḍulēnā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544-639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59-96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasika (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503-512) and 16 in Pañcavatī and one on the left bank of the Godāvarī (pp. 512 ff.). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb. Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750-1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the Rāmji temple in Pañcavatī and Nāro Shankar's temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvarī near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyaṇa in Āditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sītā-gumphā (Sītā cave) in Pañcavatī close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

1615. शिवशक्त्योर्वैतत्समिन्निवासोऽध्वत्सनातनः । अतो वदन्ति नुमयो निवासपुर-मित्यद् । प्रवरायाः पुरा देवाः स्मृतीनांस्तस्मै वराश्च ददुः ॥ ब्रह्म. 106. 53-54. निवासपुर is Newasa on the Pravara which falls into the Godāvarī at the sacred place called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jñāneśvara wrote his commentary on the Gītā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut *stūpa* (by Cunningham) p. 138 'नासिक-गोरक्षितय धर्मो दानं बहुकस्त भारियाय' (No. 87).

1617. नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्काशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते । महाभाष्य vol III. p. 42 on पा. VI. 1. 63. सङ्काश occurs as one among many *gaṇas* in पा. IV. 2. 80. नासिक्य is derived from नासिका (nose) and was probably so named because the nose of Sūrpanakhā was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa there,

place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sitā-gumpha is the temple of Kālā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (*kunḍas*) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522-526. The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakuṇḍa near the left bank of the Godāvari where it takes its first bend to the south. For the Kālārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 517-518 and 529-531 respectively. Rāmanavami is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Uśavadāta (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569-70).¹⁶¹⁸ As regards Pañcavaṭī the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmāyaṇa III. 13. 13 Pañcavaṭī is styled a *deśa* (country). Janasthāna was in Daṇḍakāraṇya according to the Śalyaparva 39. 9-10, Rām. III. 21. 19-20, Nāradya-purāṇa II. 75. 30 and Agni 7. 2-3¹⁶¹⁹ and Pañcavaṭī was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured *mukti* there through the favour of the Godāvari.¹⁶²⁰

A bath in the Godāvari when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No. 20 is नासिककनं धम्भिकगामस दानं (gift of Dhambhika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI. p. 590, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 is साववाहनकुले कश्चे राजानि नासिककेन समणेन महामतेण लेण कारितं 'this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a śramaṇa, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of king Kṛṇa of the Sātavāhana family.' Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pāṇḍulēṇā caves dating from at least 100 B. C. राज्ञः अहिरातस्य अन्नपस्य नहपातस्य जानात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन... भद्रकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोपरगे च चतुःशालावसथपातिश्रय-प्रदेन...पीण्डीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोपरगे च चरकपर्यव्यः...द्वित्रिंशच्चालिगेरमूल-सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्यतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम्. Ins. No. 10 in Bom. G. vol. 16 pp. 569-70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. गोवर्धन is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 636 for a note on गोवर्धन.

1619. (रामः) धनुः खड्गं च संग्राह्य दण्डकारण्यमागतः ॥ जनस्थाने पञ्चवट्यां स्थितो गोदावरीतटे ॥ अग्नि 7. 2-3.

1620 तथा जनकराजानो बहवस्तत्र कर्मणा ॥ मुक्तिं प्राप्नुर्महाभागो नौतस्याश्च प्रसादतः ॥ ततः प्रभृति तत्तीर्थं जनस्थानेति विश्रुतम् ॥ जनकानां यज्ञसदो जनस्थानं प्रकीर्तितम् चतुर्गोजनविस्तीर्णं स्मरणात् सर्वपापघ्नम् ॥ ब्रह्म. 88. 22-24.

meritorious.¹⁶²¹ The Brahmapurāṇa says that three crores and a half of tirthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Gaṅgā when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgirathī (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godāvari when Jupiter is in the Zodiacal sign Leo.¹⁶²² It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa that when a man repairs to the sacred Godāvari in *simhastha* year, takes a bath and offers *tarpaṇa* (and śrāddha) to his pits the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the *simhastha* year.

KĀŌCĪ (modern Conjeeveram).

Kāñci is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India. If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Tshang who stayed in Kāñci about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around Kāñcipura and that Kāñci had a *stūpa* about 100 feet high built by Aśokarāja (Beal's B. R. W. vol. II. p. 230). Hiouen Tshang informs us that Kāñci was 30 *li* (or about 5½ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirgranthas (Beal's B. R. W. vol. II. pp. 228-229). The next important datum is the mention of Kāñci-puraka (resident of Kāñcipura) in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 26 to Pāp. IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñci (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayidavolu plates of Yuvamahārāja Śiva-skandavarman (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. I. p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarmān (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

1621. अत्र सिंहस्थे शुद्धे गोदावरीस्नानं कृत्वा गते कृष्णास्नानं महापुण्यम् । गोदावर्यो पात्रिकाणां शुद्धनोपवासावश्यको न तु तत्तीरवासिनाम् ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p. 7.

1622. तिस्रः कोट्योर्धकोर्धौ च तीर्थानि भुवमत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गायां सिंहस्थे शुद्धे ॥ षड्विंशसहस्राणि भागीरथ्यवगाहवत् । सकृद्गोदावरीस्नानं सिंहशुके ब्रह्मपते ॥ ब्रह्म० 175. 83-84; vide also ब्रह्म. 152. 38-39; सिंहस्थे च शुद्धे तत्र यो गच्छति समाहितः । स्नात्वा च विधिना तत्र धिनुं स्तर्पयते तथा ॥ स्वर्गं गच्छति पितरो निरये पतिता यदि । स्वर्गस्थाः पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिभाजो न संशयः ॥ वराह 71. 45-46.

Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Visnugopa, king of Kāñci (Kāñcēyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the 'Manimekhalai' there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāñci where Manimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Manimekhalai in its historical setting' p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāñci and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñci' by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purāṇas about Kāñci. The Brahmaṇḍa asserts:¹⁶²³ 'The two cities of Kāñci and Kāñci are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāñci is a famous Vaiṣṇava kṣetra but it also brings about the presence of Śiva'. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III 124) that Kāñci is a Śākta-kṣetra and in the Devībhāgavata (VII 38. 8) it is said to be a Devīsthāna called Annapūrṇā. The Vāmana-purāṇa¹⁶²⁴ observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāñci the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthali is the best among cities and Madhyadeśa among all countries.

Kāñci is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaiṣṇava Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rajasimha. This latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns.¹⁶²⁵ There is an old Jaina temple also.

PANDHARPUR

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it

1623. नेत्रद्वयं मोक्षदत्तं काशी-काञ्चीपुरद्वयम् । विष्णुपतिं वैष्णवक्षेत्रं शिवसामिन्निव-
कारकम् ॥ अष्टाङ्ग IV, 19. 15.

1624. पुष्पेषु जाती नन्देषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाकमिणीं सुरसुतः । कुसुमयती श्रेष्ठतमा
इत्येव वैष्णवे सर्वेषु च मध्यदेशः ॥ काम. 12. 30. Vide 'South Indian Inscriptions'
vol. I, pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century
A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci.

1625. W. S. Caine in his 'Picturesque India' p. 491 remarks that the
pillars are only 540 when counted.

every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415-482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Viṭhobā was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.¹⁶²⁶ The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa 176. 56-58) mentions the image of Viṭhala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhimarathi which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāṇa. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A. D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhima river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Viṭhobā in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417-424) the main temple of Viṭhobā and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Viṭhobā is the temple of Rakhumai, the consort of Viṭhobā. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Viṭhobā, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god's jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay).¹⁶²⁷ Except the Badves all

1626. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism' pp. 87-89.

1627. In *Gangaram Babaji Badve v. Baji Shankar and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badves are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the *Sevādhāris* perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In *Sakharam Bhimaji Benara and others versus Gangaram Babaji Badve and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649-651) which provided for the creation of a Viṭhobā Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Viṭhobā fund, if not so required.

other attendants are called *sevādhūris* and they are of various grades, viz. the *pujāris* (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), *Benaris* ¹⁶²⁸ (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), *paricārakas* (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the *pujāri* washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), *haridās* (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the *dingres* (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the *divtes* (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āṣāḍha and Kārtika and on the *Dasrā* night), the *dange* (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess Rakhumāi has only one set of priests known as *Utpāts*, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427-430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of Viṭhobā which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of Viṭhobā in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of Viṭthal or Viṭhobā in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms *alāmba* and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a *cakra* (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In *Gangaram Babaji and others v. Narayan Annaji*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the *Benaris* (the hymnists).

Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur, in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): "The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaiṣṇava temple in India has an image of Viṣṇu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands". Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Viṭhobā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Viṭhobā's temple in the bed of the Bhīmā river is the temple of Puṇḍlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Puṇḍlik, a great devotee of Viṭthal, spent his last days and died. Puṇḍlik was probably a brāhmaṇa from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Viṭhobā came to visit him. Viṭhobā and Puṇḍlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry 'Puṇḍalika varade Hari Viṭthal'¹⁶²⁹. The Bom. G. vol. 20 (pp. 432-434) describes the temple of Puṇḍlik and narrates the traditional story about him.

1629. The writer in Bom. G. vol. 20 translates the words पुण्डलीकरदे हरि विठल as 'O! Puṇḍalika, grant us a boon, Hari Viṭthal!'. This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form 'पुण्डलीकरदा हरि विठल' (which is the correct one). In my opinion हरि विठल is only a vocative and the correct form is पुण्डलीकरदा (for वरदा) and the whole cry means 'O Hari Viṭthal! that didst grant a boon to Puṇḍalika'. Mr. A. K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an *abhangā* from श्री ज्ञानेश्वरमहाराजांची गाय (ed. by Śrī Vināyakbuwā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows 'रखुमा-देसीवर तो। पुण्डलीकरद सी ते बाई॥' (p. 48) and another of Kāṇhopātrā (from 'Śrī-santa-gāthā' edited by Śrī Nānāmahārāja Sākhare, śaka 1831) 'अग पुण्डलीकरदा। अग विष्णु तु गोविंदा॥' (p. 142).

Pages 434-468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Viṣṇupada, Trimbakeśvara, Candrabhāgā, Janābai's cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhīmā is styled Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Viṭhobā's temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Viṭhobā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word 'Viṭṭhal'. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established.¹⁶³⁰ But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I. A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copper-plate found at Bendigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in *śaka* 1171 (1249 A. D.), in which Pandharpur is called Paṇḍarikakṣetra on the Bhimarathi (at p. 74) and Viṭhobā is called Viṣṇu and which records the grant of a village in Veṇugrāma district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmanas by a minister of Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara in the inscription) in the presence of god Viṣṇu (p. 74) i. e. before the image of Viṣṇu or Viṭṭhala. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism &c.', (p. 88) and in 'History of the Deccan' (2nd ed. p. 115-6) refers to an inscription on stone dated *śaka* 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptoryāma sacrifice in Paṇḍurangapura 'on account of which crowds and Viṭṭhala were greatly pleased'. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Viṭhobā on three sides of a stone beam in a *śopā* beyond the *maṇḍapa* (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in *śaka* 1159 (1237 A. D.) by Hoysala king Someśvara and records the grant of an agrahāra to God Viṭṭhaladeva who resides in a great village called Paṇḍarage situated on the Bhimarathi river and who

1630. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G. vol. 20) the following may be consulted. I. H. Q. vol. 11 pp. 771-778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saletore on 'the Antiquity of Pandharpur'), Mr. G. H. Khare's monograph in Marāṭhi on 'श्रीविठ्ठल आणि पंढरपूर', and Mr. Krishna's Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929 pp. 197-210.

made the heart of sage (*muni*) Puṇḍarīka expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419-420 and pp. 4-6 of Mr. Khare's monograph (on medieval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197-210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāstrakūṭa king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍarāṅga-palli and four other villages situated to the east of Mahādeva hill to a brāhmana named Jayad-viṭṭha. This grant was confirmed about 820 A. D. by Rāstrakūṭa king Śarvarasa (i. e. Amoghavarṣa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Pāṇḍarage and was also called Pāṇḍarāṅgapalli. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Viṭṭhala, but the donee's name Jayad-viṭṭha contains the part Viṭṭha which is most probably an early form of Viṭṭhala.

In a work called 'Viṭṭhalabhūṣaṇa'¹⁶³¹ by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tirtha which are quoted below¹⁶³². Briefly they state: an excellent tirtha ex-

1631. This was printed in *Saka* 1808 (1886-87 A. D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Puṇḍlik's story, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 433.

1632. तीर्थहेमाद्रौ—भग्याश्वैव तत्र देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् । अस्ति क्षेत्रं वैभवं च सर्वोत्कृष्टं सुदुर्लभम् । पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं क्षेत्रपूजितः । पाण्डुरङ्गश्च तत्रास्ते मूर्तिमान् देवोत्तमः । पुष्कराक्षिण्यं पुण्यं केदारात् बहुपुण्यं भवेत् । वाराणस्या दक्षिणमनन्तं श्रीनिररापि । बह्विषयसहस्राणि विष्णुवैभवं दर्शनात् । तत्फलं लभते मर्त्यैः सकृदेव हि तत्फलम् । अष्टाविंशतिमे कल्पे ह्यारामो च पण्डितः । पुण्डरीक इति स्थातस्तपस्तेषु सुदावणम् । भक्त्या पित्रोश्च दुग्धं च कुर्वन्मुनिवरः सदा । तस्यैव कुर्वतः पूजां पित्रोरहरहः प्रिये । परितुष्टोऽभवद्देवो गोपीजन्मनः-प्रियः । गोवर्धनगिरी रम्ये चारयन् गोगणं विश्वः । गोयष्टि धारयन्परमाच्छत्रोऽज्जलितकङ्कणम् । नामारत्नमभोद्भासि-शिवमालिचिराजितः । अतीव सुन्दरः सौम्यो रत्नाङ्कितमहाङ्गदः । दिव्या-साध्यातिसौम्येन सुखादुद्येन वेष्टितः । विहृतेनामुकालेन कटिबद्धेन (कटिबन्धेन?) राजितः । कविमालम्ब्य तिष्ठन्ने विहृद्गत्या च संयुतः । तत्रैव कर्मपुराणे । पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं बाह्येणैरुप-सेवितम् । तत्राभिगम्य युक्तात्मा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत् ॥

I am highly obliged to Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession. In the T. S. p. 7 the verse पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं is quoted from the Kūrmapurāṇa; on p. 9 of T. S. verses भग्याश्वैव...तत्फलम् are quoted from the Skandapurāṇa, as also verses अष्टा-विंशतिमे...संयुतः occur on pp. 12-13 of the Tirthasāra with a few variant readings such as वैभोऽस्ति तत्कङ्कणः (which is a very good variant for छत्रो...कङ्कणम् and शक्तिमालिचिराजितः for शिवश्च and विष्णुवैभवंति सौम्येन for दिव्यासाध्यातिसौम्येन. In a ms. of पौण्डरीकमाहात्म्य kindly lent to me by Pandit Lakṣmaṇāśtri of 'Wal' 'अन्तःसूत्रेण वेष्टितः कटिबन्धेन राजितः' and सुखकाशिकर्मजात्यादूष्ण्या चार-कोभितः are the readings. In a ms. of पाण्डुरङ्गमाहात्म्य in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That ms.

(Continued on the next page)

ists on the southern bank of the river Bhaimi and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Paṇḍarika-kṣetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pāṇḍuraṅga worshipped by the whole kṣetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puṣkara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārāṇasī respectively. Puṇḍarika practised severe austerities at the end of Dvāparayuga in the 28th Kalpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella ¹⁶³³ (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (*mukuta*) and a *śikya* (a loop) scintillating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any *dhoti*, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akimbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tīrtha portion of Hemādri's work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri's work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāṇa and Kūrmapurāṇa. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāṇa, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tīrtha, that the devotee and saint Puṇḍarika (Marāṭhi 'Pundlik') also was so known then and that the image of Viṭhobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaiṣṇava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 71 for

(Continued from the last page)

reads अन्तःक्षेत्रेण for मुखक्षेत्रेण, विद्वद्भीक्षुतेनेनः कविवन्धेन राजितः and हस्तकाशिकव-
ज्जट्यान्ध्रव्यां स्वातिसोमितः. त्रिभुतेनामुकालेन—makes no sense. It has to be noted
that मुखक्षेत्रेण or अन्तःक्षेत्रेण is mentioned separately from कविवन्धेन and there-
fore मुखक्षेत्रेण or अन्तःक्षेत्रेण was something different from कविवन्ध (waist-band).
Probably the original reading was दिव्यासाध्याविद्वन्धेन मुखक्षेत्रेण for दिव्यासा-
ध्यातिसोम्येन, where सोम्य conveys very little sense.

1633. This probably is a reference to the silver shade under which the image of Viṭhobā stood (Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 423).

Caitanya's visit and 'Śrī Vallabhācārya' by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56-59) for Vallabhācārya's visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16-25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marāṭhi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzulkhan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Vithobā on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.¹⁶³⁴ We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the temple of Vithobā by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandhāri temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāṭhi work called 'महाराष्ट्रमहोदयाचा पूर्वचरित्र' by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1905) p. 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in śāke 1667 i. e. 1745 A. D.) of one Chāṅgā Mudheśa (who died in śāke 1427 i. e. 1505 A. D.) written by his descendant Shamji Gosāvi Vāñjarkhede (who was 11th in descent from Chāṅgā Mudheśa). The Marāṭhi verses are:
 वेदरीचा राजा बसली पातशाही। बाळणासी बहु छलियेले॥ हिंदुधर्म जितुके तितुके बजियेले॥
 राजकु विलसिले वंदरीचे॥ केलीसे मझीद मसजिद मोहून। सातमास पूर्ण झाले पासी॥
 मूर्ती सिंहासनाह्वानि आच्छादिली। सुख हो ठेविली बहायासी॥ verses 52-55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap. 7) that Chāṅgadeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built. Similarly, in शिवचरित्रसाहित्य part I p. 68 (published by the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śāke (i. e. 1659-60 A. D.) in Marāṭhi which states that Shivaji killed Afzalakhan who had removed the image of Viṭṭhal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr. G. H. Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence.

scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple *mukūṭa* (crown) with a rim: but the pujāris and common people regard it as a Śivaliṅga and the rim as the rope of the *śikya* that is carried on the back (by cowherds). The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders. The present image has *aṅgadas* (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the Skanda-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri). The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the Skandapurāṇa also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in Sk. also we have 'trivṛtenānukālena kaṭibaddhena or kaṭibandhena rājitaḥ'). The present image ¹⁶³⁵ does not clearly show that a *dhoti* was worn (and therefore one reading of the Skanda says that it is 'digvāsāḥ') but the Skanda adds that the image has arms akimbo. In my opinion the description in the Skandapurāṇa (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A. D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held *not proved*. In the descriptions given by Tukārām and others (p. 22 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up. For example, Tukārām states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1635. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (*digvāsāḥ*) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a *dhoti* and waistband and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a Bodhisattva (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a dhoti and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The Viṣṇu image from Mathurā (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in Journal of U. P. Historical Society, vol. 18 pp. 101-134 shows similar characteristics.

p. 22 'Ballā solā hajāra' &c.). But Tukarām does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (*digambara*), and mentions the existence of a *ṣikya*, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Goasavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcāmṛta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pāṇduranga, Pandhari, Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhalanātha and Viṭhoba.

Viṣṇu assumes in Prakrit the forms Viṇhu, Vinpu, Venhu, Vetha and others. In Canarese Viṣṇu becomes Bitti, Bittiga, Viṭṭa &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bithal' or 'Bithalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Viṭṭhala (p. 35) and Viṭṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Viṣṇu and not the deity at Pandharpur. The learned Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of Viṭṭhala-ṛn-mantrasāra-bhāṣya, derives the word Viṭṭhala as (*Vit + tha + la*)¹⁶³⁶.

As regards the name of the kṣetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Pāṇdarage, of which Pāṇduranga is a sanskritized form. When Puṇḍlik, the devotee of Viṭṭhal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Puṇḍarikapura (as in Kūrma) and Paṇḍarikapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above.

1636. 'विट् वेदने ज्ञानेन देवः दुर्याः सन् सति स्वीकरोति'. Vide विट्कृत-
साधनार्थ, D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated śaka 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted
in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

The pilgrims to Pandharpur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called *Vārkaris* (lit. those who keep the fixed times). The *Vārkaris* are of two sorts viz. those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āśāḍha-sukla and Kārtika-sukla). This cult of vārkaris has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness. A brāhmaṇa vārkarī falls at the feet of a śūdra vārkarī. There are certain observances binding on all vārkaris (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The vārkarī carries a rosary of Tulasī (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on *ekādaśī*, carries an ochre-coloured *paṭākā* (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Viṭhobā is really Buddhist or Jain. There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāṭhi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukārām speak of Viṭhobā as *Bauddhāvatāra* they have Viṣṇu in mind,¹⁶³⁷ whose 9th *avatāra* was Buddha according to the Purāṇas and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of *tirthas*.

1637. One of *एकनाथ*'s अर्थ is 'जबवा बेसे स्थिररूप । तथा नाम बौद्धरूप ॥ सत्य तथा इत्थी । सिद्धवाति निरन्तरी । पुण्डलीकासाठी उभा । धन्य धन्य विठ्ठलसोभा ॥' in *एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अर्थनाची भाषा* (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No. 1048; 'बौद्धरूपवसार नासिया अहदा । जैत्यमुखें निहा चरिवेली ॥' No. 4160 of the *एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अर्थनाची भाषा* p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 720-723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

CHAPTER XVI

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

This is merely a list of tirthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and *not* a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tirthas have been altogether omitted. Bauddha and Jain works on tirthas have only rarely been referred to. Many of the Purāṇas enumerate the mountains and rivers of *dvīpas* and *varṣas* other than those of Jambudvīpa and Bhārata-varṣa such as Harivarṣa, Rāmyaka-varṣa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmalīdvīpa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 26 verses 8-83) contains a string of over 520 tirthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīṣmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases. Similarly, the Garuḍa (I 81. 1-31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI. 129) contains 108 tirtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tirthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tirtha has numerous sub-tirthas as in the Varāha-purāṇa under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāṇa under Gautamī, in Vāyu-purāṇa under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance. Besides, several tirthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purāṇas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list. Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tirthas. Moreover, a number of tirthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e. g. vide under Agnitirtha, Koṭitirtha, Cakratirtha, Varāhatirtha, Somatirtha). I am under great obligations to Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Day's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions

in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakratīrtha on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāṇini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tirthas (e. g. Daśāśvamedhika). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa 43 refers to Devadāruvana as a proper name, but there the context ('lodhrapadmaka-saṇḍeṣu devadāruvaneṣu ca' in verse 15) shows that what is meant is 'forests of Deodar trees'. On p. 73 he says Bharatavarṣa was first called Haimavaravarṣa, but the passage of the Lingapurāṇa (L 49. 7) on which he relies (idam haimavatam varṣam Bhāratam nāma viśrutam) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bhāratavarṣa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (L 47. 23 Himādrer-dakṣiṇam varṣam Bharatāya nyavedayat) expressly states that Bhāratavarṣa is to the south of Himālaya. In Śalya 44. 52 Sarasvatī is called Haimavatī, but that does not mean that Haimavatī was the name of Sarasvatī in far-off ages. It simply means that it 'rises in Himavat range.' Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey's work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purāṇas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tirtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of tirthas presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tirthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nīlamata-purāṇa, the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Bühler (published as a special number for 1877

by the B B R A S), to Stein's notes in his translation of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhana's work). All the names of tirthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the *Mahābhārata* references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of *parvans*, but in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Roman figures I to VII are employed for the *Bāla*, *Ayodhya*, *Aranya*, *Kiṣkindhā*, *Sundara*, *Yuddha* and *Uttara kāṇḍas* respectively. For the *Rāmāyaṇa* I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among *Purāṇas* the *Anandāśrama* editions of the *Agni*, *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Padma* have been relied upon and as to the rest of the *Mahāpurāṇas* the *Venkateśvara* Press editions have been used (except in the case of the *Nrasimhapurāṇa* of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, of which the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of the bare text have been referred to). The *Skandapurāṇa* has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that *purāṇa*, though I have very carefully gone into the *Kāśikhāṇḍa* and some other *khaṇḍas*. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the *Skanda* and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the *Skanda* viz. *Maheśvarakhāṇḍa*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Brāhma*, *Kāśī*, *Avantya*, *Nāgara*, *Prabhāsa* are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into *Pūrvārdha* and *Uttarārdha*.

I have made endeavours to locate the tirthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tirthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhana) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen T'sang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Dey, Pargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tirthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters

A, B, C and so on. I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen's Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson's translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa (ed. by Hall, 1864-1877), Pargiter's notes to his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Dr. B. C. Law's paper on the 'mountains and rivers of India' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities' (1932), and the paper on 'Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad' in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Māhātmyas of tirthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar of Madras has published a useful work 'The Purāṇa Index' (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purāṇas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter 'ma' only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purāṇas in general and of the five Purāṇas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists 'Godhūma', makes the remark 'fit for śrāddha' and cites four references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa alone. One may *prima facie* think that Godhūma is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa 'Godhūma' means 'wheat' and nothing more, which no doubt is fit food for śrāddha. But other fit things such as 'ikṣu' (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7-8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Aśokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Aśoka trees, as the preceding word 'drākṣavana' (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamalāprabhava (not 'prabhava' as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandaśrama ed.) but is only an adjective of the word Śopa that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Parā rises from Rāvān, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Pāriyātra. On the same page he gives the entry 'Pārāvāratata sacred to

Matā'. This makes no sense. *Pārāvaratata* would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that *Devī* is styled or worshipped as *Pārā* on the bank of the *Pārā* river (*Pārā Pārātate matā*). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purāṇas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tirthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purāṇas promise one or more of the following rewards viz, the same merit as the performance of *Aśvamedha* or *Vājapeya* or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* or *Śiva*, the destruction of the gravest sins such as *brāhmaṇa* murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tirthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purāṇas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tirthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purāṇas among themselves and from the *Mahābhārata*.

Abbreviations employed in this list alone

- AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Böhtlingk, 1847).
 Ādi.—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata
 Ag.—Agnipurāṇa.
 A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).
 A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).
 Ain. A.—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873-1894).
 Al.—Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).
 Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.
 A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
 B.—Brahmapurāṇa.
 Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.
 Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāṇa.
 Bhav.—Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.
 Bhi.—Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Bom. G.—Bombay Gazetteer volumes.
 Br.—Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.
 Br. S.—Bṛhatsaṁhitā with Utpala's com., edited by Sudhākara Dwivedi.
 BV.—Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.
 C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; vol. I. Inscriptions of Aśoka, vol. III. Gupta Inscriptions.
 Dey.—Nundolal Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary of India' (1927).
 G.—Garudapurāṇa.
 Go.—Godāvarī river
 h.—hill
 HC.—Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvya-mālā ed.)
 I. G. I.—Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.
 J. U. P. H. S.—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
 K.—Kūrmapurāṇa.
 Kal.—Kālikapurāṇa.
 K. R.—Bübler's Kashmir Report (extra number of BBRAS Journal for 1877)
 l.—lake
 L.—Līngapurāṇa
 m.—Mountain
 M.—Matsyapurāṇa
 Mb.—Mahābhārata
 Mbb.—Mahābbhāṣya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).
 Mār.—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa
 N.—Bṛhan-nāradiya or Nāradiya-purāṇa.
 NM.—Nīlamata-purāṇa ed. by Prof. Bhagavad-datta.
 Nr.—Nṛsimha or Narasimha-purāṇa.
 P.—Padma-purāṇa.
 Pargiter.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa with notes.
 Ptolemy.—Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India' as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927).
 r.—River.
 R.—Rājatarāṅgiṇī (edited and translated by Dr. Stein).
 Rām.—Kāmāyana.
 S.—Sabbhāparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Sal.—Salyaparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Śān.—Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.
 SK.—Skandapurāṇa
 SM.—Stein's Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.
 T. K.—Kalpataru on tirthas (G. O. S.)
 T. P.—Tīrthaprakāśa of Mitrāmīśra, part of Viramīśrodaya
 T. S.—Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsimha-prasāda (Sarasvatibhavan series, Benares).
 U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata
 V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Va.—Vāyupurāṇa

Vām.—Vāmanapurāṇa.

Var.—Varābhapurāṇa.

VD.—Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.

V. Dh. S.—Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (ed. by Jolly).

Vi.—Viṣṇupurāṇa

Vik.—Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of Bilhana (ed. by Bühler).

V. S.—Vārāṇasī.

Wilson—Translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa, edited by Dr. Hall (1864-1877).

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

A

- Abjaka**—(under Co.) B. 129. 137 (it is the heart of Godāvārī)
- Acalā**—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10.256 (near Anantahrada and Kārkoṣahrada)
- Acalesvara**—L. I. 92. 165
- Acchodā**—(r. rising from Acchodaka lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47. 6, Br II. 18. 6 and III. 13. 80
- Acchodaka**—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabha) Vā 47. 5-6 and 77. 76, M 14.3 and 121. 7, Br. III. 13. 77
- Aciravati**—(r. falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171). It is Rapti in Oudh on which Śrāvastī was situated. Var. 214. 47
- Acyutasthala**—Vām. 34. 47, Vide under Yugandhara.
- Ādarsa**—held to be same as Vināśana by many scholars. Vide under 'Vināśana'. The Kāśikā on Pān. IV. 2. 124 (Janapadatadavadhyośca) appears to hold Ādarsa as a Janapada and Br. S. 14. 25 does the same.
- Ādipāla**—(a b. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Ganeśa is there in the form of an elephant across Muṇḍaprasīha), 109. 15
- Adititīrtha**—(under Gaṅgā). N. II. 40. 90
- Ādityasya āśrama**—V 83. 184, P. I. 27. 70
- Adityatīrtha**—A (on Sarasvatī) Sal. 49. 17, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; B (on r. Sābhramatī) P. VI 167. 1 (near confluence with sea).
- Ādityāyatana**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 77, K II. 41. 37-38, P. I. 18. 5 and 72.
- Ādityeśa**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 3
- Agastyapada**—(under Gayā)—Ag. 116. 3, Vā 111. 53
- Agastyasaras**—V. 82. 44. It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JRAS. vol. 19 pp. 558-559 (New series)
- Agastyāśrama**—Vide Dey p. 2 for eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all). A (on r. Durjayā) V 96. 1 (where demon Vātāpi was killed by Agastya); B V. Dh. S 85. 29, P I. 12. 4, V. 19. 198 (near Puṣkara); C (near Prayāga) V 87. 20; D (near Gokarna) V 88. 18; E (near Janasthāna and Pañcavati about five yojanas from Sūtīkṣāśrama) Rām. III. 11. 38-42, Raghu. XIII. 36. There is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Pravara river; F (near the sea in Pāṇḍya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88. 13, 118. 4, 130. 6.—one of the five Nārītīrthas, Rām. IV. 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh. X. 79. 167.
- Agastyatīrtha**—(in Pāṇḍya country) V 88. 13
- Agastyavaṭa**—Ādi 215.2
- Agastyeśvara**—A (under Narmadā) M. 191.5; B (līṅga in VS) L q. by T. K. p. 116
- Aghoreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 60
- Agnidhārā**—(under Gayā) V 84. 146, Ag. 116. 31.
- Agnikuṇḍa**—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 51.52, Var. q. by T. K. p. 215.
- Agniprabha**—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 52-55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)

- Agnipura**—*Ann.* 25. 43. *Dey* p. 2 says it is *Māhīsmatī*. *Vide* *Raghuvamśa* VI. 42
- Agnisaras**—**A** (under *Kokāmukha*) *Var.* 140. 34–36; **B** (under *Lohārgala*) *Var.* 151. 52
- Agnisatyapada**—(under *Badarī*) *Var.* 141. 7
- Agnīśaras**—(along the *Yamunā*) *V.* 90. 5–7
- Agnīśvara**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* pp. 66, 71
- Agnitīrtha**—**A** (on the southern bank of *Yamunā*) *M.* 108. 27, *P. I.* 45. 27; **B** (under *VS*) *K. I.* 35. 7, *P. I.* 37. 7; **C** (under *Go.*) *B.* 98. 1; **D** (on *Sarasvatī*) *Sal.* 47. 13–14, *P. I.* 27. 27; **E** (on north bank of *Sābhramatī*) *P. VI.* 134. 1; **F** (under *Kubjāmra*) *Var.* 126. 63
- Ahaḥ**—*V.* 83. 100
- Abalyāhrada**—(near *Gautama's āśrama*) *V.* 84. 109, *P. I.* 38. 26
- Ahalyātīrtha**—**A** (under *Godāvarī*); **B. 87. 1; **B** (under *Narmadā*) *P. I.* 18. 84, *M.* 191. 90–92, *K. II.* 41. 43**
- Ailāpatra**—**A** *dikpāla-nāga* (guardian of western quarter) in *Kāśmīra*. *NM* 1118 (modern *Ailapatur*)
- Airāvati**—(The *Hydraotes* of *Arrian*, *A. I.* p. 190, *Kāvi* in the *Punjab?*). *A. r.* on the border of *Madradesa* rising in the *Himālaya*. *M.* 115. 18–19, 116. 1 and 6 and *Devala q.* by *T. K.* p. 249. *Dey* p. 73 is wrong in taking (in *M.* 116. 1) *Haimavatī* as a proper name, since in *M.* 116. 6 the same river is called 'the eminent daughter of *Himavat*'
- Ajablā**—(under *m. Sripārvata*). *L. I.* 92. 153
- Ajatuṅga**—*Vā* 77. 48 (*śrāddha* here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on *parvan* days)
- Ajeśvara**—(a *linga* in *VS*) *L. I.* 92. 136
- Ajiravati**—*a. r.* referred to in *Pān.* VI. 3. 119. Probably the same as *Aciravati* above
- Ākāśa**—(under *VS*) *K. I.* 35. 3, *P. I.* 37. 3
- Ākāśagaṅgā**—**A** (under *Gayā*) *Vā* 112. 25, *Ag.* 116. 5; **B** (on *m. Sahya*) *Nr.* 66. 35 (sub-tīrtha of *Āmalaka*)
- Ākāśalinga**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 51
- Akrūra**—(under *Mathurā*) *Var.* 155. 4–5 (name of a hamlet between *Mathurā* and *Vṛndāvana*)
- Aksavāla**—(modern *Achabal*, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the *Kutabar Pargana* in *Kāśmīra*) *K. I.* 338, *SM* p. 180 (it has five springs). *NM* has the name *Akṣipāla*
- Aksayyakaraṇa** *Ṣaṭa*—(in *Prayāga*). *Vide* p. 614 above and *AG* p. 389 for *Hienue* *Thsang's* reference to it. *V.* 87. 11, *P. VI.* 25. 7–8 (*Viṣṇu* is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the *kalpa*).
- Aksayyavaṭa**—**A** (in *Gayā*, about half a mile from *Viṣṇupada*) *V.* 84. 83, 95. 14, *Vā* 105. 45, 109. 16, 111. 79–82 (*Viṣṇu* in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water), *Ag.* 115. 70, *P. I.* 38. 2; **B** (under *Go.* to the north of *Vindhya*) *B.* 161. 66–67; **C** (on *Narmadā*) *BV*, III. chap. 33, 30–32 (where *Pulastya* performed *tapas*).
- Alābutīrtha**—(under *Viraja*) *B.* 42. 6.
- Alakanandā**—*Ādi* 170. 22 (*Gaṅgā* is so called among gods). *Acc.* to *Vā* 41. 18, *K. I.* 46. 31, *Vi.* II. 2. 36 and *II.* 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the *Ganges* and reaches the sea with seven mouths. *Ādi* 170. 19 speaks of the seven mouths. *N.* (II. 66. 4 ff.) states that the *Ganges* is called *Alakanandā* after it reaches the earth and begins to follow *Bhagīratha's* chariot. *Bh.* IV. 6. 24 and *V.* 17. 5. The *Bhagīrathī* is joined by *Alakanandā* at *Devaprayāga* and the combined stream is then called *Gaṅgā*. *N.* II. 67. 72–73 say that *Bhāgīrathī* and *Alakanandā* meet near *Badarīka*.

śrama. According to I. G. I. vol. XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakanandā with other rivers viz. with Bhāgīrathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karnaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Visnuprayāga. Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp. 2 and 140.

Alaśvara—see Brahmeśvara.

Alltīrtha—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 37.

Āmalaka—A (under Stutasvāmī in U. P.) Var. 148. 67 ff; B (between Brahmagiri and Vedagiri peaks of the Sahya m.) TS p. 78.

Āmalakagrāma—(on m. Sahya) Nr. chap. 66. 7 ff. q. by T. K. p. 254. Dey p. 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmaparnī.

Amarakahrada—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. P. 33.

Amarakantaka—(m. in the Bilaspur District of Central Provinces). Vide p. 705-6 above. Vā (77. 10-11 and 15-16), V. Dh. S. 85. 6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188. 79, P. I. 15. 68 69 state that the 2nd of the three *puras* of Bāna burnt by Śiva fell on this m. K. II. 40. 36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)

Amarakeśvara—Linga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53

Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21-30 quoting SK. It is a Śivakṣetra, one of the twelve jyotirlingas and is so called because sins are crushed here (amar-deyāni pāpāni tasmād-āmardakam matam). On p. 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparśa and Nāgeśvara. It is said to be a līnga on p. 22. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' pp. 77-78 for a description of the temple of Nāga-

nātha and plates CXIII-CXV for the front of the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall. This is probably the same as Āvandhyā Nāganātha (Aundha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parbhani in the Hyderabad State.

Amareśa—A (on Narmadā) M. 186. 2; B (līnga in VS) L. I. 92. 37

Amareśvara—A (on m. Niśadha) Vām. q. by T. K. p. 236; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 151; C NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 (yātrā to famous cave of Amaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in līnga-shaped ice-block. This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kāśmīra. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon)

Ambājanma (to east of Saraka) V. 83. 81 (it is Nāradaśīrtha)

Ambareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 118

Ambikāśīrtha—L. I. 92. 166

Ambikāvana—(on r. Sarasvatī). Bh. X. 34. 1-2

Amlu—(a very holy r. in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34. 7

Amobaka—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 105, P. I. 18. 96-99 (Tapeśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)

Āmrātakeśvara—(under VS) M. 22. 51, 181. 28, Ag. 112. 3

Amśumati—(r.). Kg. VIII. 96. 13-15 (on which stayed an *asura* called Kṛṣṇa). According to Uṇhad-devatā (VI. 110) it was in the Kuru country; Rām. II. 55. 6 (near Yamunā).

Ānanda—Vide under Nanditāta.

Ānandapura—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, P. I. 37. 18.

Ananta—a Valanava-kṣetra acc. to Bārhaspatyasūtra III. 120, Br. III. 13. 58.

Anantabhavana or Anantabrada—HC X. 253, 256 (now called Ananta-nāga, about one krośa from Maḍavā-

- vartanāga in the middle of the Vitastā river in Kāśmīra.
- Anantanāga—(not far from Pūnyodā). NM 1401-2. It is called Islamabad now and is at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtāṇḍa plateau in Kāśmīra. SM p. 178
- Anantasāyana—(Padmanābha in Travancore) P. VI. 110.8, VI. 280. 19
- Anantatīrtha—(under Mathurā). Var. 155. 1
- Anaraka—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41. 22-24; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 1-3, K. II. 41. 91-92; C (to the west of Yamunā) also called Dharma-rājatīrtha—K.I. 39.5, P.I. 27.56
- Anarakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.
- Anāsaka—Var. 215. 89
- Anasūya-līṅga—(north of Goprekṣa, under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42
- Andha—(a *nada*). Bh. V. 19 18, Devī Bhāgavata VIII. 11. 16 (andhaśonau mahānadau); Dey (pp 7 and 47) says it is the river Chāndan or 'Andhelā' which falls into the Gaṅgā in Bhagalpur
- Andhakeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65.
- Andhona—(under Narmadā). P.I. 18, 110-113
- Āṅgabhūta—(a tirtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 51
- Āṅgārakūṇḍa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Āṅgāravāhika—M. 22.35
- Āṅgareśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp 55 and 98; B (under Narmadā) M. 190.9, P. I. 17.6
- Āṅgārakeśvara—A (under Gayā) Ag. 116.29; B (under Narmadā) K. II 41.6
- Āṅgareśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 (probably the same as above)
- Āṅgirasatīrtha (under Narmada) K. II. 41. 31-33, P. I. 18.50
- Āṅgirasesa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117
- Anitabha (r.) Kg. V. 53.9
- Āñjalikāśrama—Anu. 25. 52
- Āñjana (a m. near Brahmagiri, under Go.) B. 84. 2. Vide under Paisācatīrtha; Br. S. 14.5 says Āñjana is m. in the east
- Āñjasi—(r.) Kg. I. 104. 4
- Āñkola (under Narmadā) highly praised in M. 191. 118-122. Probably modern town of Anklesvar in Broach District. A. G. p. 322 identifies Ākrūreśvara with Anklesar on left bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 54 pp. 11-12
- Āñkūreśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194.1
- Ānnakūta (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 10 and 22-23 (Govardhana was called Ānnakūta)
- Antakeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75
- Antarvedi (holy land between Gaṅgā and Yamunā) SK. I. 1.17. 274-275 (where brahmabatyā due to the killing of Vṛtra fell)
- Antasīlā (r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 103
- Antikeśvara (under VS) N. II. 49. 6-9
- Anūpā (r. rising from Kṛksavat m.) Br. II. 16.28
- Anyatah-plakṣa—name of a lotus lake in Kurukṣetra (Sat. Br. in SBE, vol. 44 p. 70)
- Āpagā—one of the seven (or nine) very holy rivers under Kurukṣetra—V. 83. 68, Vām. 34.7, P. I. 36.1-6 and Vām. 36. 1-4 (one krośa to the east of Mānuṣa), NM 158. Is it the same as Āpayā? Vide A. G. p. 185 where it is identified with the Ayak Nadi, a small stream rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Stalkot. Cunningham (ASR of India, vol. XIV pp. 88-89) says that Āpagā or Oghavati is a branch of the Chitang.
- Āpām-prapatana—Anu. 25.28
- Aparanandā—(near Hemakūṭa) Ādi. 215.7, 110.1, Anu. 166.28. Dey (p. 9) says it is the same as Alakanandā.
- Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) B. 130.1

- Āpayā—(a r. probably a tributary of the Sarasvatī between it and Drśadvatī) Rg. III. 23.4. Thomas suggests that it is the same as Aughavatī (JRAS vol. 15 p. 362 n. 5)
- Apsaras-kuṇḍa—(under Mathurā and Govardhana) Var. 164. 19
- Apsareśā—(under Narmadā) M. 194.16, P. I. 21.16, K. II. 42.24
- Apsaroyugasaṅgama—(under Go.) B. 147.1
- Arantuka—a dvārapāla. V. 83. 52 (vide p. 683 note 1551).
- Aravinda—(a b. under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15, N. II. 47.83 (reads Aravindavara)
- Arbuda—(m. Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State) V. 82. 55-56 (there was Vasistha's āśrama), M. 22. 38, P. I. 24.4, N. II. 60.27, Ag. 109. 10. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jainas, the other four being Satruñjaya, Samet, Śikhara, Girnar and Candragiri. It is identified with Ptolemy's Apokopa (p. 76). There was a fire-pit thereon from which arose a warrior Paramāra, founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. Vide E. I. vol. IX. p. 10 (of Vikrama 1099) and E. I. vol. 19 Appendix p. 22 No 133 of *śālvat* 1116
- Arbudāsarasvatī—(r. sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.38
- Ārcikaparvata—V. 125.16 (where Cya-vana and Sukanyā dwelt)
- Ardbacandra—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3.
- Ardbakila—founded by Darbbin near Sarasvatī-aruṇā-saṅgama. V. 83. 153-157
- Arghyatīrtha—G. I. 81. 7
- Ariṣṭakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 30 (where Ariṣṭa was slain)
- Ārjikiyā—(r.) Rg. X. 75. 5. Nir. IX. 26 states that the river was called Vipas (modern Beas) and Vipas was originally Uruñjirā
- Arjuna—(a tīrtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 43.
- Arjuniyā (r.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 249. Prof. K. V. R. Aiyangar (T. K. p. 283) following Dey p. 11 holds it identical with Bāhudā, but the passage from Devala (on T. K. p. 249) shows that Arjuniyā and Bāhudā are separately enumerated
- Arkakṣetra—same as Koṇārka
- Arkasthala-kuṇḍa (under Mathurā) Var. 157.11, 160.20
- Āṣabha—see under Rābha
- Ārṣiṣenāśrama—Anu. 25. 55
- Aruṇā-sarasvatīsaṅgama—three miles to the north-east of Pṛthūdaka-T. I. 27. 39, Śal. 43.30-31 and 42, Vām. 40.43
- Aruṇa—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47. 17-18, Br. II. 18.18
- Aruṇā—A. (r. between Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī near Pṛthūdaka) Śal. 43. 30-33. Sarasvatī joined itself to Aruṇā to cleanse the rākṣasas of sins and Indra of brāhmaṇa murder; B. (a branch of the Kauṣikī) V. 84.156; vide Journal of A.S. of Bengal, vol. 17 pp. 646-649 on the seven Kosis in Nepal of which the Aruṇā is the most important; C. (under Go.) B. 89. 1, P. VI. 176. 59. Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 463 for Aruṇā stream.
- Aruṇā-varuṇā-saṅgama—(under Gautamī) B. 89.1 and P. VI. 176. 59
- Arundhatī-vaṭa—V. 84.41, P. I. 32. 6
- Aruṇā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 60
- Āryāvarta—The Amarakośa speaks of it as the holy land (punyabhūmi) between the Himavat and Vindhya mountains. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 11-16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āryāvarta according to different works and at different times
- Āśādha—līṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
- Āśādhūtīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 30
- Āśālīṅga—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 148.
- Asi—(r. under Banaras) also called Suśkanadī. Vide pp. 627, 637 above.

- Asiknī**—(a r. now called Chenab) Rg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5, Nirukta IX. 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured; later it was called Candrabhāgā. This was the Acekines of the Greeks. Vide Bh. V. 19. 18
- Asikuṇḍa**—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13; Var. chap. 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikuṇḍa
- Asitā**—(a m. in the west) V. 89. 11-12 (on this m. Cyavana and Kakṣasena had their āśramas).
- Asitā**—(r. where yogācārya Asita dwelt). A place fit for śrāddha, Vā. 77. 39, Br. III. 13. 39
- Asitagiri**—(where yogācārya Asita dwelt) Br. III. 13. 39
- Asīmanvatī**—(r.). Rg. X. 53. 8. The Āśv. gr. (I. 8. 2-3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down. Dey p. 13 says that it is the river Oxus. He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view.
- Āsmapṛṣṭha**—(a holy stone slab in Gayā, even now called Pretaśilā). Anu. 25. 42
- Āśokatīrtha**—(near Sūrpāraka) V. 83. 13
- Āstamana**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191
- Āṣṭavakra**—(four miles from Haridvāra) Anu. 25. 41. Vide Dey p. 12
- Asthipura**—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27. 62. It is to the west of Thāṇeśvara and south of Aujasa-ghāṭ. Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the Bhārata war were collected and cremated. Vide A. S. R. vol. 14 pp. 36-106 and A. G. p. 336 where it is mentioned that Hiouen Tsiang was shown bones of very large size.
- Āsuriśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67
- Āśvamedha**—(under Prayāga) Ag. 111. 14
- Āśvatīras**—(in the story of Nala) V. 79. 21
- Āśvatīrtha**—A (not far from Kānyakubja) V. 95. 3, Anu. 4. 17, Vi. IV. 7. 15 (where sage Reika gave 1000 horses as bride-price to Gādhī for the latter's daughter Satyavatī), Kālikā 85. 51-57; B (under Narmadā) M. 194. 3, P. I. 21. 3; C (on Go.) B. 89. 43 (where the two Āśvins were born)
- Āśvatthatīrtha**—K. II. 35. 38—where Nārāyaṇa resides in the form of Hayagrīva (location is not clear)
- Āśvinī**—Anu. 25. 21 (on the Devikā river)
- Āśvinos-tīrtha**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 17, P. I. 26. 15 (same words as in V.).
- Āśviśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52
- Āṣṭatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 30
- Atibala**—(Mahābalesvara in Satara District) P. VI. 113. 29
- Ātmatīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 117. 1
- Ātreyatīrtha**—(on north bank of Go.) B. 140. 1
- Ātri's āśrama**—(after Citratūṭa) Rām II. 117. 5
- Ātriśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Āṭṭabāsa**—A (m. in Himālayas) Vā. 23. 191; B (a tīrtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 68; C (a līṅga in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47
- Auddālakatīrtha**—V 84. 161
- Audyānakatīrtha**—P. I. 38. 68
- Anjasa**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. Dh. S. 85. 52, Vām. 22. 51 and 57. 51
- Aupamanyava**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97
- Ausaja**—A—V. Dh. S. 85. 52 (Sūrpāraka, acc. to com. Vaijayantī). Jolly (SBE, vol. 7. p. 259 gives a different reading Aujasa, and queries whether it may not be Ausīja; B (a boundary of Samantapañcaka) Vām. 22. 51 (Rantukād Aujasam cāpi)

- Aśanasa**—(an eminent tīrtha on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83.135, M. 22.31, Sal. 39.4 and 16-22, P. I. 27. 24-26, Vām. 39.1 and 14 (where Uśanas got sidhhi and became planet Venus), 42.24
- Anśiraparvata**—Vā. 77.29
- Avadhūta**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
- Avakīrṇa**—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām. 39. 24-35 (story of Baka Dālhbhya who begged of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's country an *āhuti* in Pṛthūdaka), Sal. 41.1, P. I. 27. 41-45 (where it is Darbhini who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)
- Avanti**—A (country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pāṇ IV. 1.176 ('striyam—*avanti*—kunti—kurubhyas—ca'), Raghuvarṇa VI. 32; S 31. 10 (Vin-dānuvindāvavantyanu), Udyoga 166.6 (same words as in S); B Avanti (river starting from m. Pāriyātra) Vā. 45.98, M. 114.24, Br. II. 16.29; C (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayinī) B. 43.24, Ag. 109.24 (Avanti paramam tīrtham), N. II. 78. 35-36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvati, Kuśasthali, Kāvakaśṅgā, Padmāvati, Kumudvati, Ujjayinī). Vide also L. I. 92. 7-8 and B. 194.19 (Sāndīpasi, teacher of Kṛṇa, dwelt in Avantipura). The Meghadūta (I. 30) speaks of Ujjayinī as Viśālā; Kāśikhaṇḍa 7.92 'pāpād-avanti sāvīśvam-avantitī nigadyate i yuge yuge śnyanāmāi kalāvujjayāniti ca'. Vide under Mahākālā
- Avatodā**—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18
- Avighnatīrtha**—(on north bank of Go.) B. 114.25
- Avimukta**—(same as Kāśī) V. 84. 79-80, Vi. V. 34.30 and 43, Vide pp. 618-642 above
- Avimuktesvara**—(līṅga in VS) L. I. 92.6 and 105, N. II. 49. 53-55 (where cocks are honoured)
- Ayodhyā**—(in Fyzabad District in U. P.) on the Ghāgrā. One of the seven holy cities (vide p. 678n above). It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there. Atharvaveda X. 2. 31 and Tai. A. I. 27.2 (aṣṭācakrā nava-dvārā devānām pūr-Ayodhyā i tasyām hiranyayaḥ kośab svargo loko Jyoti-śāvṛtaḥ), V 60. 24-25 and 70. 2 (capital of king Rṭuparṇa and of Rāma), Br. IV. 40. 91, Ag. 109. 24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśini). According to Rām. I. 5. 5-7 the country of Kosala had Sarayū flowing through it; Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu. Kosala was one of the 16 *mahājānapadas* of India in ancient times (vide Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV. p. 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttara Kosala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala divided by the Sarjū or Ghāgrā river. The Raghu-varṇa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarakosala (VI. 71 and IX. 1). Vide also Vā 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvāku and P. VI. 208. 46-47 (for Dakṣiṇa Kosalā and Uttara Kosalā). Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā. Vide T. P. p. 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketa. Dr. B. C. Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha. R. Society, vol. I. pp. 423-443
- Ayogasiddhi**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98
- Ayonisaugama**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 58

B

- Babhrutīrtha**—(where the Mahī river falls into the sea) SK I. 2. 13. 107
- Badarī**—(a holy place on Gandhamādāna where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa) V. 90.25-32, 141.23, 177.8, Sānti 127.2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29. 41 (Nārāyaṇa-

- drama); M. 22. 73 (very fit for śrāddha), P. VI. 2. 1-7 (there is no *śūnya* in Dakṣiṇāyana as the mountain is covered with snow). Also called Viśālā, Vide I. G. I. vol. VI pp. 179-180 for description. The temple of Badrināth is on the right bank of the Alakanandā.
- Badarikā—A. Vām. 2. 42-43; B. (near Mahendra m.), P. 139. 13, V. 85. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarat). Vide E. I. vol. 23 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp. 25, 29)
- Badarikāśrama—A. (Badrināth in Garhwal, U. P.) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T. K. pp. 215-216); Parāśara-smṛiti 1. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama; M. 201. 24 says Mitra and Varuṇa practised *tāpas* here; Vi. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamādāna and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyaṇa), Br. III. 25. 67 (same as in Vi); N. II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tirthas); N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśālā river); Bh. VII. 11. 6; B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamunā) P. VI. 212. 1 and 43.
- Badarivana—P. I. 27. 66
- Badaripācana-tirtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama here).
- Bagalā—(a Devisthāna). Vide under Valdyanaṭha.
- Bāhūdā—(a river near Sarasvatī), Anu. 165. 27, P. I. 32. 31, N. II. 60. 30, B. 27. 26, M. 114. 22 and Vā. 45. 93 (say it rises in Himavat). V. 84. 67 and 87. 27. Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification. and Pargiter (pp. 291-292 note); Vā. 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhūdā. Amarakoṣa gives Saltavāhinī as a synonym of Bāhūdā and Kṣīrasvāmīn comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bahuda, one who donated much).
- Bahulavana—(under Maibura) Var. 157. 8
- Bahunetra—(a tirtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodasī) M 191. 14
- Bāhyā—(r. rising from Sahya) Br. II. 16. 35.
- Bakulāśaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 27.
- Bakulavana (or Babulao)—(5th *vāna* out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36. Vide p. 690 above
- Balabhadraliṅga—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 46.
- Balākā—Anu. 25. 19 (kanyākūpa upas-
pr̥ṣya Balākāyām kṛtodakāḥ)
- Bālakesvara—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Bālakesvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 19
- Bālāpa or Bālapendra—(on bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 145. 1, 24 and 37 (a Ravikṣetra)
- Balesvara—(under Sripārvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Balikunda—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
- Bānagaṅgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144. 63 (Rāvaṇa exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)
- Bānatirtha—A (under Go.) B. 123. 214; B (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 9-10
- Bānesvara-liṅga (under VS) SK. Kāṣṭhakaṇṭha 33. 139, L. q. by T. K. p. 48
- Baṅjulā—(probably same as Vāṅjulā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Baṅjulā from R̥kṣa), Br. II. 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B. from Mahendra)
- Bārhaspatya-tirtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 101
- Bhadrā—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Gauges) Vi. II. 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām. 51. 52; B (the river on which Haribhara is situated) Nr. 65. 18
- Bhadradoha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

- Bhadrakāleśvara**—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) *M.* 22. 74
- Bhadrakālī**—Acc. to *Bār. S.* III. 128 she dwells on *Vindhya*
- Bhadrakālīhrada**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 87
- Bhadrakarnāhrada**—*Ag.* 109. 17
- Bhadrakarnēśvara**—(a fit place for śrāddha) *V.* 84. 39, *K. II.* 20. 35, *SK VII.* 1. *Arbuda-khaṇḍa*—chap. 8, 1-2 (*līnga* on a pool of that name on *Arbuda m.*)
- Bhadratīrtha**—**A** (under *Narmadā*) *P.* I. 18. 94; **B** (under *Co.*) *B.* 165.1, *M.* 22. 50
- Bhadratuṅga**—*V.* 82. 80
- Bhadravana**—(6th out of 12 *vanas* of *Mathurā*) *Var.* 153. 37, 161. 7
- Bhadravata**—*V.* 82. 50, *P. I.* 12. 10, *Var.* 51.2 (on the north side of the *Himālaya*) and 98. 6
- Bhadravati**—(one of the four original streams of the *Ganges*, the other three being *Sitā*, *Alakanandā* and *Sucakṣuḥ*) *Br.* III. 56. 52
- Bhadreśvara**—**A** (on north bank of *Narmadā*) *M.* 22. 25, *K. II.* 41. 4; **B** (under *VS*) *L.* 1. 92. 136, *L. q.* by *T. K.* pp. 52, 68
- Bhagavat-padī**—The *Ganges*. *Bh.* *V.* 17.1-9
- Bhāgirathī**—*M.* 121. 41 (which is one of the seven streams that started from *Bindusaras* and which following *Bhāgiratha's* chariot reached the sea)
- Bhairava**—(a *tīrtha*) *M.* 22. 31
- Bhairaveśvara**—(under *VS*) *L. I.* 92. 137
- Bhāṇḍāhrada** (under *Mathurā*)—*Var.* 157. 10
- Bhāṇḍīra**—(under *Mathurā*) *Var.* 153. 43 (the 11th out of 12 *vanas*), 156. 3; vide p. 691 above
- Bhāṇḍīraka Vata**—(near *Vṛndāvana*) *Bh.* *X.* 18.22, *X.* 19.13
- Bhāṅgatīrtha**—(under *Narmadā*) *M.* 191.52
- Bhāṇṇatīrtha**—(under *Co.*) *B.* 138. 1, 168.1
- Bhārābhūteśvara**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 93
- Bhārābhūti**—(under *Narmadā*) *M.* 194. 18, *K. II.* 42. 25, *P. I.* 21.18
- Bharadvājāśrama**—*Rām.* II. 54. 9-10, VI. 127. 1 and 17, *V.* 102. 5-6. Vide *Citrakūṭagiri*. For a discussion of the real site of this āśrama, vide *Journal, Gangasath Jha R. Institute*, vol. III pp. 189-204 and 433-474 (*Sbri R. M. Shastri*)
- Bharadvājatīrtha**—(see *Agastyatīrtha*) *Ādi* 216.4
- Bharatasya-āśrama**—**A** (under *Gayā*) *Br.* III. 13.105, *M.* 13.46 (*Devī* is here called *Lakṣmī-Aṅganā*), *Vā* 77. 98, 108. 35, and 112.24; **B** (under *Kausikī*) *K. II.* 37.38, *P. I.* 38.48
- Bharateśa**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 66
- Bhārgaveśa**—(under *Narmadā*) *M.* 192.1, *P. I.* 19.1
- Bhartṛsthāna**—*V.* 85. 60, *P. I.* 39.56 (where god *Mahāsena* is 'nityasannihita'). Same words in both *V* and *P*
- Bhārūṇāvāsa**—(in the country of *Matsya*) *Rām.* II. 71.5
- Bharukaccha**—(modern *Broach*) *S.* 51.10 (the inhabitants of *Bharukaccha* brought as presents to the *Pāṇḍavas* horses from *Gāndhāra* i. e. the country about *Peshawar*). *Ptolemy* and the *Periplus* call it *Barygaza*. It was called *Bhṛgupura* and *Bhṛgu-kaccha* also (the latter in *SK*, *Kāśīkhanda* 6.25). A *Valabhi* copperplate of *Dharaśena IV* in *Valabhi samvat* 330 (648-9 A. D.) was issued from a camp at *Bharukaccha*. There is a *Suppāraka jā-taka*, No. 463 where *Bharukaccha* is mentioned as a seaport (ed. by *Cowell*)
- Bhasmagātraka**—*L. I.* 92.137

- Bhaskakūṭādrī**—(under Gāyā) Vā. 109. 15
- Bhāskarakeśetra**—(Koṅārka) Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse 'Gaṅgāyām Bhāskarakeśetre &c.' (q. on p. 574 above); T. C. p. 16 and Prāyāścittatattva (p. 493) say that Prayāga is Bhāskarakeśetra, while T.S. p. 20 says it is Koṇāditya or Koṅārka. This is the correct view. M. 111. 13 and K. I. 36. 20 say 'Prayāga is Prajāpati-keśetra.' Vide p. 574 above. Dey p. 32 simply follows Prāyāścittatattva
- Bhāvatīrtha**—(under Gō.) B. 153.1
- Bhedādevī**—(near Gaṅgodbheda)—the modern Budabrūr, west of Śrīnagara, to Kāśmīra; NM 1522
- Bhedagiri**—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186-187
- Bhillatīrtha**—(on south bank of Gō.) B. 169.1
- Bhima**—(r.)—same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sahya m. and tributary of Kravā. Devāla q. by T. K. p. 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmāsankara, one of the twelve Jyotiṃ-līngas and it falls into the Kravā river 16 miles north of Kai-chūr
- Bhīmādevī**—(modern village Brān in Phāk Pargana on east shore of Dal lake in Kāśmīra) R. II. 135, HC. 4. 47
- Bhīmarathī**—same as Bhīmā. M. 22. 45, 114.29, B. 27.35, P. I. 24.32, Bhī. 9. 20, V. 87. 3, Vām. 13. 30. The Vakkaleri plate of Kīrti-varma II in *śaka* 679 (757 A. D.) mentions Bhīmarathī (E. I. vol. V. p. 200 at p. 204)
- Bhīmasvāmī**—Rock in Kāśmīra worshipped as embodiment of Gaṇeśa, SM. p. 148
- Bhīmātīrtha**—Ag. 109.12
- Bhīmāyāh sthānam**—V. 82. 84. Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-l-Bahal, 28 miles to the north-east of Pesha-war
- Bhīmeśvara**—(tirtha sacred to Piṭṛs under Narmadā) M. 21. 46 and 75, 191. 5, K. II. 41. 20 and II. 44.15, P. I. 18. 5
- Bhīmacanḍika**—(under VS) M 183. 62
- Bhīmeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- Bhogavatī** or **Vāsukītīrtha**—A (under Prayāga). It is called the altar of Prajāpati; V. 85.77 (tirtham Bhogavatī caiva vedir-eṣā Prajāpateh), M. 106.46 and 110. 8, Ag. 111. 5, N. II. 63.95; B capital of Kakutha of the Ikāvāku race; Kal. 50.4
- Bhṛgu**—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmadā) SK I. 2.3. 2-6
- Bhṛgukaccha**—(on the north bank of Narmadā), vide under Bharukaccha. Here Bali performed Aśvamedha; Bh. VIII. 18.2
- Bhṛgukūṇḍa**—(under Stutasvāmī) Var. 148.48
- Bhṛgutīrtha**—(under Narmada) M 193. 23-60, K. II. 42. 1-6, P. I. 20.23-57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginis, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur; V. 99.34-35 (at this place Paraśurama regained his energy taken away by Rāma)
- Bhṛgutuṅga**—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhṛgu practised penance). A—Vā. 23. 148 and 77.82, V. 84.50, 90. 23, 130. 191; B V.Dh.S. 83.16, K. II. 20.33, M. 22.31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakaṇṭaka acc. to Nanda Paṇḍita and acc. to others in the Hīmalāya; C (on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍak) Var. 146 45-46; D (in Gurjaradeśa) SK., Kāśī-khaṇḍa 6. 25; E (near Vitastā and Himavat) Vām. 81. 33
- Bṛhaspatikūṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151.55
- Bṛhgiśvara-līnga**—(under VS) SK. Kāśīkhanda 33. 129 and L. q. by T. K. p. 84
- Bhūmicanḍeśvara**—(under VS) Ag. 112.4
- Bhūmitīrtha**—Ag. 109. 12

- Bhūtilāyatīrtha**—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 158. 1 (where r. Candanā becomes *prāci*). Vām. 34. 47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain
- Bhūtesvara**—A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I. 107. II. 148, HC 4.85. This is included in Nandikētra. Bhūtesa Siva's residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 364 refers to it; B (under VS) K. I. 35.10, P. I. 37.13; C (under Mathurā) Var. 169.19
- Bhuvaneśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Bilapatha**—(from where the Vitastā or Zhelum starts) HC 12. 15-17. Vide under Nīlakunḍa
- Bilvācala**—A Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 120
- Bilvaka**—(a very fit place for śrāddha) V. Dh. S. 85.52, M. 22. 70, K. II. 20.33, Anu. 25.13, N. II. 40.79
- Bilvapatraka**—P. VI. 129.11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Siva)
- Bilvavana**—(10th out of the 12 *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153.42
- Binduka**—V. Dh. S. 85. 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)
- Bindumādhava**—(in VS) M. 185. 68, SK IV. 33.148, N. II. 29.61, P. VI. 131. 48
- Bindusaras**—A (on Maināka m. near Badarī) V. 145.44, Bhī. 6. 43-46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121. 26 and 31-32 (where Bhagiratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyaṇa practised *tapas*), Bh. III. 21-33 and 39-44 (description); B (under VS) Siva bathed in it and the *kapāla* of Brāhmā that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kapālamocanatīrtha) N. II. 29. 59-60; C (under Ekāmra) B. 41. 52-54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith); D (in Kāśmīra) it is a *dīkṣāla* in the east of the country, according to NM 1116-1117.
- Bindutīrtha**—same as Pañcanada which see.
- Bodhitaru**—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P. VI. 117.30. Vide under Mahābodhitaru. At the Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B. C.) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrasana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription 'bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi'; vide 'Mahābodhi' by Cunningham, p. 3. The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Śaśāṅka of Bengal in 600 A. D., but restored about 620 A.D. by king Purnavarman. Vide A. G. pp. 453-459 for Bodhi Gayā and p. 459 for Bodhitaru.
- Brahmagiri**—A. (m. from which Godāvari rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25-26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176. 58; B (the highest peak of Sabya and as a tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-venyā) T. S. p. 78
- Brahmabṛada**—Bh. X. 28. 16-17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br. III. 13. 52
- Brahmakṣetra**—(Kurukṣetra) V 83. 4-6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97. 5
- Brahmakunḍa**—A (under Badarī) Var. 141. 4-6; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārās fall from Himalaya); C (under Gayā) Vā. 110.8
- Brahmakūpa**—(under Gayā) Vā. 111.25 and 31, Ag. 115. 37
- Brahmanadi**—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX. 16. 23
- Brāhmaṇakunḍikā**—(a tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1499, 1501
- Brahmaṇas-tīrtha**—V. 83. 113, P. I. 27.2 (Brahmaṇas-ethānam), P. I. 38. 20
- Brāhmaṇi**—(probably the Bāmani, that falls into the Chambal) V. 84. 58
- Brāhmaṇikā**—(near Naimiṣa forest) P. I. 32.22
- Brahmānusvara**—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 67

Brahmapada—(under Gonīṣkramaṇa) Var. 147. 36

Brahmaputra—name as Lauhitya, which see

Brahmāranya—(under Gayā) P. I. 38.5

Brahmasaras—A (near Thanesar) Vā.

77. 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22. 55-60 and 49. 38-39. This lake is known

by various names, viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada or Pavanasaras &c.; B (under Gayā) V. 84. 85 (dharmā-ranyopasobhita) and 95. 11, Anu. 25. 98, Ag. 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30; C (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 37-39; D (under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 20

Brahmasāras—(under Gayā) K. II. 37. 38, N. II. 44. 66 (there is Brahmayūpa there)

Brahmasthanā—V. 83. 71, 83. 35, P. I. 27. 2

Brahmasthanūpa—P. I. 39. 33

Brahmatāresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88

Brahmatirtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 9, II. 37. 28, P. I. 37. 9-12 (Viṣṇu established it in the name of Brah-mā); B (under Gayā) P. I. 38. 69, N. II. 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36; C (under Go.) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III. 13. 56; D (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78. 19

Brahmatūṅga—Ag. 109. 12, P. I. 24. 28

Brahmatūṅghrada or **Brahmatūṅga-hrada**—Br. III. 13. 73, Vā. 77. 71-73 (śrāddha, japa, homa yield inexhaustible results here)

Brahmavallī-tirtha—(under Sābhra-matī) P. VI. 137. 1

Brahmavālūkā—V. 82. 106, P. I. 25. 13

Brahmāvarta—A (holy land between Sarasvatī and Dṛavati) Manu II. 17, Kal. 49. 71. The Meghadūta I. 48 (Nir. ed.) shows that Kurukṣetra was part of Brahmāvarta. It is a holy tirtha. V. 83. 53-54, 84. 43, M. 22. 69, Ag. 109. 17; B (under Narmadā) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I. 17. 5

Brahmayoni—A (on Sarasvatī)—same as Pṛthūdaka, Vām. 39. 20 and 23;

B (under Gayā) V. 83. 140 and 84. 95, P. I. 27. 29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108. 83 (brahmayonim praviśyātha nirgacched yastu mānavah) ; param brahma sa yātiha vimukto yonisañkaśāt). Vide AG. p. 458 which states that a small temple now occupies the site of Aśoka's stūpa and p. 646 note 1470 above

Brahmayūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 31-33, Ag. 115. 39

Brahmesvaralīṅga—A (under Sripār-vata) K. II. 41. 18, L. I. 92. 159-160 (also called Alesvara); B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Brahmodara—Vām. 36. 7-8

Brahmodaya—(to the south of Vāg-matī) Var. 215. 102

Brahmodbheda—Var. 215. 91

Brahmodumbara—V. 83. 71

Bṛhadvana—(near Gokula where Nandagopa kept his cattle) Bh. X. 5. 26, X. 7. 33

Budbudā—(r. rising in the Himālaya) Br. II. 16. 25-26

Budhesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 55, 97

C

Caitraka—M. 110. 2

Caitraratha—(a vana) Vā. 47. 6 (on the banks of the Acchodā river), Br. II. 18. 7. Here Devī is called Madotkaṭā; M. 13. 28

Cakra—(near Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78. 19

Cakradhara—(Viṣṇusthāna in Kāśmīra, now known in a corrupt form as Takdar or Chākdhār) R. I. 38. It is a tirtha of great sanctity, about a mile to the west of Bijbror (ancient Vijayeshvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and SM. p. 171 (Cakradhara and Vijayesa-Siva are two images located close to each other). HC calls it Cakratirtha (7.61) and also Cakradhara (7.64)

Cakrasthita—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3

Cakrasvāmin—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 38 (cakrāṅkitasīlas-tatra dr̥śyante)

Cakratīrtha—A (under Sankaratīrtha) Var. 137. 19; B (under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 22; C (under Setu) SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa, chap. 3-5; D (in Kāśmīra) also called Cakra-dhara (which see); E (on Go.) D. 86.1, 109.1, 134.1 (6 miles from Tryambaka)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one tīrtha; F (under Mathurā) Var. 162.43; G (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42.5, 57.89, 81.3; vide A, G. p. 336 and under Asthipura; H (under Dvārakā) TP. pp. 536-537, Var. 159.58

Cakravāka—(a tīrtha sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.42

Cakrāvarta—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 36-38 (a deep lake)

Cakreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Cakṣus—(r. from Hīmalaya, a branch of Gaṅgā) M. 121.23, Vā. 47.21 and 39, Br. II. 16.20, Bb. V. 17.5, Dey p. 43 holds that Cakṣus is the river Oxus or Amu Daria and relies on Matsya 120-121 (of Ānandaśrama edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that Dey on p. 13 also holds that Aśmanvatī is the river Oxus

Cakṣus—tīrtha (on south bank of Go.) B. 170.1

Camasa or Camasodbheda—A (where Sarasvatī appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82. 112, 130. 5 (esa vai Camasodbhedo yatra dr̥śyā Sarasvatī); P. I. 25. 18; B (under Prabhāsa) Sal. 35. 87, V. 88.20

Camatkārapura—(same as Ānandapura in modern Ahmedabad District) SK. VI. chap. 1-13

Campā—A (city on the Bhāgīrathī four miles to west of Bhagalpur and one of the six great cities of the times of the Buddha) V. 84.163, 85.14, 308.26, P. I. 38.70; M. 48. 91 (originally it was

called Malinī but later was called Campā after king Campa). According to the Mahāparinirbāna-sūtra the six great cities are Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Śāketa, Kauśāmbī, Benares (SBE vol. XI. p. 99 and p. 247), Vām. 84.12 mentions Cāṁpeya brāhmaṇas. Campā is in the Varanāśī-gaṇa (Pān. IV. 2. 82); B (river sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.41, P. V. 11.35 (between Aṅga and Magadha, acc. to Dey p. 43). It was the capital of Lomspāda and of Karna

Campakāranya—(modern Champaran in Bihar) V. 84.133, P. I. 38.49. Vālmīki's hermitage was near Sangrampur in the Champaran District

Campakatīrtha—(where Gaṅgā flows to the north) N. II. 40. 86

Campakavana—(under Gayā) Vā. 37. 16-22

Caṇḍalā—(r. rising from m. Kṣyavat) M. 114. 26

Caṇḍavega—(r. sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22. 28

Caṇḍavegasambheda—M. 22. 26, K. II. 44. 16, P. VI. 131. 67

Caṇḍeśa—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 162.1

Caṇḍikeśvara—L. I. 92. 166, Vām. 51.50

Candrabhāgā—(A) the river rises in the Hīmalayas in two streams, one is called Candrā (which issues from a large snow-bod on the south-east side of Bāra Lācha at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called Bhāgā rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The two join at Taṇḍī and the united stream is known as Candrabhāgā or Chenab. The five rivers of the Panjab are; Vitastā (Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks), Viprāśā (Beas, Hypasis of Greeks), Satadru (Sutlej), Candrabhāgā and Iravatī. In 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) Candrabhāgā is one of the ten great rivers

- of India. V.Dh. S. 85. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60. 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12.44. Vide *Aśikū*; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 191.64, K. II. 41, 35, P. I. 18. 61; **C** (joins Tāpī) P. VI. 70.44; **D** (r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149.1; **E** (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā)
- Candramas-tirtha**—(on Ārcikaparvata) V. 125.17
- Candrapāda**—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18-19
- Candrapura**—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM. 1138 and 1156-7 (Mahāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)
- Candratirtha**—**A** (at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37.23; **B** (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K. I. 35.11; **C** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K. II. 42. 15, Br. III. 13. 28
- Candravaśā**—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18
- Candravati**—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Diti became this river, as Yamunā became Vitastā)
- Candresvara**—**A** (on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdhesvara, on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 149.1; **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49
- Candrikā**—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M 22.63
- Carmākhyā**—(under VS) K. I. 35.4
- Carmanvatī**—(r. modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of Etawah town) Ādi. 138. 74 (Drupada ruled over southern Pañcāla up to Carmanvatī), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67.5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva's *yajñas*), P. I. 24.3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva); the word Carmanvatī occurs in Pān. VIII. 2.12
- Carmakoṭa**—M 22. 42
- Catuḥsamudra**—(a *kūpa* under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 89
- Catuḥsāmudriṇa**—(a *kūpa* under Ma-thurā) Var. 158. 41
- Catuḥsrota**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 17
- Caturmukha**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām, 42.28
- Caturthesvara**—(under VS) N. II. 49.65
- Caturvedesvara**—(under VS) SK, Kāśi-khaṇḍa 33. 130
- Chāgalāṇḍa**—(a very fit place for śrā-dḍha) M. 13.43 (where Devī is called Pracaṇḍā), 22. 72
- Chāgaleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119
- Chāyākṣetra**—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 100 (town park of Mahā-lakṣmīpura is so called)
- Chinnapāpakṣetra**—(on Go.) P. VI. 174. 15
- Ciccikatirtha**—(under Go.) B. 164.1
- Cidambara**—(see under Mīnākṣī) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38. 11. It is famous for its great Śiva temple and contains the 'air *linga*' i. e. no *linga* is actually visible but a curtain is hung before a wall and when visitors enter the curtain is withdrawn and the wall is exhibited. The temple has a hall of more than 1000 monolithic pillars
- Cintāṅgadesvara**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 14
- Cīramocanatirtha**—(in Kāśmīra) R. I. 149-150 (mentions the Kanakavāhinī, Nandīśa and this tirtha together). It is the confluence of the Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind, NM 1538-1545 (so called because the seven sages left their bark garments here and then went to heaven), SM p. 211
- Citābhūmi**—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar in Sonthal *pargaṇa* containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas) Śivapurāṇa I. 38, 55. Vide Dey p. 50.
- Citrāguptesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

- Citrakūṭa—(hill, 65 miles south-west of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansi-Manikpur branch) V. 85. 38, Rām. II. 54. 28-29 and 93. 8 (ten krośas from Bhāradvājāśrama) Rām. II. 55.9 (it is pitṛtīrtha), II. 56. 10-12, M. 22.65 and Anu I.25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35-36 (near Mandākinī r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvamśa XIII. 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmāgiri.
- Citrakūṭā-(r. rising from Rṣapavata) Vā. 45. 99, M. 114. 25 (where Mandākinī and this r. are both mentioned as rising from Rṣavat)
- Citrāṅgadātīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11, Vām. 46. 39 (Citrāṅgadesvara-līṅga)
- Citrāṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramati) P. VI. 141. 1
- Citrēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by K. T. p. 97
- Citropalā (r.) B. 46. 4-5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahānadi)
- Citropalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhī. 9. 34, M. 114. 25 (rising from Rṣavat), B. 27. 31-32 (rising from Rṣapāda)
- Cyavanasyaśrama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73. In Rg. I. 116.10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Aśvins; Sat. Br. 1.5.1-16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272-276 he married Sukanyā, king Saryāta's daughter and became young by a bath in a pool); B (under Narmadā) V 89. 12, 121. 19-22; V. chapters 122-124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sukanyā and the Aśvins. V. 102, 4 narrates that the Kāleśyas devoured one hundred *muni*s here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana's hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bṛghu and the Bṛghus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā
- Cyavaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- D
- Dadhīcatīrtha—V 83.186, P. I. 27.73-74 (where Sārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Siddhirat)
- Dadhiceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Dadhikarṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94.
- Dākinī—(Bhīmśaṅkara) see note 1536
- Dakṣaprayāga—N. II. 40. 96-97
- Dakṣatīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2 (to the south of Sthānuvata), Vām. 34. 20 (Dakṣāśrama and Dakṣeśvara)
- Dakṣeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75
- Dakṣiṇa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvari in B. 77. 9-10, 78. 77; B Kāveri (in Nr. 66. 7); C Narmadā in SK, Revākhaṇḍa 4. 24; D Tungabhadra (in Vik. 4.62)
- Dakṣiṇa-Gokarna—Var. 216. 22-23
- Dakṣiṇa-Māraṇa—(a tank under Gayā) N. II. 45. 74, Ag. 113. 17
- Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X. 79. 15
- Dakṣiṇa-pāṇcanada—V. Dh. S 85. 51 (the com. Vaijayanti says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇā, Venā, Tungā, Bhadrā and Koṣṭhā)
- Dakṣinaprayāga (known as Mokṣavenī in Saptagrāma in Bengal) 'tat-Dakṣinaprayāgam tu Gaṅgāto Yamunāṣṣṭatā | anānāt tatrākṣyam puṇyam Prayāga iva labhyate' quoted by Gaṅgāvakyaṇṭhi p. 296, which is itself quoted by T. P. p. 355. Dey p. 52 says that it is Trivenī on the north of Hughly in Bengal.
- Dakṣiṇa-sindhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V. 82. 53, P. I. 24. 2, Meghadūta I. 30
- Dālbyāśrama (hermitage of Baka Dālbya, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmana were in the company of Sugriva and his hosts. P. VI. 46. 14-15.
- Damin (masculine noun) V 82. 71-75.
- Dāmodaranāga—a spring in Kāśmīra, which is the upper hamlet of village

- Khesamoh** (Khesamoh), the birth-place of poet Bībhāna. Vide SM p. 166.
- Dāṇḍaprākura** (under *Kekāmukha*) Var. 140. 68-70.
- Dāṇḍa**—V 85. 15.
- Dāṇḍaka** (name of a territory, location being vague and probably it means no more than *Dāṇḍakāranya*) Rām. II. 9. 12 (*dikām-āsthāya Kaikeyi dakṣiṇām Dāṇḍakān prati*).
- Dāṇḍakāranya** or **Dāṇḍakavana**—V. 85 41, 147. 32, Var. 71. 10 (where Gautama performed *tapas*), B 88. 18, 110. 96 (Gautami is in *Dāṇḍaka*), 123. 117-120 (Gautami was five *yojanas* from the beginning of D.), 129. 55 (quintessence of the world), 161. 73 (D. is the seed of dharma and of mukti), Śai. 39. 9-10 (Janas-thāna is in D.), Rām. II. 18. 33 and 37, III. 1. 1, Vām. 84. 12 (refers to *Dāṇḍakāranya brāhmaṇas*) and 43. P V. 34. 58-59 (origin of name). Vide my paper on the 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' in JBRAS for 1917 at pp. 14-15 and the note and Pargiter in JRAS for 1894 on 'the Geography of Rāma's exile' p. 242. *Dāṇḍakāranya* probably comprised all forests from Bundelkhand or Bhopal in Central India right down to Godāvarī or to Kṛṣṇā. Br. S. XI. 56 says that a malignant comet in *Hasta* nakṣatra kills the chief of *Dāṇḍakāranya*.
- Dāṇḍakhāta** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dāṇḍśvara** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dardura** or **Durdura** (Nīlgrī Hills) V. 282. 43, Mār. 54. 12, Var. 214. 52, Raghuvaṃśa IV. 51 (near river *Tāmraparṇī*), Br. S. 14. 11.
- Dāravana**—K. II. 39. 66; same as *Devadāravana*, which see.
- Darvīśāṅkramana**—V. 84. 45, P. I. 32. 9.
- Dāṇḍakṣyātīrtha**—(under *Narmadā*) P. 1. 21. 14.
- Dasārṇa**—(r. rising in m. Rikṣa, on which śrāddha, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22. 34, K. II. 37. 35-36, Vā. 45. 99, 77, 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called *Dasān*, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites *Vārtikas* 7 and 8 on Pān. VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III. p. 69). *Dasārṇa* is a word meaning a country having ten forts or 'a river (*Dasārṇa*) having ten waters'. The *Vārtikas* are 'pra-vat-satara-kambalavasanaṇām carṇe' and 'ṛadaśābhyām ca'. Meghadūta I. 23-24 show that the capital of the *Dasārṇa* country was *Vidīśā* (modern *Bhilsā*) and the *Vetravatī* (Betwa river) was near it. It is the *Dosaron* of Ptolemy (p. 71). Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in *Uttarāśādhā* destroys *Dasārṇas*.
- Dasūsvamedhika** or **medhika** or **medha**—A (a tīrtha on the *Gaṅgā*) V. 83. 14, 85. 87, Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45, K. II. 37. 26, M. 185. 68 (in VS); B (under *Prayāga*) M. 106. 46; C (under *Gayā*) Ag. 115. 45, N. II. 47. 30; D (under *Narmadā*) M. 193. 21, K. II. 41, 104, P. I. 20. 20; vide Bom. G. vol. II. p. 348 for its sanctity; E (under *Mathurā*) Var. 154. 23; F (under *Kurukṣetra*) P. 1. 26. 12; G (under *Go.*) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.
- Dattātreyā-līṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.
- Daurvāsika**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11.
- Devadāravana**—A (in the *Himālayas* near *Badrināth*) Anu. 25. 27, K. II. 37. 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 56, M. 13. 47 (Devi is called *Puṣṭi* here); B (*Aundha* in the *Nizām's* dominions) P. VI. 129. 27; C (near *Vijayeshvara* in *Kāśmīra*) HC. 10. 3.
- Devāgama**—(under *Go.*) B. 160. 1.
- Devagiri**—(a hill under *Mathurā*) Var. 164. 27, Bb. V. 19. 16.

- Devahrada—A (under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 71, Ann. 25. 44; B (under Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V. 85. 37
- Devahrada—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146.
- Devakūta—(sacred m.) V. 84. 141, P. I. 38. 57.
- Devalaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 92
- Devaparvata—(probably Aravali hills) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Devapatha—V. 85. 45. P. I. 39. 47
- Devaprabha—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 59
- Devaprayāga—In Tehri State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgirathī and Alakanandā); vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p. 214
- Devāranya—(a forest on r. Lauhitya) Vā. 47. 11 (devāranyam viśokam ca tasya tire)
- Devasāla—(Viṣṇu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr. 65. 15 q. by T. K. p. 252
- Devalīrtha—A (on north bank of Go.) B. 127. 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 24, 193. 81, K. II. 42. 16, P. I. 18. 24; C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 161. 1
- Devala—(under VS) P. I. 37. 9
- Devalaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
- Devikā—A (r. rising in Himālaya and being after Sindhu and Pañcanada and before Sarasvatī) V. 82. 102-107, 222. 22 (4 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth), B 27. 27, Vā. 43. 95, Ann. 166. 19, Vām. 81. 5. The VI. IV. 24. 69 says that Vṛatyas, Mlecchas and Śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvīkorvī, Candrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here 'Dāvīkorvī' means, as Śrīdhara says, the country on the Devikā; B (r. that joins Gaṇḍakī) Var. 144. 33, 112-113 (Devikā nāma devānām prabhāvāc ca tapasyatām 1 nitya amṛitā manu-
 dbhūtā Gaṇḍakya militā śubbā), Var. 214. 48; C (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 30, 77. 41 (Vṛṣa-kūpa for śāddha on), Br. III. 13. 41. Ann. 25. 21 and 165. 19, K. II. 37. 25, P. I. 25. 9-14, N. II. 47, 27, VI. II 15. 6, Vām. 78. 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not clear what river is meant. NM 152-153 say that it is holy like Irāvati, is identified with Umā and located in Madra i.e. between Rāvi and Chenab. Pāṇ. (VII.3. 1) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbh. thereon gives the illustration 'Dāvīkākūlāḥ śālayah' (paddy grown on the banks of the Devikā is so called). Pāṇini probably mentions some river in the Panjab. Dey p. 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called Devikā or Devā. Vām. 84. 12 refers to Devikā (ritha brāhmanas, SK. VII Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278. 66-67 speak of Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) as situated on the Devikā; P. I. 25. 9-14 (3 yojanas long and 1 yojana wide). In VI. II. 15. 6 the city called Viranagara is said to be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Pulastya. Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Ann. 163. 19 and 21 they two are separately named. Br. S. 11. 35 says that a certain malignant Ketu would strike down even Devikā in the north. Pargiter (tr. of Mār, p. 292) identified it with the river Deeg or Degh in the Panjab, Dr. V. S. Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U. P. H. S. vol. 16 pp. 21-22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 17 part 2 p. 78 supports Pargiter. With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha.
- Devikātapa—(Devī is called Nandinī here) M. 13. 38
- Devipīṭhas—eight are enumerated in Kālikāpurāṇa 64. 89-91

- Devikūṭa**—Kal. 18. 41, where the feet of Sati's corpse fell
- Devīsthāna**—Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 5-30 (enumerate numerous Devīsthānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptakṛāga). The Matsya (13.26-54) enumerates 108 Devīsthānas.
- Dhanadeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
- Dhanuṣpāta**—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 33.
- Dhanvatīrūpā**—(r. rising in Pāriyātra m.) M. 114. 24.
- Dhānyatīrtha**—(under Gomatī) B 120.1
- Dhārā**—(r.) P. I. 28. 26, M. 22. 36
- Dharanītīrtha**—(irāddha most efficacious here) M. 22. 70.
- Dhārāpatanaka-tīrtha** (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 8
- Dhārātīrtha**—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 6
- Dharmahrada**—(under VS) N. II. 51.14
- Dharmarada**—same as Paūcanada, which see.
- Dharmaprastha**—(under Gayā) V. 84.99
- Dharmapṛstha**—(4 miles from Bodh-Gayā) P. V. 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54-55 and 78, K. II. 37. 38
- Dharmarājatīrtha**—(on the western bank of Jumnā near Prayāga) M. 108 27, P. I. 45. 27
- Dharmāranya**—(under Gayā) V. 82. 46, Arb. 166. 28-29, Vā. 111. 23, Vām. 84. 12 (brāhmaṇas of Dharmāranya), Ag. 115.34, N. II. 45. 100; vide Dr. Barua on 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I, pp. 16-17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgayā temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature. Rām. I 32. 7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brāhmā; vide p 661 about Gayā; B (near Mahākālā) P. I. 12. 6-8; Br. S. 14. 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain.
- Dharmāstreśvara**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 133
- Dharmasthā**—(under Gayā) Vā. chap. 107 and Ag. 114. 8-28. Vide above pp. 657-58 for the story
- Dharmatīrtha**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 4, Ag. 109. 16, K. I. 35. 10, P. VI. 135. 17
- Dharmavati**—(river that falls into Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 16
- Dharmēśvara**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53; B (under Gayā) N. II. 45. 103, Vā. 111. 26
- Dharmodbhava**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44-46
- Dhautapāpa**—vide Pāpaprāṇāna
- Dhautapāpā**—(r. rising in Hīmālaya) M 114. 22
- Dhautapāpēśvara**—līṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156
- Dhavalesvara**—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144. 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)
- Dhenuka**—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87-89, P. I. 38. 7-10, N. II. 44. 68
- Dhenukāranya**—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32
- Dhenuvaṣa**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40-43
- Dhruva-tapovana**—P. I. 38. 31
- Dhūmavati**—V 84. 22, P. I. 28. 23 (Dhūmavanti)
- Dhundi-Vināyaka**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 126 and SK. IV. chap. 57. 33 (give the etymology of Dhundi); for 56 Gaṇeśas, vide p. 638 above
- Dhūtāpāpa** or **Dhautapāpa** or **Dhāuta-pura**.—A (on Narmadā) M. 22. 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9-10; B (at Gokarna) Br. III. 13. 20 (Rudra practised tapas here); C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 47. 35. D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 58 (less than five krośas from Stutasvāmin), T. K. p. 223. AG. p. 401 says that Dhōpāpapura is on the right bank of the Gomatī (popularly

- Gumti) 18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; E (near Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G.I. vol. XXII, p. 50.
- Dhūtapāpā—A (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; B (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 80, Br. II. 16. 26
- Dhūtavāhinī—(r. rising in Rsyavanta m.) M. 114, 26
- Dindipunyakara—(fit for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M. 23. 77
- Dīpēśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 38, K. II. 41. 25-27 (it is Vyāsātīrtha-tapovana)
- Dīptoda—(probably the same as Bhṛgu-tīrtha) V. 99. 69 (where Bhṛgu, great-grand-father, and the father of Parāsurāma performed most severe penance)
- Dirghasattra—V. 82. 108-110, P. I. 25. 15-16
- Dirgha-Vīṇu (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63
- Divākara—llūga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
- Divaukaṣ—puṣkarinī V. 84. 118, P. I. 38. 35
- Drona—(m. in Bhāratavarsa) M. 121. 13, Bh. V. 19. 16, P. VI. 8. 45-46
- Droṇasārmapada—Ann. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Droṇadharmā)
- Droṇēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66,
- Droni—(r.) M. 22. 37 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible).
- Drumakṣetra—L. I. 92. 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra).
- Drūva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31
- Drūvatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180. 1
- Dr̥ṣadvatī (r.). Vide p. 682 above. In Eg. III. 23. 4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu II. 17 (calls it *devanadī*), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 49. 18. It is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with the Chittang (Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name. Cunningham's identification of it with Rākabī river 17 miles to the south of Thāṇesar has much to recommend it (A. S. of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).
- Drumacandēśvara—(a lūga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Dugdheśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148 l (to the south of Khadga-dhara). Vide Bom. G. vol. IV p. 6.
- Durdhareśvara—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.
- Durgā—(acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhya).
- Durgā—sābhramatisaṅgama—P. VI. 169. 1.
- Durgā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Vā 45. 103, Br. II. 16. 33.
- Durgātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14-15; B (under Go.) B. 132. 8.
- Dvādasādītya-kuṇḍa (under Badarī) Var. 141. 24
- Dvaita-vana—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvaita lake named after king Dvaitavana of the Matsyas), V. 11. 68. 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37. 27 (visited by Balarama on Sarasvatī), Vām. 22. 12, 47. 56 (it was near Sānuhatya pool).
- Dvārakā—A—the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities. Vide p. 678. It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other. The ancient Dvārakā was situated near Koḍimar. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Somat and Singāvra

these miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dvārakā in Okhamandala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518-520 for Kodinar and p. 552 for Mūla Dvārakā. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa (with Rāivataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāsandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide *Sabhāparva* 14. 49-55. The Var. (149. 7-8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 5 broad. Vide p. 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54-56) says that the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuśasthalī and built up Dvārakā: Vi. V. 23. 13-15. B 196. 13-15 say that Kṛṣṇa begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dvārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Kṛṣṇa passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by *Mausala-parva* 6. 23-24 and 7. 41-42, B 210. 55 and 212. 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38. 9 (the whole of Dvārakā except Kṛṣṇa's palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmiṇī's palace). It is called the capital of Ānarta (*Udyoga* 7. 6) and was first called Kuśasthalī (*Sabhā* 14. 50). Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B. 7. 29-32 and Ag. 273. 12 (Kuśasthalī being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dvārakā is near Okhā in Kathiawar. The *Harivaṃśa* II (*Viṣṇu-parva*) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dvārakā. Some ancient Jaina works like the *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* (SBE. vol. 45 p. 115) mention Dvārakā and Rāivataka park

(Girnār). The Jātakas also refer to Dvārakā. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's work on 'India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism' pp. 102, 239. The *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* of the SK has a sub-section on Dvārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dvārakā. It says 'the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dvārakā in half a twinkie (4. 32)': "Pilgrimage to Dvārakā is the 4th means of *mukti*. Man secures mukti by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomati near Kṛṣṇa" (SK. VII. 4. 4. 97-98). The BV. (Kṛṣṇajānamakhaṇḍa, *Uttarārḍha* chap. 103) has a hyperbolical description of the creation of Dvārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called *Dvārakā-pattalaka* compiled by Bīṇābāyī (the only Ms. of which is the one at B.O. R. I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms. is dated *saṃvat* 1574 (1518 A. D.). It summarises the Dvārakā-māhātmya in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dvārakā first worships Ganeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇī's temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th *tithī*, then visits Cakra-tīrtha, then Dvārakā Gaṅgā, then Saṅkhoddhāra, then bathes in the Gomatī. The temple of Dvārakā-nātha is on the north bank of the Gomatī creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surmounted by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I, pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dvārakā;

B (there is Dvārakā in Indraprastha)
P. VI. 202. 4 and 62

Dvārakā—Kṛṣṇatīrtha—M. 22. 39.

Dvāravatī—Same as Dvārakā. It contained the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa (7. 104-105) states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four varṇas it was named Dvāravatī by the learned. Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?' In a Dvārakā-māhātmya stated to be taken from the Skandapurāṇa (D. C. Ms. No. 49 of 82-83, copied in *samrat* 1529 l. e. 1472-73 A. D.) it is stated that Mathurā, Kāśī and Avanti are easy of access (sulabha), but Ayodhyā, Māyā and Dvārakā are difficult of approach in the Kali age and in Ms. D. C. No. 63 of 1875-76 it is said at the end that the city is called Dvāravatī because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by Yule and others with Barake of the Periplus (Ptolemy pp. 187-188.)

Dvidevakula—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 158

Dvipa—(probably the island at the mouth of the Ganges) Nr. 65. 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where Viṣṇu is worshipped as Ananta Kapila)

Dvīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 80, P. I. 18. 38 and 23. 76

E

Ekadhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136. 12

Ekahansa—V. 83. 20

Ekāmra—(in Utkala, Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack). This is Rudra-tīrtha. Ekāmra is the ancient name, the modern one being Bhubanesvara. It was also called

Kṛttivāsa. B (chap. 41. 10-93) describes and glorifies this tīrtha, all those verses being quoted in T. C. pp. 176-180. It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to Benares, and as having eight sub-tīrthas and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34. 6 and 41. 10-93). Vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 231-241 and Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 56-98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the *kalasa*. In the Bhubanesvara Inscription (edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett) in E. I. XIII p. 150 it is stated that Candrikā, daughter of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga-Bhīma and widow of Haibaya prince Paramardīn, built a temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra. In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of Utkala, of the sanctuary of Ekāmra and of the lake Bindusaras (mentioned in B. 41. 53-54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between *śaka* 1101-1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here. Vide Archaeological survey of India Report for 1902-3 pp. 43-44, Puraṣottamatattva (Jiv. I. p. 573) where Raghubānandana quotes several verses of B. chap. 41. There is Ekāmrapurāṇa in five aṅgas (parts) and 70 chapters (vide Mitra's Notices vol. IV pp. 138-140 No. 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and Ekāmra Candrikā which is a guide to pilgrims visiting Bhubanesvara and contains extensive quotations from Kapila-saṁhitā, Ekāmrapurāṇa, Śivapurāṇa and other works (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 136-137 No. 1560 for analysis of contents).

Ekavīra—(under Go) B. 161. 3

Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 22.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A.G. p. 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Verival in Kathiawar. Talegaon copperplates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛmārāja I dated *śaka* 690 (768-769 A.D.) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (E. I. XIII. p. 275); vide also E. I. vol. XXV. p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of *śaka* 663 i.e. 741-42 A. D.)

Erāṇḍīnarmadāsāṅgama—M. 194. 32, K. II. 41. 85 and II. 42.31, P. I. 18.41

Erāṇḍītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Uri or Or) M. 191. 42, 193.65, P. I. 18. 41.

G

Gabbastīśa—(under VS) SK. VI. 33. 154

Gabbīraka—(a l. under Mandāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākūṇḍa—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109. 11-13, 111 75-76, Ag. 115. 69; see above p. 665

Gajābhaya—(same as Hastināpura) Svargā-rohanaparva 5. 34

Gajākarna—(one of many pītītīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gajākṣetra—a Sivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122.

Gajāsaila—(m. south of Mānasa lake) Vā. 36. 24

Gajasābhaya or **Nāgasābhaya**—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V. 35. 8, 19, 30-32, Vām. 78. 8, Bh. I. 4. 6 (com. explains 'gajena sahita ābhayo nāma yasya'); Bṛ. S. 14. 4 calls it 'Gajābhaya.'

Gajesvara—(under Śrīśaila) L. I. 92.156

Gālava—Vide Pāpasraṇīśana.

Gālaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98

Gallikā—(r., same as Gaṇḍakī) P. VI. 76. 2 (where the Sālagrāma stones are found), VI. 129. 14

Gambhīrā—A (a r. that joins Vitastā below Vijayestvara) HC. X. 192, SM. p. 170. Stein in note on R. VIII. 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Viśokā river before it falls into Vitastā; B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I. 40; Bṛ. S. 16.15 mentions Gāmbhīrikā r. It falls into the Sīprā.

Gānapatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramati on a hill called Viṣṇu) P. VI. 129. 26, VI. 163.1.

Ganātīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 133. 24

Gaṇḍakī—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Ganges at Sonapur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188). Ādi. 170. 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), S. 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V. 222. 22 (Gaṇḍasābhayā is probably the same as Gaṇḍakī). P. I. 38, 30, IV. 20, 12 (it has pebbles marked with *akṣra*). The river is said to have sprang from the perspiration on Viṣṇu's cheek in Var. 144-106, Br. II. 16. 26. Viṣṇu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Sālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35-58) Gaṇḍakī, Devikā and a r. from Pulastyaśrama make Trivenī (Var. 144. 84). It is known in Nepāla as Sālagrāmi and in U.P. as Nārāyaṇī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekām-raka, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Sivapurāṇa says it rises in the Vinodhya). See 'Antiquities of Orissa' by Mitra, vol. II. p. 98; B (a small tributary of Sīprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gaṅgā—Vide pp. 388-396 above

Gaṅgādvāra—(the same as Haridvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142. 9-10, Anu. 25. 13, K. I. 15. 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Vīra-bhadra), II. 20. 33 (as one of the

- best places for śrāddha), V. Dh. S. 85. 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26. 103. It is a Salivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 129; M. 22. 10 (mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī separately in the same verse)
- Gandhakālī—(r.) Vā. 77. 74, Br. III. 13. 76
- Gandhamādāna—(m. on which Badrināth is situated) Nr. 65. 10 q. by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2. 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51. 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V. 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇādrama), M. 13. 26
- Gandharvakūṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13
- Gandharvanagara—q. by T. K. p. 247
- Gandharvatirtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 13, Sal. 37. 10 (near Gargasrotah on Sarasvatī)
- Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P. p. 357
- Gaṅgā-Gomati-saṅgama—T. P. p. 358
- Gaṅgāhrada—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83. 201, Anu. 25. 34
- Gaṅgā-Kaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P. pp. 357-358
- Gaṅgā-Mānuṣa-saṅgama—(near Kāśmīra) NM. 1457
- Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 16 (near Gaṇeśvara)
- Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama—V. Dh. S. 85. 26, M. 22. 11 (it is 'sarvatīrthamaya'), P. I. 39. 4, T. P. pp. 355-356 (for Māhātmya)
- Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama—V. 84. 38, P. I. 32. 3
- Gaṅgā-Sarayū-saṅgama—Raghuvamśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357
- Gaṅgā-vadana-saṅgama—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 20
- Gaṅgāvārāṇa-saṅgama—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 45
- Gaṅgā-Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e. Prayāga, which see) V. 84. 33
- Gaṅgeśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 49. 45; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 14
- Gaṅgodbheda—V. 84. 65, M. 22. 25, P. I. 32. 29, Ag. 109. 18
- Gargasrotas—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37. 14
- Gargeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 82
- Gārhapatyapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 50
- Garteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19, 176. 6
- Gārūḍa—(under Go.) B. 90. 1
- Garudakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67
- Gaurī—(r.) Bhī. 9. 25. It is probably the Gourais of the Greek writers. Vide Ptolemy p. 111
- Gaurīa—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 98
- Gaurīśikhara—A—V. 84. 151, M. 22. 76 (fit place for śrāddha); B (a tirtha near Kāśmīra) NM. 1448-1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising *tapas*)
- Gaurītirtha—(under VS) M. 22. 31, K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3
- Gautama—(on Mandara m.) P. VI. 129. 8
- Gautamanāga—(in Kāśmīra, to the north of Anantanāga and on the way to Bavan) S. M. p. 178
- Gautamīśrama—(near Tryambakeśvara) P. VI. 176. 58-59
- Gautama-vana—V. 84. 108-110
- Gautameśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 22. 68, 191. 60, K. II. 42. 6-8, P. I. 20. 58; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Gautamī—(i. e. Godāvarī). Vide pp. 707-711
- Gavām-bhavana—P. I. 26. 46
- Gayā—A—see pp. 643-679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikādrama) N. II. 67. 57-58
- Gayākedāraka (under Gayā) Ag. 113. 53
- Gayāśikramāṇa—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252 (Viṣṇu's *guhya* name is Hari there)
- Gayāśiras—(hill named after *rājārj* Gayā) V. 95. 9, 87. 11, Vā. 103. 29 (it is one krośa in extent), Vām. 22. 20

- (it is the eastern *vādi* of Brahmā). Ag. 115. 25-26 (it is called Phalgutīrtha). Acc. to Barua in 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I. p. 7 it is the modern Brahmayoni hill. Vide p. 646 note 1470 above.
- Gayāśīra—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S. 85.4; Buddha went to Gayasīra near Gayā with 1000 bhikṣus; vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134). Vide pp. 646 and 668 above
- Gayātīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 5.
- Gāyatrīsthāna—V. 85. 28
- Gāyatrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70.
- Gāyatrītīrtha—(under Gayā) Va. 112. 21.
- Ghaṇṭābharaṇaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 154 15
- Ghaṇṭākarnāhrada—(to west of Vyāseśa under VS) N II. 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p. 86.
- Ghaṇṭeśvara—M. 22. 70
- Gharghara or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P. II. 39. 43, M. 22. 35 and P. V. 11.29 (both the latter have the same words 'nadau tau Soṇa-Ghargharau'). Vide TP p. 502 for Sarayū-Gharghara-saṅgama. The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogrā or Sarjū from Bahrampur. Vide I. G. I. vol. 12 pp. 302-303.
- Ghaṭeśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 159. 3
- Ghaṭotkaca—(under VS) K I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.
- Ghṛtakulā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105. 74, 112. 30.
- Girīkarnikā—M. 22. 39 (Dey p. 65 identifies it with Sabarmatī).
- Girīkuñja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides)
- Girīkūṭa—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75.
- Girinagara—(modern Junāgaḍ in Kathiawar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Ūrjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp. 65-66) on it. The *śādukās* (stone with footprints) of Dattātreyā are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka's edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B. C. The Junāgaḍ Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) mentions it in the very first line (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 42). Vide under Vastrāpatha.
- Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sabadeva; called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times. It is about 62 miles from Patna. Dey has a very long note on it (pp. 66-69); S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Vaiṭhāra, Vipula, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Rṣigiri). Vide under Rājagṛha. Rām. I. 32. 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.
- Cobhileśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94
- Gocarmeśvara—(under Sriparyvata) L. I. 92 152
- Godāvarī—Vide pp. 707-711
- Godhana—(m) Br. II. 16. 22
- Gograha—(under Viraja in Oriṣa) B. 42. 6.
- Gokāmuka—(m) Bh. V. 19. 16.
- Gokarna—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumtā *Talukā* of North Kanara District) V. 85.24, 88, 15, 277. 55; Ādi., 217. 34-35 (ādyam paśūpateḥ sthānam darśanādeva muktidaṁ), Vā 77. 19, M. 22. 38, K. II. 35. 29-32, Br. III. 56. 7-21 (described as 1½ yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vām. 46. 13 (liṅga set up by Rāvaṇa), Br. III. 57-58 and N. II. 74 (narrate story of it)

- being flooded by the sea and of people going to Parāsurama for succour). Vide Epi. C. vol. VII Shikarpur No. 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla's tributary is styled 'lord of Gokarnapura.' The *Lingapurāṇa* speaks of two Gokarṇas (I. 92. 134-135). Kūrma II. 35. 31 mentions Uttara-Gokarṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa (213. 7) mentions a southern and a northern Gokarṇa; B (on Sarasvatī) Var. 170.11; C (under Mathurā) Var. 171-173; D (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113. M. 13. 30 says that Devī is styled Bhadrakarnikā at Gokarṇa
- Gokarṇahrada—V. 88. 15-16
- Gokarṇeśvara (on a peak of the Himālaya) Var. 215. 118.
- Gokula—(a mahāranya). Vide Vraja. P. IV. 69. 18, Bh. II. 7. 31.
- Gomañjaleśvara—(under Śripārvata) L. I. 92. 162 (established by Nanda and others)
- Gomanta—(a hill). A—M. 13.28 (Satī is called Gomatī on Gomanta); B (a hill in the Sahya range near Karavirapura, Krauñcapura and near river Veṇā) Harivaṃśa (Viṣṇuparva 39. 11 and 19-20); C (hill near Dvārakā where Kṛṣṇa and the Vṛṣṇis migrated from Mathurā through fear of Jarāsandha's attacks) S. 14. 54, V. 88. 15-17, N. II. 60. 27. Fargiter's identifications (p. 289 note) are unsatisfactory.
- Gomatī—(r.). A. In Rg. VIII. 24. 30 and X. 75. 6; it is invoked between Kubhā and Kṛmu (in X. 75. 6); hence it is probably modern Gomati a western tributary of the Indus; B (a river near Sarasvatī) V. 87. 7, P. I. 32. 37, Vām. 63. 61 and 83. 2; C (near Dvārakā), SK, VII. 4. 4. 97-98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69-70 and VI. 176. 35-36; D (the Gumti in Oudh, rising in Himālaya and falling into the Ganges below Benares) M. 114. 22, Br. II. 16. 25, Rām. II. 49. 11
- Gomatī-gaṅgā-saṅgama—P. I. 32. 42, Bh. V. 19. 18, Ag. 109. 19.
- Gopādri—(m. in Kashmir, in the immediate vicinity of Srinagara near its southernmost corner, now known as Takht-i-Sulaiman) SM p. 157, R. I. 341 (mentions Gopādri which is modern Gopkār on the Dal lake); vide K. R. 17
- Goniṣkramaṇa—(also Gosthalaka) Var. 147. 3-4 and 52
- Gopīśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 18 (where Kṛṣṇa sported with gopīs)
- Gopracāra—(a site under Gayā) Vā. 111. 35-37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag. 116. 6
- Gopratara—(Guptar in Fyzabad in Oudh) V. 84. 70-71 (where Rāma gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), Vām. 83. 8, N. II. 75. 71, Raghuvamśa XV. 101
- Gopreksa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42, P. I. 37. 16, N. II. 50. 43 (Gopreksaka)
- Gopreksaka—(Hūga under VS) L. I. 92. 67-68
- Gopreksēśvara—(under VS) Sk. q. by T. K. p. 131
- Gorakṣaka—Var. 215. 93
- Gorathapiri—(in Magadhbakṣetra) S. 20. 30
- Gotirtha—A (in Naimiṣa forest) V. 95. 3; B (under Prayāga) M. 110. 1; C (under VS) K. I. 35. 13; D (under Narmadā) M. 123. 3, P. I. 20. 3; E (under Sābharāmatī) P. VI. 156. 1
- Govardhana—A (a hill near Mathurā) M. 22. 52, K. I. 14. 18 (where Pṛthu practised austerities), P. IV. 69. 39, Var. 163. 18, 164. 1 and 22-23, Vi. V. 11. 16. Vide p. 691 above; B (a town under Gautamī established by Rāma) B. 91. 1, Br. II. 16. 44. Inscription of Usavadata near Nasik mentions Govardhana several times (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569). Vide p. 710 above.

Goviadatirtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 100; P. I. 38. 50 (appears to be near Campakāranya)

Gr̥dhra-kūṭa—A (a hill under Gayā) Vā. 77. 97, 108. 61, 111. 22, Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 45. 95 and 47. 78; B (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Śuddhā, where Parāśurāma's hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394-5

Gr̥dhra-vaṭa—K. II. 37. 38

Gr̥dhra-vaṭa—A (on the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa hill of Gayā) V. 84. 91, Ag. 116. 12, P. I. 38. 11 (bhasmanā snāna there), N. II. 44. 72, Vā. 108. 63; the tree does not now exist; B (under Śukarākṣetra where a Gr̥dhra became a man) Var. 137. 56

Gr̥dhreśvara-līṅga—(under Gayā on Gr̥dhra-kūṭa) Ag. 116. 11, N. II. 47. 78

Gubheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Gurukulyatirtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18. 153 (where Bali performed Aśvamedhas)

H

Hamisadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464

Hamisakuṇḍa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 46

Hamisapada—(near Viśākhayūpa) Vām. 81. 10

Hamisaprapātana—(under Prayāga) V. 85. 87, M. 106. 32 (to the east of Gaṅgā and north of Pratiṣṭhāna), K. I. 37. 24, P. I. 39. 80, Ag. 111. 10

Hamisatirtha—A (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 30, N. II. 47. 30; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 72; C (under Sālagrāma to its east) Var. 144. 152-155 (explain why so called). Vide Yakṣatirtha.

Hanūmat-tirtha—(under Go. on north bank) B. 129. 1

Hārakuṇḍa—(near Hārapura) L. I. 92. 164

Haramukūṭa—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM. 1320, 1322, 1231; peak of the Himālaya

on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttara-mānasa. Vide H. C. IV. 87-88 and Vik. 18. 55. Al. (vol. I p. 207) says that the Jailam rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises. Vide Stein's note on R. III. 448.

Haramuṇḍa—(a tirtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī) It is in the modern Saharanpur District in U. P. and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp. 501 and 678) P. IV. 17. 66, VI. 21. 1, VI. 22. 18, VI. 135. 37 (Māṇḍavya practised penance here). See Beal's BRWW vol. I. p. 197, where Hiouen Tshang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gaṅgā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A. G. p. 353) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gaṅgādvāra. Both SK. IV and P. IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e. 1030 A. D.). Probably Gaṅgādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al. (vol. I. p. 199) tells us that the source of the Ganges is called Gaṅgādvāra.

Haribara-kṣetra—A (on Tuṅgabhadra) Nr 65. 18 (q. by T. K. p. 253), P. VI. 176. 46 and VI. 183. 3, Var. 144. 145 (also called Devāṭa); it is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State; B (the junction of the Gaṅḍakī with the Ganges at Sonapur, where Gajendra-mokṣa took place) Var. 144. 116-133. Vām. 85. 4-76 places the story of Gajendramokṣa on mountain Trikūṭa

Harikeśeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113

- Harikeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 84 (probably the same as above)
- Haricāndra**—A (tīrtha under VS) M 22.52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181.28, Ag. 112.3; B (on south bank of Go.) B 104.86 and 88
- Haricāndra**—(a m.) Devala q. by T. K. 250
- Haricāndreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117
- Hariparvata**—(hill in Śrinagara)—same as Śārikāparvata or Pradyumnapiṭha. K. R. p. 17, Vik. 18. 15
- Hārīta-tīrtha**—(eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasīṣṭhatīrtha)
- Haritakivana**—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678 and n. 1536 above
- Hariteśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 120.
- Hariyūpiyā**—(a r.) Rg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kurukṣetra.
- Harodbheda**—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25
- Harsapathā**—(Śacī at Kāśyapa's prayer became H. in Kāśmīra) N M 309
- Hastatīrtha**—(v. l. Hanisatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmadā)
- Hastinapura or Hastināpura**—(capital of Kuru, named after king Hastin, great-grandson of Bharata Daśyanti,). It is to the north-east of Delhi. Ādi 95, 34, Rām. II. 68. 13 (Hastinapura), Vi IV. 21. 8, Bh. IX. 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nicaknu, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauṣāmbi his capital. Pān. VI. 2. 101 (na Hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hāstina-pura. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 380 on Pān. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration 'anu-Gaṅgam Hāstina-puram'.
- Hastipādeśvara**—(a Sivaliṅga to the east of Sthāṇuvaṣa) Vām 46.29
- Hastipāleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 76
- Hāṭaka**—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17, 67
- Hāṭakeśvara**—Vām. 63.78 (on Sapta-godāvara)
- Hayamukti**—(under Mathurā) Var. 160.23
- Hayasūras**—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.46, Vā. 77.46
- Hayatīrtha**—M. 22.69
- Hemakūṭa**—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhī. 6, 4, Br. II. 14.48 and 13 15 (Himavat and Hemakūṭa distinguished)
- Hetukeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
- Himālaya**—see Himavat
- Himavat**—In Rg. X. 121.4 and A. V. IV. 2. 5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantaḥ). But in A. V. V. 4. 2 and 8, VI. 24.1 the singular is employed. In Keapannisad III. 25 Umā Haimavatī is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pān. IV. 4. 112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II. 37. 46-49 its length is given as 1080 yojanas. It is the Varāparvata of Bharatavarṣa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are 'Kulaparvatas'. M. 117-118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it. Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gītā X. 25. Himavat meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār. 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarṣa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār. 54.59)
- Himavat**—aranya—Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. 244
- Hiraṇvatī**—(carried a girl to Kosala) Vām. 34.8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64.11 and 19.90.32, Anu 166. 25, Udyoga 132. 7 (in Kuru-

- ksetra, where Pāṇḍavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bh. 9.25
- Hiranyabāhu—(The Erannoboas of Greek writers, river Soṇa). Vide A. I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore. Arrian (A. I. p. 186) regards Erannoboas and Sonos as distinct. It was called 'golden armed' probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it.
- Hiranyabindu—(on m. Kālānjara) V. 87.21, Anu. 23.10
- Hiranyadvipa—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 68, P. I. 20. 66
- Hiranyagarbha—(a lūga under VS) K. I. 35.13, L. I. 92. 76, P. I. 37. 16, L. q. by T. K. p. 48
- Hiranyakāśipulūga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Hiranyākṣa—M. 22.52 (most efficacious about *dānas* here)
- Hiranyākṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 47
- Hiranyāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135.1
- Hiranyavāha—same as Soṇa and as Arrian's Erannoboas, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G. p. 452)
- Hiranyavatī—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavatana of Kāśināra). SBE, vol. XI. p. 85. It is the same as the Gaṇḍakī. Vide A. G. p. 453
- Hlādinī—(r.) Rām. II. 71.2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Satadri)
- Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11
- Hṛṣīkeśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Haridvāra) Var. 146. 63-64 (Viṣṇu is deemed to stay there)
- I
- Ikṣu—A (r. from Himavat) Vā. 45. 96. Dey, p. 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Asmanvatī (p. 13) and Cakṣus (p. 43) with Oxus. Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49
- Ikṣumati—A (r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pān. IV. 2. 85-86 (nadyām matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pāṇini was aware of this river, as 'Ikṣu' is included in the madhvādī-gana). Rām. II. 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālinī, then Gaṅgā at Hāstinapura, then Kurukṣetra and then Ikṣumati), M 22.17 (favourite of the pitṛs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11.13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvira country) Vi. II. 13. 53-54 (there was Kapila's āśrama on it where the king of Sauvira came and asked what is most beneficial in this *samsāra* which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh. V. 10. 1
- Ikṣu—Narmadāsaṅgama—M 191. 49, K. II. 41.28, P. I. 18. 47
- Ikṣudā—(r. rising in m. Mabendra) M 114. 31, Vā. 43. 106 (reads Ikṣulā)
- Ilāspada—P. I. 26. 73
- Ilātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 108. 1
- Ilvalapura—(same as Mañimatīpurī) V. 96. 4
- Indirā—(r.) Vā. 108. 79
- Indradhvaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 36
- Indradyumnasaras—A (under Puruṣottama, vide pp. 694-95, 700 above) B. 51. 29-30; B V. 199.9-11, Ādi 119.50 (beyond even Gandhamādana, where Pāṇḍu practised *tapas*)
- Indradyumneśvara—lūga of Mahātāla, SK. I. 2. 13. 209
- Indragṛāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144. 1
- Indrakūla—(m. beyond Gandhamādana) V. 37. 41-42, M. 22. 53 (sacred to pitṛs), NM 1443, Bh. V. 19. 16
- Indraloka—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 10-13
- Indramārga—Anu 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27. 68
- Indranadī—(r.) Vā. 43. 26

Indrānīrtha—N. II. 40. 93

Indraprastha—(the modern village of Indrapat in Delhi District on the Yamunā, Old Delhi). Ādl 217. 27, Maṇṣala 7. 72. vi, V. 38.34 (Yādava Vajra was crowned king here by Arjuna after Kṛṣṇa passed away), P. VI. 196. 5, 60, 75-76 (it extended up to four yojanas to the south of Yamunā), 200. 5 (it was in Khāṇḍavavāṇa), Bh. X. 58.1, XI 30.48, XI. 31.25. Indraprastha is only one of five prasthaa, the others being Sonapat, Pāṇipāt, Pilpat and Bāghpat

Indratīrtha—(under Go.) B 96. 1

Indratoyā—(r. on Gandhamādana) Anu 25. 11

Indreśvara—A (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92.152; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 71

Irāvati—(modern Rāvi river in Panjab called Hydrotas by Greek writers). Nir. IX. 26 notes that the river Parusni invoked in Rg. X. 75. 5 was also called Irāvati; VDb.S.85. 49, M. 22. 19 (śt for śrāddha), Vā. 45. 95 (rises in Himālaya), Vām. 79.7,81.1, NM 149 (Irāvati tatbā punyā sarvakalmaṣanāśini). The city of Lahore stands on it. The Mbh. (vol. I p. 382 on Pān. II. 1. 20 cites as examples 'dvīrāvātiko deśaḥ, trīrāvātiko deśaḥ'. Vide under Candrabhāgā.

Irāvati—nadvalā-saṅgama—Vām. 79.51.

Īśānādhyakṣita—V 84. 8.

Īśāna-līṅga—(under VS) L. I. 92. 106 and 137 q. by T. K. p. 105

Īśāna-sikhara—(under Kedāra) Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 230

Īśatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 69

J

Jagannātha—see under Puruṣottama

Jāhnavi—(name of Gaṅgā) Vā. 91. 54-58 (story of sage Jahnu). N. II 41. 35-36 (Jahnu drank it and let it off through his right ear), Br. III. 56. 48 (Jahnu let it off from his belly), III. 66. 28.

Jahnuhrada—N. II. 40. 90

Jaigīṣavyaguhā—(under VS) L. I. 92. 53

Jaigīṣavyeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 91

Jāla—a Śāktakṣetra, acc. to Bār. S. III. 124.

Jalabindu—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 16

Jālandhara—A (hill) M. 13. 46 (Devī was called Viśvamukhī on it), 22. 64 (hill sacred to pitṛs); according to Kal. chap. 18.51 Devī is called Caṇḍī on Jālandhara hill, whereon her breasts fell when Śiva carried her corpse; B (a town on the Sutlej in the Panjab) Vā 104. 80 (Jālandhara pītha seen on the chest of Veda-puruṣa personified); one of the pīthas of Lalitā is probably Jālandhara; P. VI. 4. 19-20, Br. IV. 44. 93 (Jālandhara). Vide A. G. pp. 136-139

Jaleśvara—A (a Śivatīrtha, one of the eight *sthānas*) M. 181. 28 and 30, K. II. 40. 35; B (under Narmadā) M. 186. 15 and 38 (a *hrada* named Jaleśvara). K. II. 40. 22, P. I 14. 3. Its *utpatti* in M 187; C (Jaleśvara near Śālagrāma) Var. 144. 139-140

Jalpiśa—T. P. pp. 602-603 quoting Kālikāpurāṇa

Jāmadagnya-tīrtha—A (where the Narmadā falls into the sea) M 194. 34-35, P I. 21. 34-35 (calls it Jāmadagnitīrtha); B. M 22. 57-58 (on Godāvarī, very efficacious for śrāddha).

Jambira—campaka (under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 190

Jambukeśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35.4, P I. 37.4, L. I. 92.107, N. II. 50.67 (where demon Jambuka was killed by Śiva)

Jambulā—(r. rising from Rkṣapāda) Vā 45. 100

Jambūmārga—A (an āyatana) Devala q. by T. K. 250, Vi II. 13.33 (on the Ganges); Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

- separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālāñjara as āyatanaś ; B (near Kurukṣetra) V. 82. 41-42, 89. 13 (on Asita m.), Anu. 25 51, 166. 24, M. 22. 21, Br. III. 13. 38; C (near Puṣkara) P. I. 12. 1-2, Ag. 109. 9, Vā 77. 38.
- Jambūnadī—(rising from Candra-prabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br. II. 18, 68-69, Bh. V. 16. 19.
- Janakakūpa—(under Gayā) P. I. 38 28, V. 84. 111
- Janakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 119
- Janasthāna—Vide p. 710 above. V. 147. 33, V. 277. 42, Sal. 39. 9 (in Daṇḍakā-ranya), Vā 89. 194, B. 88. 1 (four yojanas in extent), Rām. VI. 126. 37-39, III. 21. 20, III. 30 5-6.
- Janeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 11 (sacred to pitrs)
- Janmeśvara—M. 22. 42
- Japyesvara—(or Jāpyesvara) K. II. 43 17-42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three crores of Rudra); Ag. 112. 4 (under VS)
- Jarāsandheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Jatākūṇḍa—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 47 (to the south of Malaya mountain and north of the sea.)
- Jātismarabhrada—A (near Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā) V. 85. 38; B (uncertain location) V. 84. 128, P. I. 38. 45
- Jayanta—M. 22. 73, Vām. 51. 51
- Jayantikā—Br. IV. 44. 97 (one of the 50 pīṭhas sacred to Lalitā)
- Jayapura—(in Kāśmīra, capital of king Jayapīṭha, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravati in imitation of Śrīkṛṣṇa's Dvāravati) R. IV. 501-511, K. K. pp. 13-16, SM. pp. 197-198 (marked by the present village Andarkot).
- Jyātīrtha—M. 22. 49
- Jayavana—(modern Zevan in Kāśmīra) R. I. 220, Vik. 18. 70 (1½ gavyūti from Pravara-pura). Zevan is mentioned in Ain. A. (vol. II p. 358 as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred. Takṣakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large limpid pool situated close to the village Zevan. Vide A. G. pp. 101-102 for the situation of Jayavana; under Takṣakanāga which is near Zevan.
- Jayinī—P. I. 26. 16 (where there is Somatīrtha)
- Jeṣṭhila—(near Campakāranya) V. 84. 134
- Jūṇatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35. 6, P. I. 37. 6
- Jñānavāpī—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it); see p. 638 above
- Jvālāmukhī—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 6
- Jvālasaras—(on Amarakaṇṭaka m.) Br. III. 13. 12
- Jvāleśvara—(near Amarakaṇṭaka) M. 188. 80 and 94-95, P. I. 15. 69, 77, 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here). It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited
- Jyeṣṭheśvara—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kāśmīra) R. I. 113, NM 1323-24. This was a forp of Śiva in a temple which was built by king Gopāditya of Kāśmīra. Stein in note on R. I. 113 states that there are three places in Kāśmīra called Jyeṣṭheśvara. R. I. 124 says that Jalauka, son of Aśoka, built a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara, which would be the oldest temple in Kāśmīra.
- Jyeṣṭhapuṣkara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P. V. 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2½ yojanas long and a half yojana in width)
- Jyeṣṭhasthāna—(near Koṭīrtha) V. 85. 62
- Jyotīrathā or—rathyā—(tributary of Śoṇa) V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8
- Jyotiṣmatī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūṭa) Vā. 47. 63, M. 121. 65, Br. II. 18. 66

Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

K

Kacaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112.

Kadalinadī—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52

Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 52 (where Vṛṣṇis became purified)

Kadambakhaṇḍa—(a kuṇḍa under Mathurā) Var. 164. 26

Kadambesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 161 (a liṅga established by Skanda)

Kādravātī—(a holy place for śrāddha, japa, homa etc.) Vā. 77. 82

Kailāpura—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 97

Kailāśaśikhara—(a peak of the Himālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V 139. 41 (6 yojanas high), 153. 1, 158. 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br. IV. 44. 95 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitādevī); vide Swami Pranavānanda's paper in J.U.P. H.S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasarovara' and Sven Hedin's 'Trans Himālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp. 82-83. Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz. Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputrā and Kārnālī is a moot point

Kākabhada (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13. 85

Kākāśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4

Kakubha—(a m.) Bb. V. 19. 16

Kakudmatī—(r. rising in Sahya) P. VI. 113. 25 (Koyanā in Satara District). Vide under Kṛṣṇā and TS p. 79. The Koyanā falls into Kṛṣṇā near Karad in Satara.

Kālābhairava—(under VS) L. I. 92. 132

Kālākavana—western boundary of Āryāvarta acc. to Mbh. vol. I. p.

475 (on Pān. II. 4. 10) and vol. III p. 174 (on Pān. VI. 3. 109). Dr. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 14 part 1, p. 15 says that it was part of Śāketa.

Kālakesava—(under VS) K. I. 35. 7

Kālakoṭi—(in Naimiṣa forest) V, 95 3, Br. S 14. 4.

Kālānjara or Kālīnjara—A (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V 85. 56, 87, 21, Vā 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nilakanṭha on it); Kālānjara was the capital of the Chandelas; vide E. I. vol. I. p. 217, E. I. vol. IV p. 153. For Kālāñjaramaṇḍala, vide E. I. vol. 19 p. 18 (plate dated *samvat* 893). Ain A. vol. II. p. 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill. It contains many temples and an idol is there called. Kālā Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks.' Vide I. G. I. vol. VI p. 349; B (as an *ayatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; C (under VS) K II. 36. 11-38 (story of *rājarsi* Sveta who constantly muttered Satarudriya), P. I. 37. 15; D (shrine of Śiva under (to.) B 146. 1 and 43 (also called Yāyāta); E (said to be source of Narmadā called Kālīnjari and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kālīkā-khaṇḍa q. by T. S. p. 98; F (under Marhurā) Var. 176. 18 (printed as Kālīnjara); G R. VII. 1256 (some hilly district in Kāśmīra is meant).

Kālāñjaravana—M 181. 27 (Kālīnjara, a Śiva-tīrtha) q. by T. K. p. 241

Kālāpagrāma—(probably near Badarikā) Vā. 91. 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Kṛtayuga-pravartaka when Kaliyuga will end), Bh. X. 87. 7.

Kālāpaka—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK. I. 2. 6, 33-34

Kālāpavana—P. I. 28. 3

- Kalāśākhyā-tīrtha**—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II. 40, 87
- Kālasarpis**—(a mahātīrtha of Kāśyapa) K. II. 37, 34, Vā 77, 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br. III. 13, 98
- Kalāśeśvara** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99, P. I. 37, 7
- Kālatīrtha**—**A** (in Kośalā) V. 85, 11-12; P. I. 39, 11 (both have same words); **B** (under VS) K. I. 35, 2
- Kalaviśka**—**Ann** 25, 43
- Kālavimāla**—(one of five tīrthas in Kāśmīra) HC 4, 83
- Kāleśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116, 23
- Kāleśvara**—**A** (under VS) L. I. 92, 136, L. q. by T. K. pp. 45, 72; **B** (under Narmadā) M 191, 85. In Br. IV. 44, 97 it is one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā.
- Kālībrada**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145, 45
- Kālī**—**A** (r. flows through Saharanpur District in U. P.) M. 22, 20, Vām. 57, 79; this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur; vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 102; **B** r. called Kālī Sind which falls into the Chambal
- Kālikā**—(r. sacred to *pīṭṭṣ*) M. 22, 36
- Kālikā-saṅgama**—V. 84, 156, P. I. 38, 63 (same words in both), Ag. 109, 20
- Kālikāśikhara**—Devipurāna q. by T. K. p. 244
- Kālikāśrama**—**Ann** 25, 24 (on Vipāśa) NM 148
- Kālīndī**—(see under Yamunā) P. I. 29, 1
- Kāliya-brada**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 192, T. P. p. 515
- Kālīlakṣvara**—(under Narmadā) K. 11, 41, 88
- Kalmāyī**—(Yamunā) S. 78, 16
- Kālōdaka** (lake)—**A** Vīdh. S. 85, 35 (acc. to Vaijayanṭi com.), **Ann** 25, 60; **B** (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Haramukūṭa at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233
- Kālōdakā**—(r. in Kāśmīrā) **Ann** 25, 60, NM 1545
- Kalpagrāma**—(under Mathurā) Var. 166, 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P. there); probably modern Kālpī
- Kāma**—a Śāktakṣetra, acc. to the Bār. S. III. 124.
- Kāmadhenupada**—(under Gayā) Vā 112, 56
- Kāmagiri**—(m.) Br. IV. 39, 105, Bh. V. 19, 16, Devī-Bh. VIII. 11, 11.
- Kāmākhyā**—**A** (a Rudratīrtha on Devikā river) V 82, 105, P. I. 25, 12 (same words in both); **B** (a Devīsthāna or temple of Tripurabhairavi on the beautiful Nilācala hill overhanging the Brahmaputrā river) Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38, 15, Kal. 64, 2 (explains the name and the whole chap. is mahātmya). This last is about two miles from Gauhati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp. 599-601. Vide Shri B. Kakati's paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā in 'Siddhabhārati' part II, pp. 44 ff. In Kal. 18, 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Satī fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there.
- Kāmakṣīhaka** (Kāmakṣī)—Tīrtha of Tripurasundarī—Kāmakṣī, Br. IV. 5, 6-10, IV. 40, 16 (in Kāñcī), IV. 44, 94 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā), Bh. X. 79, 14 (Kamakṣīm purīm Kāñcīm)
- Kāmākṣā**—(in Ahicchatra) a Devīsthāna established by Sumada, P. IV. 12, 54-60
- Kāmākṣī**—(in the east) N. II. 69 (for mahātmya)
- Kamalākṣa**—(here Devī is called Mahotpalā) M. 13, 34
- Kamalālaya**—M. 13, 32 (here Devī is called Kāmālā)
- Kāmatīrtha**—(under south bank of Narmadā) K. II. 41, 55, G. I. 81, 9.

- Kambalāśvatarau Nāgau**—A (under Prayāga) M 106. 27, 110. 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (i. e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052
- Kambalāśvatarākṣa**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
- Kambotikeśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 60
- Kambutīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136. 1
- Kāmeśvara-līṅga**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33, 122
- Kāmeśvaripīṭha**—(Kal. 84 describes the yātra)
- Kāmika**—(where Gaṇḍakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84-85
- Kāmodāpura**—(on the Ganges) N. II. 68 (contains Kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean: viz. Rāmā, Vāruṇī, Kāmodā and Varā, of whom Viṣṇu accepted three and Vāruṇī was taken away by the asuras; chap. 68. 18, it is 10 yojanas above Gaṅgādvāra
- Kampanā** (r.)—V. 84. 115-116, Bhī. 9. 25
- Kāmyaka-āśrama** (of the Pāṇḍavas) V. 146. 6
- Kāmyaka-saras**—S. 52. 20
- Kāmyakavana**—A (on the banks of the Sarasvatī) V. 36. 41 (where Pāṇḍavas went from Dvaitavana), Vām. 41. 30-31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas
- Kaṇḍeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
- Kanakā**—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108. 80
- Kanaka**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189
- Kanakanandā**—(a river to the north of Muṇḍa-prstha at Gayā) N II. 44. 62, Vā 77. 105 (Kanakanandī), K. II. 37. 41-43 (reads Brahma-prstha)
- Kanakavāhinī** (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankanaī flowing past Buthūr i. e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1545, R. I. 149-150 (flows into river Sind). See SM. p. 211. NM (1539-42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī is equal to VS
- Kanakesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
- Kanakhala**—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V. 84.30, Anu 25.13, V Dh. S. 83.14, K. II. 37. 10-11, SK. I. 1. 2. 11 (where Rudra destroyed Dakṣayajña), Vā. 83.21, Vām. 4.57; vide T. P. p. 377; B (under Gayā between Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Māṇasa) Vā. 111. 7, Ag. 115.23, N. II. 46.46; C (under Narmadā) M. 183.69, P. I. 20.67 (where Garuḍa practised *tapas*); D (under Mathurā) Var. 152.40-49 (where a barber Kāmpilya in Pāncāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmaṇa)
- Kāñcanākṣī**—(r. near Naimiṣa forest) Vām. 83.2
- Kāñcī** or **Kāñcīpurī**—vide pp. 711-712 above. A—one of these seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devisthāna called Annapūrṇā, P. VI. 110.5, Devī-Bh. VII. 38.8, Br. IV. 5.6-10 and IV. 39.15, Bh. X. 79.14, Vā. 104.76, P. IV. 17.67, Bār. S. III. 124 (a Śākta-kṣetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of Kāñcī appears to be referred to (vide 'Inscriptions du Cambodge' edited by G. Coedes, vol. I p. 8 'adhārmikajana—dhvāntam navoditavivasvatā ī ākāñcīpura-nṛpa... (rest lost); B (under Narmadā, P. I. 17.8
- Kāntipurī**—vide p. 678 note 1333 above. It may be noted that the text of the Ain. A. had Kāntī. Vide Ain. A. vol. III. p. 305 n. 4, SK. IV. 7. 100-102, Māheśvara Khanda, sub-section Kedāra, 27.33 (the liṅga Allālānātha therein). Kāntipurī in the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhāraśivas. Jayswal in 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) p. 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage

- 'Navanāgāḥ Padmāvatyām Kāntipurīyām Mathurīyām...bhokṣanti'. The Venk. ed. of Vi. omits the words 'Kāntipurīyām Mathurīyām' and Dr. Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p. 217 notes that one of his best mss. does the same. Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13. 94-95.
- Kaṇvāśrama—A (on the river Mālīnī in the Saharanpur District) V. 82. 45, 88. 11, VDb. S. 85. 30, Ag. 109. 10. In the Sākuntalā Act I Kaṇvāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Mālīnī; in Śat. Br. 13.5.4. 13 we read 'Śakuntalā Nāḍapityapsarā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harisvāmin states that Nāḍapit was the name of Kaṇva's āśrama; B on Carmanvatī, four miles south-east of Koṭā in Rajputana. Vide Dey p. 89
- Kanyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh. X. 79. 17 (Kanyākhyām Durgādevīm dadarśa sah); see under Kumārī
- Kanyābrada—Anu 25.53
- Kānyakubja—(one of the 50 pīṭhas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 94; V 87. 17 (where Viśvāmitra drank soma with Indra); M. 13. 29 (Devī is called Gaurī in Kānyakubja i. e. Kanoj); Anu 4.17, P. V. 35 (Kāma established image of Vāmana here on the southern bank of river Kālīnadi which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI. 129. 9. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 233 on Pān. IV.1.79) mentions Kānyakubjī. Rām. I. 32. 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kuśanābha, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā. The A. C. p. 182 states that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura are synonyms (verses 973-74). Vide under Mahodaya and A. G. pp. 376-382; Ptolemy mentions it (p. 134) as Kanagora and Kanogiza.
- Kanyākūpa—Anu 25. 19
- Kanyā—samvedya—V. 84. 136, P. I. 38. 52.
- Kanyāśrama—V. 83. 189, P. I. 12.5, 27. 75, 39. 35.
- Kanyātīrtha—A (near the sea) V. 83. 112, 85. 23, K. II. 44. 9, P. I. 39. 21; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 76, K. II 42. 21; C (in Naimiṣa forest) V. 95. 3, P. I. 27. 1
- Kapālamocanātīrtha—A (in VS) V. 83. 137, SK IV. 33. 116, N. II. 29. 38-60 (Śiva cut off one of Brahmā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tīrtha), Śal. 39. 8, M. 183. 84-103, Vām. 3. 48-51, Var. 97. 24-26, P. V. 14. 185-189, K. I. 35.15 (same story is these five purāṇas); B (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Auśanasa) Vām. 39.5-14 (where sage Rahodara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Śal. 39.9-22 (same story of Rahodara); vide ASR. of India vol. XIV pp. 75-76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora), legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahmā's head and description; C (under Avantī) N. II. 78.6; D (in Kāśmīra, modern Degām in Śūpiyan *pargaṇa*) R. VII. 266 (and Stein's n), HC X. 249, XIV. 111; E (in Māyāpura i. e. Haridvāra) P. VI. 129.28
- Kapālesvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 58
- Kapardīśvara (one of the gubya līṅgas in VS) K. I. 32.12, I. 33.4-11 and 28-49, P. I. 35.1
- Kapatesvara (on the southern side of the Kāśmīra valley close to modern Kōṭhera) R. I. 32, HC XIV. 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202. 1329-1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178-179, Ain. A. vol. II p. 358 says 'in the valley of Kotihar

is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears'

Kāpila (under VS) K I, 35.9

Kapilā—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā. 108.57-58, Ag. 116.5; B (river on the south side of Narmadā) M 186.40, 190.10, K. II. 40.24, P. I. 13.35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmadā at Barwasi in Central India.

Kapiladhārā—Vām. 84.24. Dey p. 4 (under Amarakaṇṭaka) says that the first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakaṇṭaka is called Kapiladhārā in Skandapurāṇa

Kāpiladvipa—(Ananta is Viṣṇu's *guhya* name there) Nr 65.7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads 'Anantam kapilam dvīpe')

Kapilahrada (under VS) V. 84.78, N II. 50.46, P I. 32.41, L I. 92.69-70, N. II. 66.35 mentions under Haridvārā a tīrtha of that name

Kapilānāgarāja—V. 84.32, P. I. 28.32 (same verse in both)

Kapilāsāṅgama—A (with Narmadā) M. 186.40, P. II. 18.1, VI. 242.42; B (under Go.) B 141.1 and 28-29

Kapilatīrtha—A (under Virāja in Orissa) B 42.6; B (on north bank of Narmadā) M 193.4, K II. 41.93-100, P I. 17.7, V 83.47, T. S. p. 100; C (on the south bank of Go.) B 155.1-2 (also called Āṅgīrasa, Āditya and Saimbikeya).

Kapilatīrtha—(under Kapateśvara in Kāśmīra) HC 14.113

Kapilāvata—(near Nāgātīrtha and Kanakhala) V. 84.31, P. I. 28.31

Kapileśālīṅga—(under VS) SK IV. 33.158

Kapileśvara-līṅga—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 57, 107; B (under Narmadā) P II. 85.26

Kapisi—(r. in Utkala i. e. Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.

Kāpisi—(r.) Pāṇ. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.

Kāpota—(under Go.) B 80.5 and 92

Kāpotakatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 155.1 (here the r. turns to the east).

Kapoteśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92.156

Karabhātaka—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Koyanā) S. 31.70, Vik 8.2. It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B. C. Vide Cunningham's 'Bharhut stūpa' p. 131 for a donation of the guild of Karabhātaka, pp. 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karabhātaka. Coins of the *Kṣatrapas* ruling up to 300 A. D. were found at Karad. Vide Bom. G. vol. I part 1 p. 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated *śaka* 690 (768 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XIII p. 275.

Kārandhama (on the south sea) Ādi 216.3

Karāñjatīrtha (under Narmadā) M. 190.11

Kārantuka (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 22.60. Vide p. 683 above

Kārapacava (on the Yamunā) Pañcavimśa Br. 25.10.23, Āsv. Sr. XII. 6, Kātyāyana Śr. S. 24.6.10

Karapāda (shrine of Śiva) Vām. q. by TK p. 235

Kārapavana (near source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54.12 and 15

Karatoyā (r. flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85.3, S. 9.22, Anu. 25.12. The Amarakośa says that Karatoyā and Sadānīrā are synonyms. Acc. to Mār. 34.25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā. 45.100 says it rises in Kāpāda. In Sm. C. I. p. 132 the

- mantra* in invoking the river begins 'Karatoye Sadānīre' (thus identifying the two)
- Kāravatī** (a place fit for *śrāddha*) Br. III. 13.92
- Karavīra**—A (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41 (*Karavīra* Mahālakṣmī) = P. V. 17.205, M. 22.76, Anu 25.44, P. VI. 108.3; E. I. vol. III p. 207, 210, a grant of Śilāditya Vyayāditya of *śake* 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A. D. (E. I. vol. XII p. 303, 306). Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name; B (capital of Brahmvarta on Drśadvatī) Kālikāpurāṇa 49.71, NM 147; C (city in Sabya near Gomanta hill) Harivamśa (Viṣṇuparva) 39. 50-64
- Karavīraka-tīrtha**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 70; B (under Kujāmṛaka) Var. 126.48-51
- Kardamāla**—A (under Gayā) M 22.77, Ag. 116. 13, N II. 60. 24; B (under Sābhrāmātī) P VI. 165. 7 and 10.
- Kardamāśrama**—(near Bindusaras) Bh. III. 21. 35-37
- Kardamila**—V. 135. 1 (where Bharata was crowned).
- Karkandha**—Vām. 51. 52
- Karkotakesvara**—(under Narmadā) M 191. 36
- Karmavarohana**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by TK p. 190
- Karmesvara**—(under Śrīparvatā) L. I. 92. 152
- Karnabhrada**—(near Gaṅgāsarasvatī-saṅgama) P. I. 32. 4
- Karṇaprayāga**—Vide under Alakanandā and U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36 (for Garhwal) p. 172
- Kārtikeya**—A (Devī is called Yaśaskarī here) M. 13.45; B (under Go.) B 81. 1, G. I. 81. 9.
- Kārtikeya-kuṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 61
- Kārtikeyapada**—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19, 111. 54
- Kāśī**—Vide pp. 618-642 above. It is probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p. 228). AC (p. 182) notes that Kāśī Varāṇasī, Vārāṇasī and Śīvapurī are synonyms (verse 974)
- Kāśmīra-maṇḍala**—The ancient name seems to have been Kāśmīra. The Mbh (vol. II. p. 119) on Pān. III. 2. 114 employs this form (ābhijānāsī Devadatta Kāśmīrāṇ gamīsyāmah). Kāśmīra as the name of a country occurs in the Sindhvādigaṇa (Pān. IV. 3. 93). In NM the country is called Kāśmīra in many verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but sometimes Kāśmīra also. Later works also like H. C. 14. 45 employ the form Kāśmīra; the Vik (18. 1 and 18) uses the form Kāśmīra. NM (292-93) derives the name from *ka* meaning water (kam vāri Harinā yasmād-deśād-asmād-apakṛtam | Kāśmīrākhyam tato hyasya nāma loke bhaviṣyati). Ptolemy speaks of it as Kaspeiria and states that the country was situated below the sources of Bidaspes (Vitastā), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvātī). Vide Ptolemy pp. 108-109 and NM 43. The Vanaparva speaks of the whole country of Kāśmīra as holy (130. 10). Ain. A. (vol. II p. 354) notes that the whole of Kāśmīra is regarded as holy ground. Vide also V 82. 90, S. 27. 17, Anu 25. 8. According to a treaty in 1846 with the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu the territories of the Maharaja are 'situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Rāvi' I. G. I. vol. XV p. 72. The Kashmir valley is approximately 84 miles in length and 20 to 25 miles in breadth (I. G. I. vol. XV p. 74). Stein (SM p. 63) says that its extent is confined to the great valley drained

by the head waters of the Vitastā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hsien Tsang (Beal's B R W W vol. 1. p. 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 *li* (one *li* being equal to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry'. The words of Hsien Tsang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kāśmīr was originally a lake (called Satīśaras) 6 *yojanas* long and 3 *yojanas* wide and later became Satīśeśa (NM 64-66), that Umā herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vitastā rising in the Hīmalayas is like the *śimantā* (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45). The legend runs that Viṣṇu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣṇu when Garuḍa began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satīśeśa along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105-107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satīśeśa (NM 110). The residence of Nīla is the famous fountain near the village of Vērnāg in the Shāhabād *pargana*. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Satī lake and killed men (NM 111-123 and Vām. 81. 30-33). Nīla approached the sage Kāśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣṇu asked Anantanāga to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R. I. 25). Then Viṣṇu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men, Satī became the river Vitastā, Vide Kūrma II. 43. 4. Nāga in Kāśmīr means the tutelary

deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130-31) and R (I. 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tīrtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity. In Ain. A. (vol. II. p. 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣṇu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I. 72) and NM (313-314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king. R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz. 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes; these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'.

Kāśyapapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 18, 111. 49 and 58

Kāśyapatīrtha—A (called Kālasarpiḥ) Vā. 77. 87, Br. III. 13. 98; B (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 157. 1

Kāśyapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 73

Kaṭheśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63-64

Kātyāyaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 120

Kauberā—one of the Sārasvatatīrthas, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śal. 47. 25 (where Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumārīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunaṭa—Vām. 51. 53

- Kaundinyasaras**—(Kramasāra is so K called in Kāśmīra) NM 1481-1483
- Kausāmbi**—(modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad on the Jumna); Rām. I. 32, 6 states that it was founded by Kuśāmba, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; T.K.p. 246. The Mbh. mentions it several times (vide vol. III. pp. 50, 134 on Pāṇ. VI. 1.31 and VI. 2. 130). Vide AG pp. 391-398 and under Hastinā-pura. A. C. (p. 182) says it is the capital of the Vatsa country. Vide 'Early History of Kausāmbi' by Nagendranath Ghosh. The Kausāmbi Pillar edict of Aśoka (C. I. I. vol. 1 p. 159) mentions the mahāmātras of this city. In JRAS for 1898 pp 503-519 Vincent Smith disputes the identification of modern Kosam with Kausāmbi. Vide E. I. vol. XI p. 141 on different views about the location of Kausāmbi.
- Kausikabrada**—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 142-143, P. I. 38. 58 (where Viśvāmītra obtained the highest *siddhi*).
- Kauśikī**—A (r. from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215. 7, V. 84. 132, M 22. 63, 114. 22, Rām. I. 34. 7-9, Bh. IX. 15. 5-12 (Satyavatī, daughter of Gāndhī, became r. Kauśikī), Vām. 54. 22-24 (so called because it was the dark *kośa* of Kālī cast off by her when she became fair), 78. 5, 90.2, Vā. 45.94, 91. 85-88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmītra (Ādi 71. 30-32); B (under Gayā) V. 87. 13, Vā 108. 81 (Kauśikī brahmadā jyesthā). Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kauśikī and not the name of another river as Prof. Dikšitar (Purāna Index, vol. II. p. 507) thinks.
- Kauśikī**—Koka-saṅgama—Var. 140.75-78
- auśikī-mahā-hrada**—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109
- Kauśikī**—saṅgama (with Drṣadvatī) P. I. 26. 89, Vām. 34. 18. This seems to be another Kauśikī apart from the two mentioned above.
- Kauśikī-tīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 40
- Kauśikyārūpā**—saṅgama—V. 84. 156, P. I. 38. 63
- Kaustubheśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K 60
- Kāverī**—A (r. in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85. 22, Anu 166. 20, Vā 45. 104, 77. 28, M. 22. 64, K, II. 37. 16-19, P. I. 39. 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvṛdhā), Nr 66. 7 (says that Kāverī is Dakṣiṇa-Gaṅgā); there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X. 102 ff, pp. 160 ff of Prof. Dikshitar's translation); B (a r. rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmadā on its northern bank opposite Śukla-tīrtha) M. 189. 12-14, K. II 40. 40, P. I. 16. 6-11 (Kubera got *yakṣādhipatyā* here), Ag. 113. 3.
- Kāverīsaṅgama**—(with Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3 and vide under B above.
- Kāyasōdhana**—V. 83. 42-43
- Kāyāvarohana**—A (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23. 221-222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished), M. 22.30, K. II. 44. 7-8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Mahēśvara were promulgated here), E. I. vol. XXI pp. 1-7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i. e. 380 A. D. shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A. D.; B (a Sivatīrtha in Benares) M. 181.26. In M. 13.48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvarohana)

- Kedāra**—A (one of the eight Śivā-tīrthas in Benares) V. 87, 25, M 181, 29, K. I. 35, 12 and II. 20, 34 (a very fit place for śrāddha), Ag. 112, 5, L. I. 92, 7 and 134; B (in Tehri Gaṇḍhval and called Kedāra-nātha) VDb.S.85, 17; it is 11750 ft. above sea level; there are five Kedāras, viz. Kedāranātha, Tuṅga-nātha, Rudranātha, Madhyameśvara and Kāḷpeśvara. Vide U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36 p. 173 (for Garhwal); C (in Kāśmīra) HC 8, 69 (one krośa below Vijayeshvara); D (under Gayā) N. II. 46, 46; E (of Kapiśhala) P. I. 26, 69.
- Keśava**—A (in Benares) M. 185, 68; B (under Mathurā) Var. 163, 63
- Keśatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21, 40
- Keśītīrtha**—(under Ganges) TP p. 515
- Ketaktivana**—Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Ketumālā**—(r. in the west) V. 89, 15
- Khaḍgadharātīrtha** or **Khaḍgadbhāreśvara**—P. VI. 147, 1 and 67. Vide Bom. G. vol. IV p. 6 for description
- Khaḍgapucchanāga**—(in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 251 (about 1½ krośa above Vijayeshvarakṣetra, now called Khan-bal in Anantanāg pargana)
- Khaḍgatīrtha**—A (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 140, 1; B (under Go.) B 139, 1 (on the northern bank)
- Khaḍīravana**—(under Mathurā) Var. 153, 39 (7th vana out of 12)
- Khaṇḍatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 137, 12 (also called Vṛṣa-tīrtha)
- Khāṇḍava (vana)**—boundary of Kurukṣetra in Tai. Ā. V. 1, 1. Vide above p. 651. The name occurs in Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa 25, 3, 6, Ādi 223–225, Bh. I. 15, 8, X. 58, 25–27, X. 71, 45–46, P. VI. 200, 5
- Khāṇḍavaprastha**—(a city) Ādi 61, 35, 221, 15, Bh. X, 73, 32 (where Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna returned after destroying Jarāśandha)
- Khaṭvāṅgeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 56
- Khonamuṣa**—(in Kāśmīra) Birth place of poet Bilhana and famous for saffron cultivation. Vik. I. 72, XVIII. 71 (reads Khonamukha), SM p. 166 (modern Khunamoh, which has two hamlets).
- Kilikileśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116, 31.
- Kimdatta**—kūpa—V 83, 98
- Kimśukavana**—Vā 38, 27–32 (between Vasudhāra and Ratnadhāra)
- Kimśuluka**—name of a m. acc. to Pān. VI. 3, 117 (vanagiryoh sañjñāyām koṭara-kimśulukādīnām). The Kāśikā mentions five forests (including Koṭaravana) and six giris (including Kimśuluka), which cannot be identified with certainty.
- Kimyajña**—P. I. 26, 74.
- Kindāna**—P. I. 26, 74, V. 83, 79
- Kiṅkiṇīkāśrama**—Anu 25, 23
- Kiraṇā**—(r.) Vām. 84, 5. Vide p. 636
- Kiraṇeshvara-lūga**—(under VS) SK IV. 33, 155
- Kiṣkindhā**—(about two miles from lake Pampā to the north-east) V. 280, 16, Rām. IV. 9, 5, IV. 14, 1 &c. Mbh. (vol. III. p. 96) on Pān. VI. I. 157 mentions 'Kiṣkindhā-guhā'. The word occurs in the Sindhvādī gaṇa (Pān. IV. 3, 93). It is identified with modern Vijayanagar and Aneḡundi. Vide I. G. I. vol. XIII. p. 235, Br. S. 14, 10 calls Kiṣkindhā a country in south-east.
- Kiṣkindhaguhā**—Vā. 54, 116 (probably the same as Kiṣkindhā).
- Kiṣkindhaparvata**—M 13, 46 (Devī is called Tārā on that m.)
- Kokā**—(r.) Var. 214, 45, B. 219, 20
- Kokāmukha**—(or Varāhākṣetra, on the Trivenī above Nāthapura in Purnea District) V. 84, 158, Anu. 25, 52, Var. 122 (is Kokāmukha-māhātmya), 123, 2, 140, 10–13 (q. by T. K. pp. 213–214), B 219, 8–10 (gods asked a damsel 'Kāśī bhadre prabhuḥ Ko vā bhavatyaḥ'), K. I. 31, 47, II. 35, 36

(It is a Viṣṇutīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140.60-84) says that the kṣetra is fiveyojanas in extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. Vide E. I. vol. 15 pp. 138-139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kokāmukhasvāmin, and Dr. B. C. Law Presentation Volume I. pp. 189-191, I. H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56

Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37.16, P. V. 11, 10

Kolāhala—(a m.). Vā. 45. 90, 106. 45, Br. II. 16.21, Mār. 54.12, Vi. III 18. 73; same as Brahmayoni hill according to Dr. Mitra. Vide pp. 646, 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63. 35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Śūktimatī.

Kolāpura—(modern Kolhāpur, one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38. 5, P. VI. 176. 42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182. 1 (asti Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇā-pathe) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44. 97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya of Śake 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Kṣullakāpura, which is another name of Kolhāpur; E. I. vol. III. p. 207 at pp. 209-210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I. of Śake 793 (871 A.D.) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E. I. vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kollāpura.

Kolla—a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124

Kollagiri—Ag. 110. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16

Koṇārka or Koṇādītya—(in Orīṣa I, e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-

west of Jagannātha Purī). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Koṇākona appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva (1238-1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (*mandapa*) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 145-156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 288 and 'Sungod of Koṇārka unearthed' (with illustrations) in Modern Review for 1945 pp. 67-72. The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28, verses 2, 9. 11, 47, 65 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p. 70)

Kośalā—(r. near Ayodhyā) P. I. 39. 11, VI. 206. 13, 207. 35-36, 208. 27. In a grant of Vākātaka king Narendrasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Kośalā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I. vol. IX p. 271.

Koṭarā-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Aniruddha for whom Kṛṣṇa fought with Bāṇāsura.)

Koṭarā-vana—named by Pāṇ. VI. 3.117 and VIII. 4.4. Vide under Kimsuluka and Pāṇ. VIII. 4.4 for the names of five *vanas*.

Koṭikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18.36

Koṭīśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. 54; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 157; C (under Pañcanada) Vām. 34.29; is it the Koṭīśvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kachh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp. 303-4 and Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 229-231

- Koṣitīrtha**—A (near Pṛthūdaka) Vām. 51.53, 84. 11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bhartṛsthāna) V. 55. 61; C (under Prayāga) M. 106. 44; D (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 62, 154. 29; E (under Narmadā) M. 191. 7, K. II. 41. 34, P. I. 13. 33 and 18. 8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go.) B. 148. 1; G (near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 82. 49, V. 84. 77, N. II. 66. 29; H (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6; I (in Pañcanada) P. I. 26. 14, Vām. 34. 28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tīrthas); J (in Kāśmīra near Hāramūla, modern Koṭisar) K. R. p. 12
- Koṣīvaṭa**—(under Kōkāmukha) Var. 140. 47-50, 147. 40
- Kramasāra**—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣṇupada also) NM 1481-82
- Kratutīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 9
- Krauñcapāda**—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauñca bird practised *tapas* on it), N. II. 46. 52, Ag. 116. 7
- Krauñcapadi**—Anu. 25. 42
- Krauñcaparvata**—(part of Kaiāśa on which Mānasa lake is situated) Tai. Ā. I. 31. 2 mentions this m. (Sudarśane ca Krauñce ca Maināge ca mahāgīrau), Rām. IV. 43. 26-31, Bhī. 111. 47 (pierced by the missile of Śkanda), Śal. 17. 51 and 46.83-84.
- Krauñcāranya**—(three krosas from Janasthāna) Rām. III. 69. 5-8
- Kriyā** (r. rising from Rāṣavat) Br. II. 16. 29
- Kṛkalāsātīrtha**—(also called Nṛgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543, Anu. 6. 38 and chap. 70; Rām. (VII. 53) narrates how king Nṛga became a chameleon.
- Kṛmicandēśvara**—(one of the eight *Śivasthānas* in Banaras) M. 181. 29
- Kṛśodaka**—Var. 215. 87-88
- Kṛpā**—(r. rising in m. Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Br. II. 16. 38
- Kṛpānītīrtha**—(on hill Mundaprṛtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460
- Kṛṇā**—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābaleśvara) B. 77.5, P. VI. 113. 25, Vām. 13. 30; B Vām. 78. 7, 90. 2 (Viṣṇu as Hayaśiṣa on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛṇā is rarely mentioned as Kṛṇā, but generally as Kṛṇa-Venṇā or-Venṇā. It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvarī and the Kāveri. In the Mahābaleśvara *mahātmya* (JBBRAS vol. X. at p. 16 five rivers called Gaṅgā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābaleśvara viz. Kṛṇā, Venṇī, Kakudmatī (Koyṇā), Sāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bāṅkor) and Gāyatrī (supposed to combine with Sāvitrī).
- Kṛṇa-gaṅgā**—(under Mathurā) Var. 175. 3
- Kṛṇagaṅgodbhavatīrtha**—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 43 (the whole chap. deals with its *māhātmya*).
- Kṛṇagiri**—(m.) Vā. 45. 91, Br. II. 16. 22
- Kṛṇatīrtha**—(near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81.9
- Kṛṇa-Venṇā**—Bhī. 9.16, M. 22. 45, Ag. 118. 7, B. 27. 35, Vā. 45. 104; occurs in Emperor Khāravela's inscription in E. I. vol. XX at p. 77 as Kaṇha-bennā). The Anu. 166. 22 mentions Venṇā and Kṛṇa-Venṇā separately. In the Alas plate of Rāṣtrakūṭa Govind II. dated *śaka* 692 (769 A.D.) the confluence of Kṛṇaverṇā and Musī is referred to (E. I. vol. VI. 208).
- Kṛṇā-Venṇā**—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108. 27 (confluence of Kṛṇā and Venṇā), VI. 113. 3 and 25 (Kṛṇā is the body of Kṛṇa); Sm. C. I. p. 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛṇā-Venṇā. Vide, TS pp. 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all

- rivers rising from Sahya destroy sins the moment they are remembered and that *Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā* is the best of all such rivers. *Māhuli* about four miles from *Satara* is at the confluence of *Kṛṣṇā* and *Yennā* (which stands for *Veṇyā*).
- Kṛṣṇa-Veṇī*—(same as above two) *M.* 114. 29, *Rām.* V. 41. 9. In *T.S.* pp. 67-83 there is a *māhātmya* of *Kṛṣṇaveṇī* from *SK.*
- Kṛtāmālā*—(r. rising in Malaya) *Vā* 45. 105, *B.* 27. 36, *M.* 114. 30, *Br.* III. 35. 17, *Bh.* VIII. 24. 12, *X.* 79. 16, *XI.* 5. 39, *Vi.* II. 3. 13. *Dey* p. 104 says that it is the river *Vaiga* on which *Madurā* is situated. See under *Payasvinī*. The *Bhāgavata* says *Manu* practised penance on this river and helped the fish (*avatāra*) to grow.
- Kṛtaśauca*—*M.* 13. 45, 179. 87, *Vām.* 90. 5 (has an image of *Nṛsimha*), *P.* VI. 280. 18
- Kṛttikāṅgaraka*—*Anu.* 25. 22
- Kṛttikāśrama*—*Anu.* 25. 25
- Kṛttikātīrtha*—(under *Go.*) *B.* 82. 1
- Kṛttivāsa*—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 40
- Kṛttivāsaśivarāllāṅga*—(in *VS*) *K.* I. 72. 12 (verses 16-18 explain why it is so called), *P.* I. 34. 10, *N.* II. 49. 6-9 (different names in different yugas, this being the one in *Tretā yuga*)
- Kurmu*—(r.) *Rg. V.* 53. 9 and *X.* 75. 6. It is generally held to be modern *Kurram* that falls into the *Indus* on its western side near *Isakhel*. *Vide Dey* p. 103 for other views.
- Kṣamā*—(r. rising from *Rayavat*) *M.* 114. 25
- Kṣemesvara*—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* 117
- Kṣiprā*—(r. rising in *Vindhya* m.) *M.* 114. 27, *Vām.* 83. 18-19. Some printed works write it as *Śiprā* (*Vāyu* 45. 98) or *Siprā*. The printed *Matsya* says that *Kṣiprā* rises from *Vindhya*, while in 114. 24 it mentions *Siprā* as rising from *Pāriyātra* m. The printed *Brahma* (chap. 27) mentions *Siprā* twice, one rising from *Pāriyātra* (verse 29) and the other rising from *Vindhya* (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name. The *Brahmaṇḍa* II. 16. 29 and 32 (*Kṣiprā* in both places) is just like the *Brahma*.
- Kṣiravati*—(r.) *V.* 84. 68 (reached after *Sarasvatī* and *Bāhūdā*)
- Kṣirikā*—(where there is *Nīlakaṇṭha*) *Vām.* q by *T. K.* p. 238
- Kṣudhātīrtha*—(under *Go.*) *B.* 85. 1
- Kuberatūṅga*—(a fit place for *śrāddha*) *Vā* 77. 78, *K.* II. 37. 31, *Br.* III. 13. 80
- Kubhā*—(probably modern *Kabul* river) *Rg. V.* 53. 9 and *X.* 75. 6. It is the *Kophes* of *Ptolemy* and *Kophen* of *Arrian* (*A. I.* p. 179). The *Kabul* river joins the *Indus* at *Ohind*, a few miles north of *Attock*. *Pāṇ.* V. 1. 77 (*Uttarapathena-bṛtam* ca) mentions *Uttarapatha* (the road in the north that crossed the *Sindhu* near *Attock*)
- Kubjaka*—*N.* II. 60. 25, *G. I.* 81. 10 (*Kubjake Śrīdharo Harīḥ*)
- Kubjāmṛaka*—(it had a hermitage of *Raibhya* near *Gaṅgādvāra*) *V.* 84. 40, *M.* 22. 66, *P. I.* 32. 5. *VDh.* S. 85. 15, *K.* II. 20. 33, *G. I.* 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for *śrāddha*. *Var.* 125. 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with *Māyātīrtha* (i. e. *Harīdvāra*). *Var.* 126 contains a *māhātmya* of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in *T. K.* pp. 206-208 without a single word by way of comment. *Chap.* 126. 10-12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage *Raibhya* as informed by *God* and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact

- location. Var. 179. 26-31 aver that Mathurā is superior to Saukara-tirtha, which again is superior to Kubjāmraka. Var. 140.60-64 explain how the holy place Hṛīkeśa came to be so called. On the whole it is better to take Kubjāmraka as a sacred spot in Haridvāra itself or very near it.
- Kubjāsāgama—(with Narmadā) P. II. 92. 32
- Kubjāśrama—(a Viṣṇusthāna with an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35. 33-35.
- Kubjāvāna—P. I. 39. 34
- Kubjikāpīṭha—(where Satī's private parts fell while her corpse was being carried by Śiva). Kālikā 64. 53-54 and 71-72
- Kuṣṭhmalā—(a r.) M. 22. 46 (śrāddha performed here is very efficacious)
- Kubhū—(r. sprung from Himālaya) M. 114. 21, Vā 45.95, Br. II. 16. 25, Vām. 57. 80, B. 27. 26; In M. 121. 46 the word 'Kubhū' occurs as the name of a people or a country after Gāndhāras and Aurāsas. It cannot be definitely identified with any modern river.
- Kukkuṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. 98
- Kulampuna—V. 83. 104, P. I. 26. 97
- Kuleśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55
- Kuliśi—(r.) Kg. I. 104. 4
- Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K. p. 247
- Kumāra—P. I. 38. 61
- Kumāra-dhārā—V. Dh. S. 85. 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs from Pītāmaha's lake), Vām. 84. 21, K. II. 37. 20 (near Svāmītirtha), Br. III. 13. 94-95 (near Vyāsa's seat for dhyāna and Kāntipurī)
- umāra—kośalā-tirtha—Vā. 77. 37
- Kumārakoṣī—V. 82. 117, P. I. 25. 23, Ag. 109. 13
- Kumārātirtha—Nr. 65. 17 q. by T.K. p. 252
- Kumāreśvaraliāga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff, Vām. 46. 23
- Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which there is a fine image of the goddess as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions it as Koumaria while the Periplus refers to it as Komar or Komare; V. 88. 14 (in the plural as 'Kumāryah' in the Pāṇḍya country), Vā. 77. 28, Br. III. 13. 28. Br. II. 16. 11 and M. 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa of Bharatavarṣa extends from Kumārī to the source of the Ganges. Śabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 35 asserts that the word 'Caru' is used in the sense of *sthālī* from the Himālaya to the Kumārī country.
- Kumārīla—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) Vām. 81. 11
- Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 47
- Kumbhakarṇāśrama—V. 84. 157, P. I. 38. 64 (same verse in both)
- Kumbhakoṇa — (modern Kumbhakonam) in Tanjore District) SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa 52. 101
- Kumbhīśvara — (under VS on the eastern bank of Varāṇā) L.q. by T.K. p. 45
- Kumudākara — (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 25-26
- Kumudvatī—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 102, B. 27. 33
- Kuṇḍaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 12; B (near southern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 149
- Kundavana—(third out of the twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 32
- Kuṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 68
- Kuṇḍina—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T.K. p. 239; also called Vidarbhā (acc. to A. C. p. 182 verse 979)
- Kuṇḍīprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Kuṇḍoda—(a hill near Kāśī) V. 87. 25-26

Kuñjātirtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 9

Kuraṅga—Anu. 25. 12

Kurujāṅgala—(Sirhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 22. 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37. 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86. 20. Vide p. 688 above

Kurujāṅgalāranya—Devīpurāṇa q. by T.K. p. 244

Kurukṣetra—Vide pp. 681-686 above. The Kurukṣetra-mahātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p. 332

Kuśāplavana—V. 85. 36

Kuśāstamba—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T.K. p. 246

Kuśāsthali—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16

Kuśāsthali—A (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) Vi. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā 86. 24 and 88.1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Kṛṣṇa founded this city), Br. III. 61. 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above; B (capital of Kosala, where Kuśa son of Rāma began to rule) Rām. VII. 107. 17, Vā 88. 199; C (same as Kuśāvati former name of Kusiṇārā where occurred Buddha's Nirvāṇa). SBE vol. XI. p. 248 note

Kuśātarpaṇa—(under Go.) B 161. 1 (also called Praṇītāsāṅgama)

Kuśātirtha—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 33

Kuśāvarta—A (near Nasik Tryambakeśvara) V Dh.S. 85.11, B. 80.2. M 22. 69. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 651; B (near Haridvāra) Anu. 25. 13, N II. 40. 79, Bh. III. 20. 4

Kuśāvati—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhya slopes where Kuśa ruled) Vā 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahāsudassana sutta (SBE XI.

p. 248) it is stated that Kusiṇārā was the city of king Mahāsudassana under the name Kuśāvati

Kuśodaya—(v. I. Kuśeśvara) M. 22. 76
Kuśikasyāśrama—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 131-132

Kuśiṣaṭa—Nr. q. by T.K. p. 252

Kuśmāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103

Kuśumeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112-117 and 125

Kūṭaka—(m.) Bh. V. 6.7 (Kūṭaka), V. 19.16 (Kūṭaka)

Kūṭāśaila—(m.) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 23 (probably the same as Kūṭaka above)

L

Lakṣmaṇācala—N. II. 75. 74

Lakṣmanātirtha—A (under Go.) B 123. 215; B (under Setu) SK III. Brahma-khaṇḍa 52. 106-7 (tonsure of the head only at this tirtha). The tirtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kāveri. IGI vol. 16. p. 131

Lakṣaneśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49.64

Lakṣmītirtha—(under Go.) B 137.1

Lalitā—(in VS) N. II. 49. 41, L. q. by TK. p. 96; M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.

Lalitaka—(tirtha of Santanu) V 84.34, P I. 28.34, N. II. 66.37

Lāṅgala-tirtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 18.51

Lāṅgali-līṅga—(under VS) L. q. by TK p. 105

Lāṅgalinī—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Laugulinī from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235. The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāṅgulya, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X, p. 217

Lapeṭikā—(r.) V. 85. 15

- Lauhitya**—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85. 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11-12 (a *nada* which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemāś-
rṅga mountain), Anu 25.46, P.I. 39.2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V. 52 54, Kālikāpurāṇa 86. 26-34. From Raghuvamśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prāgyjyotiṣa. Vide TP. pp. 601-602 for *māhātmya*. The form Lauhitya occurs in Yaśodharman's inscription (about 532-33. A. D.): vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 142 at p. 146
- Laukika**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13
- Lavanā**—r. flowing close by the city of Padmavati situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu. Vide Mālatīmādhava, Act IX. verse 2
- Lavaṇakātirtha**—(on Sarasvatī) P I. 26. 48
- Lāvṇbhikā**—(near Campā) P I. 38. 71
- Līṅgasāra**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51
- Līṅgi-Janārdana**—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 61
- Lobaḍaṇḍa**—M. 22. 65, Vām. 90. 79 (Viṣṇu as Hṛṣīkeśa here). Śrāddha is most efficacious here.
- Lohajāṅghavana**—(9th out of twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41
- Lohakūṭa**—N. II. 60. 24
- Lohārgala**—(a Viṣṇusthāna in Himālaya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mleccha kings support or resort to it), 144.10, 151. 1-83 (verses 7-8 say that thirty *yojanas* from Siddhavata in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala). Var. 151 verses 13-14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five *yojanas* in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228-229) quotes twelve verses on it from Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably Lohāghāṭ in Kumaon
- Lohita**—(same as Sona) Anq. 166. 21; In Br. II. 16-27 Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.
- Lohita-Gaṅgaka**—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32-34
- Lokapāla**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 28-31
- Lokapālesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p. 105
- Lokoddhāra**—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26. 41 (same verse in both)
- Lolārka**—(under VS) M. 185. 68 (one of the five principal *tīrthas* in Banaras), K. I. 35. 14, P. I. 37. 17 (reads Lokārka), Vām. 15. 58-59. Vide p. 634 above
- Loṇārakuṇḍa**—(in Viṣṇu-Gayā) P. VI. 176. 41. Loṇār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Loṇāsura whom Viṣṇu vanquished. It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration. Aie. A. vol. II. describes it (pp. 230-231) and states that brāhmanas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples is Berar of the medieval temples is that at Loṇār known as the temple of Daitya-sūdana. It is a Vaiṣṇava shrine. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' (1931) pp. 68-72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates CIII-CV.

M

- Madavāvartanāga**—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 252.
- Mādhavatīrtha**—(on Śrīśaila) P. VI. 129. 12
- Mādhavavana** M. 13. 37 (Devi is called Sugandhā here)
- Madhūdakā**—(r.) Vām. 57. 80
- Madhukaitabha-līṅga**—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Madhūkavana**—(between Agastyaśrama and Pañcavajī) Rām. III. 13.23
- Madhukulā**—(r. under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112. 30.

- Madhumatī**—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vitastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Śaṅḍilya), Vik. 18, 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India); vide *Mālatīmādhava*, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.
- Madhunandini**—(r.) Vām. 81, 16
- Madhupura**—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27, 38
- Madhupurī**—same as Mathurā; Bh. VII. 14.31, Vi. I. 12, 2-4
- Madhurā**—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Śūrasena country) Br. III. 49.6, Vi. I. 12, 4. Vide pp. 687-690 above and Rām. VII. 70.5; B (modern Madurā, the ancient capital of the Pāṇdyas, called Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā). Vide 'Masimekhalai in its historic setting' (p. 20) by Dr. S. Krishna-swamy Aiyangar. Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof. Dikshitar's translation of the *Śilappadikāram* pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and p. 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kannaki
- Madhurātirtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135, 18
- Madhusravā**—(r.)—A (under Gayā) Vā 106, 75, 112.307 34, N. II. 47, 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34, 7, 39, 36-38, V 83, 150 (both read Madhusrava)
- Madhuvana**—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12, 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K. II. 36.9, Var. 153, 30, Vām. 83.31, 90, 14, Bh. IV. 8, 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX. 11, 14 (Śatrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana). Growse in 'Mathura' identifies it with Maholi five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 34); B (one of seven *vanas* in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34, 5
- Madhuvatī**—(a Devīsthāna) P. I. 26.88
- Madhvātirtha**—G. Uttarakhaṇḍa, Brahmakāṇḍa 26, 46-47. This is rather suspicious
- Madhuvilā**—(r.) same as Samāṅgā. V. 135.1
- Madhyama-Puṣkara**—(see Puṣkara), P.V. 19, 38, Vām. 22, 19.
- Madhyameśvara-līṅga**—A (under VS) K. I. 32, 12, K. I. 34, 1-2, L. I. 92, 91, 135, P. I. 34, 10 (one of the five main līṅgas in Banaras); B (under Śriparvata) L. I. 92, 151
- Madhyandiniyaka-tirtha**—(under Mathurā) Var. 177, 46 (to the west of Vaikuṇṭha tīrtha)
- Madoṭkaṭa**—P VI. 129, 9 (9th among 108 tirthas of Jambudvīpa)
- Madrā**—(r. rising in Viṇḍhya) Vā 45, 102
- Madravā**—(a hill) Br. III. 13, 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Maṇḍavā below
- Māgadharānya**—K. II. 37, 9, Vām. 11, 7, 84, 35
- Mahābala**—A (Mahabaleshwar in Satara District) P VI. 113, 29. Vide JBBRAS, vol. X, pp 1-18, for Mahābalesvara māhātmya; B Mahābaleśvara of Gokarṇa. Vide Gokarṇa plates of Kadamba king Kāmadeva in *śaka* 1177 (1236 A. D.) in E. I. vol. 27 p. 157.
- Mahābhairava**—(one of eight Śiva-tīrthas) M. 181, 29, K. II. 44, 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Mahābodhitaru**—(the pipplā tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115, 37, M. 22, 33, N. II. 45, 103, Vā. 111, 26; verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P.VI. 117, 26-30 explain how Bodhitaru became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in 'Gaya

- and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I, p. 234 as to the invocation in Vā 111. 27-29 being to the Bo-tree and vol. II, pp. 2-9 for the vicinities of this tree and Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' p. 3 for the mention of Mahābodhi in Dharmapāla's Inscription dated 850 A.D.
- Mahā-Gaṅgā—Ann. 25. 22 q. by T.K. p. 246, V Dh. S. 85. 23 (com. says it is Alakanandā).
- Mahāgaurī—(r. from Vindhyā) M 114. 28, Vā 45. 103
- Mahāhrada—(near Badrināth) K II. 37. 39, Ann 25. 18 q. by T. K. pp. 245-246
- Mahākālā—A (Śiva in Ujjayinī, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) V. 82. 49, M. 13. 41, 22. 24, 179. 5 (fight of Śiva with Andhakāsura took place in Mahākālavana in the country of Avanti), B. 43. 66, SK. IV. 1. 91; B (a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 137
- Mahākālavana—(in Avanti territory) M. 179. 5
- Mahākāśī—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239
- Mahākūṭa—(a hill fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 57, Br. III. 13. 58. It is doubtful whether it is the same as the collection of temples on the hills to the east of Badāmi known even now by the name of Mahākūṭa. The local tradition connects this spot with the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvāla. Vide I. A. vol. X. pp. 102-103 for an inscription of about 696-734 A.D. here
- Mahālakṣmīvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 69
- Mahālaya—V. 85. 91 (dānam dadyāt Mahālaye), V Dh. S. 85. 18, M. 181. 25, K. II. 20. 33 (very fit for śrāddha), II. 37. 1-4 (where Pāsupatas worship Mahādeva), P. V. 11. 17, Br. III. 13. 82-84, Vām. 90. 22, P. I. 37. 16
- Mahālayakūpa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63
- Mahālaya-līṅga—(under VS) I. 92. 134
- Mahālīṅga—(sacred to pitṛa) M. 13. 33, 22. 34 (Devī is called Kapilā here and śrāddha here is most efficacious)
- Mahāmunda—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 56
- Mahāmundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Mahānāda—M. 22. 53 (dāna is most efficacious here)
- Mahānadi—A (r. starting from Vindhyā, flowing in Orissa near Cuttack and falling into the Bay of Bengal). Br. 46. 4-5, K. II. 35. 25; Br. II. 16. 28 says it rises in Pāṛtyātra; B (r. under Gayā, probably Phalgu) P. I. 38. 4, Vā 108. 16-17, 110. 6, Ag. 115. 25, V. 84; C (in Draviḍa) Bh. XI. 5. 40
- Mahānala—a liṅga established by Mṛtyu (under Go.) B 116. 1
- Mahānandā—(r. in north and east Bengal rising in Himālaya near Darjeeling and joining the Ganges in Māldā District). Vide I. G. I. vol. XX. pp. 413-414 (under Furnea)
- Mahāpadmanāga—(a lake in Kāśmīra) NM 1120-1122, 1157 (one yojana in length and width). It is same as Ullola and modern Vollar lake. Vide R. IV. 591 for one story, NM 1123-1159 for the story of the wicked Saṅgulanāga and K. R. pp. 9-10 for both
- Mahāpāsupatesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105
- Mahāpura—(a tirtha) Ann 25. 26
- Mahārudra—M. 22. 34
- Mahāsāla—M. 22. 34, P. V. 11. 27
- Mahāsālanadi—M. 22. 42
- Mahāsaras—Mahābhārata q. by T. K. p. 246
- Mahāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 160. 22; one of five *sthālas*, the other four

being Arkasthala, Virasthala, Kuśasthala and Puṇyasthala.

Mahāśrama—V 84. 53, P. I. 32.17

Mahāśoṇa—same as Śoṇa—S. 20. 27

Mahatkuṇḍa—(under VS) L. by T.K. p. 70

Mahati (r. from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Vā 45. 97.

Mahāvana—(the 8th vana out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja. Var. 153. 40, 161. 8. Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood here.

Mahātirtha—K. II. 37. 12 (tatrābhyarcya Hṛṣīkeśam śvetadvīpam sa gacchati).

Mahāvenā—P. V. 11. 27

Mahendra—(a m. range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā) Bhī. 9. 11, Udyoga 11. 12, M 22. 44, P. I. 39. 14 (Inhabited by Parāśurāma), V. 85. 16, Bh. V. 19. 16, Vām. 13. 14–15, 83. 10–11, K. I. 47. 23–24. A Śāktakṣetra according to Bār. S. III. 124. In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV. 67. 37 shows that Hanūmān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Laṅkā. Raghuvamśa (IV. 39–40) shows that Kāliṅga country had some portion of Mahendra in it. Pargiter (p. 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvarī and Mahānadī and hills in Berar. I do not agree. Rām, IV 41. 19–21 speak of Mahendra after Paṇḍyakavāta and as entering the ocean, while Bh. X. 79. 11–12 speak of it after Gayā and before Saptagodāvarī. Veṇā, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins. of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 7)

Mahēśvarapura—(where Vṛśadhvaṇa i.e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129–130.

Māheśvara—(modern town in the K. D. 98

Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmadā) M. 188. 2, P. I. 15. 2. I. G. I. Vol. 17. p. 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhiṣmatī.

Mahēśvara-dhārā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34

Mahēśvarakuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 67

Mahēśvarapada—P. I. 38. 36, V 84. 119

Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol. 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 97); B (a r. rising in Gwalior state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 2.3.23, I. 2.13.43–45 and 125–127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54. 19 (rising from Pāriyātra). It is the Mophis of Ptolemy (p. 103) and Mais of Periplus.

Mahisāgarasaṅgama—SK. I. 2. 3. 26.

Māhīrtirha—Vām. 84. 36

Māhiṣmatī—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhātā (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Mahēśvara, Māndhātā island is attached to Nemat District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19. 23–24, 166. 4, Anu. 2. 6, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 115. 4, Bh. IX. 15. 22 (Sahasrārjuna imprisoned Rāvaṇa); the Mbh (vol II. p. 35, Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām sūryodgamānam sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pāṇ. III. 1. 26; in the Suttanipāta (SBE vol. X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvarī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Paṭiṭṭhāna of Ataka and then to Māhissatī; vide 'Mahisamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī' by Dr. Fleet in JKAS for 1910 pp. 425–447 and Barwani plate of king Subandhu in E. I. vol. XIX. p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhiṣmatī (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).

Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83. 25, 90. 13 (Haya-

- griva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *śaivāt* 100 (corresponding to about 706 A.D.) in E. I. vol. V. p. 208 at p. 211. It was also called Kūśasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. is said to have devastated Mahodaya; but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra Bhojadeva dated *śaivāt* 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E. I. vol. 19 at p. 17).
- Maināka**—(m. near Badārī) A. V. 139. 17, V. 145. 44, Anu. 25. 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16; B (m. in west near Gujarat) V. 89. 11; C (m. near Sarasvatī) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p. 29 (of T.K.) hold that it is the Sewalik range. Vide Pargiter pp. 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Maināka, that are slightly different from those stated here.
- Maitreyī-līṅga** (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 47
- Makruṇā** (r. rising from Rkṣa) Vā. 45. 101.
- Mālā** (a river) S. 20. 28
- Malada**—(in Kāśmīra) P. I. 25. 4
- Malandarā**—(r.) M. 22. 41 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible)
- Malaprabhāṇī** or **Malāpahārīnī**—(r. rising from Sabya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) modern Malaprabhā; SK q by T.S. pp. 80 and 101. Vide Bom. G. vol. XXI. on Belgaum District p. 12 for legend. The famous village of Ayyāvole or Aivalli or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badāmī. Vide I. A. vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. Parasūrāma is said to have washed his blood-stained axe in the Malaprabhā here. Vide Bom. G. vol. 23 p. 545.
- Malāpabā**—(r. in the south). There is a town called Muniparnā on its bank where there is 'pācāṅga Mahāśvara'.
- Mālārka**—(shrine of the Sun under Śābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1 and 142. 1
- Malaya**—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V. 282. 43, 319. 32, Bhī. 9. 11, K. I. 47. 23 (the sea could be seen from its top.), Vā. 45. 88, B. 27. 19. Ragh. (IV. 45-51) shows that Malaya was on the Kāverī where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon; and also on Tāmraparnī. It is the mountain of the Pāṇḍya country (Raghuvamśa IV. 49-51). Agastya had his hermitage on it.
- Malayaja**—P. VI. 129. 12 (one of the numerous tirthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided).
- Malayārjunaka**—tirtha (under Mathura beyond Yamunā) Var. 157. 1.
- Mālīnī**—(r. on which was situated Kanvaśrama) Ādi. 70. 21 and 72. 10. According to Hiouen T'sang it was on this river that the District of Malāwar in west Rohilkhand was situated. Vide A. G. pp. 349-350.
- Mallaka**—(on western bank of Ganges) P. V. 5. 74 (where Sati burnt herself)
- Mallikākhyā**—(a great m.) P. IV. 17. 68
- Mallikārjunaka**—(under Śrīparvatā) L. I. 92. 155
- Mallikēśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6
- Mālyavat**—(The Anegundi hill on Tuṅgabhadra.) Rām. III. 49. 31, IV. 27. 1-4 (on north of it in a deep cave on Prasavaṇa Rama dwelt for four months in the rainy season), V. 280. 26, 282. 1 (not far from Kiskindhā)
- Mālyavatī**—(r. near Citrakūṭa) Rām. II. 56. 38.
- Mānasa**—A (lake in Himālayas embedded between Kailāsa on the north and Gurū Māndhātā on the south) V. 130. 12, Br. II. 18. 15 and M. 121.

- 16-17 (from which the Sarayū rises). Vām. 78.3, 90. 1 (where Viṣṇu appeared in the Matsya form); vide under Kailāsa. Sven Hedin in vol. III. of his Trans-Himalaya (1913) p. 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailāsa and Gurla Mādhātā; it is turquoise set between diamonds'. The Mānasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level; B (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 29; C (to the west of Mathurā) Var. 154. 25; D (near Prayāga on the north bank of the Ganges) M. 107.2; E (in Kāśmīra, modern Mānasbal) Vik. 18. 55. K. R. p. 9; F (under Narmadā) M. 194.8, P. I. 21. 8; G (under Gayā, there are two pools, Uttaramānasa and Dakṣiṇa-mānasa) Vā. 111. 2, 6, 8, 22
- Vandagā—(r. rising from Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Vā. 45. 107
- Mandakīnī—A (near mountain Citrakūṭa and rising from Rikṣavat) V. 85. 58, Anu 25. 29, Rām. II. 93. 8 and III. 5. 37, Vā. 45. 99, Ag. 109. 23, Br. II. 16. 30, M. 114. 25; B (a sub-tirtha under VS.) L. q. by T. K p. 56; C (r. springing from a lake Mandodaka at the foot of Kailāsa) M. 121.4, Br. II. 18. 1; D (near Kiṣkindhā) Rām. IV. 1. 95
- Maṇḍalesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 66
- Mandara—(m.) VI. II. 2. 18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mār 51. 19; V. 139. 5, 142. 2, 163.4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31-33. Udyoga 11. 12, L. I. 92. 187 and 188. 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N. II. 60. 22, Vām. 51.74 (from Pṛthūdaka Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas, M. 184.18. 13. 28 (Devi is styled Kāmacārīṇī on m. Mandara), Bh. VII 3. 2 and VII. 7. 2 (Hiraṇyakaśipu here)
- Mandāra—Var. 143. 1-51 (Mandāra-māhātmya). Var. 143. 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhya and dear to all Bhāgavatas. It puts forth flowers only on dvādaśī and caturdaśī (verse 13). T. K. (pp. 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var. 143 without any comment. A. G p. 508 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.
- Mandavā—Vā. 77. 56 (a bill very fit for śrāddha)
- Mandavāhini—(r. from Suktimat m.) M. 114. 32, Vā. 45. 107.
- Māṇḍavya—(a tirtha where Devī is styled Māṇḍavyā) M. 13. 42.
- Māṇḍavyeśā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119
- Maṇḍodaritirtha—M. 22. 41 (removes sins at sight and śrāddha most efficacious)
- Maṇḍalā—(a Devisthāna in Gayā) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38. 24
- Maṇḍala-prastha—(bill) Bh. V. 19. 16
- Maṇḍalā-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 122. 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govinda)
- Maṇḍalesvara—(under Narmadā) P. II. 92. 33
- Maṇikarnī or Maṇikarnikā—(under VS) M. 182. 24, 185. 69, N. II. 40. 87 and 49. 44, P. VI. 23. 44; vide p. 635 above
- Maṇikarnīśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49. 45, L. q. by T. K p. 103
- Maṇikuṇḍa—(under Stutasvāmīn) Var. 148. 52
- Māṇikyeśvara—(in Kāśmīra) P. VI. 176. 80-82
- Maṇimat or Maṇimanta—(near r. Devikā) V. 82. 101, P. I. 25. 8 (same words in both), Vām. 81. 14
- Maṇimatī—(r.) M. 22.39 (vary efficacious for śrāddha); Br. S. 14. 20 says Maṇimat is a m.
- Maṇimatihrada—Vām. 90. 7 (Śiva was called Sambhu here)
- Maṇimatīpuri—(the same as Vātāpi.

- puri and Durjayā) V 96. 1 and 99. 30-31.
- Mañjāga—V. 84. 106, P. I. 38. 24 (same verse in both)
- Manipūragiri—(under Stulasvāmin) Var. 148. 63 ff.
- Mañjulā—(a r.). Bh. 9. 34
- Māhkuṇṭhā—(near Malaya) Vām. 83. 16
- Māhkuṭi—(r. from Rṣavat) Br. II. 16. 31
- Manohara—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 7, K. II. 42. 20, P. I. 21. 7 (the same verse in all three)
- Manojava—P. I. 26. 87, V. 83. 93 (same verse in both)
- Maṁtreśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 137
- Manujesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
- Manuliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 114
- Mānuṣa—(under Kurukṣetra) P I. 26. 60-63, Vām. 35. 50-56
- Manyutirtha—(under Go.) B. 162. 1, Bh. X. 79. 21 (puts it somewhere between Māhismatī and Prabhāsa)
- Māriceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 71
- Mārjāra—(under Go.) B. 84. 19
- Mārkaṇḍeyaśradda—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67; B (near Putuṣottamatirtha) B. 56. 73, 57. 2, 60. 9 (bath in it on Caturdaśī specially destroys all sins), N. II. 55. 20-22
- Mārkaṇḍeyatirtha—A (on the Gomati-Gaṅgāsāngama) V. 84. 81, P. I. 32. 41-42, Prof. Aiyangar's note on p. 291 of T. K. that it is at the junction of the Sarayū and Gaṅgā is not correct; B (under Go.) B 145.1
- Mārkaṇḍeśvara—A (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 154-155; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 11; C (under Puruṣottama) N. II. 55. 18-19
- Markaṣitirtha—(in Tripurī i. e. modern Tevar on the Narmadā, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur) mentioned by T. S. p. 101
- Mārtāṇḍa (temple of the Sun in Kāśmīra) Modern Marṭan or Maṭan, 5 miles to north-east of Islamabad. Its popular name is 'Bavan' (Bhavana). It overlooks the finest view in Kāśmīra. The temple originally built by king Lalitāditya in the 1st half of 8th century is now in ruins. There are two magnificent springs traditionally called Vimala and Kamala about a mile from the temple. Vide R IV. 192, NM 1073 (for Vimalanāga), Stein's translation of R, vol. I. p. 141 and II. pp. 465-466. Atn. A. (vol. II. pp. 358-359) describes Maṭan. The tirtha has remained to this day one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Kāśmīra.
- Mārtāṇḍapādāmūla (under Gayā) Brahmapurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 166
- Marudgana—Anu. 25. 38
- Marudvṛdhā—A (r.) Rg. X. 75. 5. The Nir. IX. 26 takes it as an attribute of all rivers named in Rg. X. 75. 5, meaning 'that are swollen or lashed up by the wind or Maruts'. It appears that it is a river in Kashmir called Maruwardwan, a tributary of the Chenab, as Stein says (vide JRAS for 1917 pp. 93-96); Bh. V. 19. 18; B Kāveri is called Marudvṛdhā in P. VI. 224. 4 and 19
- Maruṣṭhala (under Puruṣottama) N. II. 60. 22
- Mārutālaya (under Narmadā) M. 191. 86, K. II. 41. 41 (to the west of Mātṛtirtha), P. I. 18. 81 (same verse)
- Māseśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 77
- Mātaliśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
- Mātāṅgakesetra—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 58-59 (a stream that falls into Kauśiki)
- Mataṅgapada—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 57, Vā. 108. 25
- Mataṅgasya śrāma—A (under Gayā) V 84. 101, Ag. 115. 34; B (in VS) V. 87. 25

- Mataṅgasya** Koḍāra—V 88. 17, P. I. 39.15 (same verse in both)
- Mataṅga-vāpi**—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 23-24, Ag. 115. 34, N. II. 45. 100, V.Dh. S 85.38; B (in Kosalā) Vā. 77. 36; C (on Kailāsa) Br. III. 13. 36
- Mataṅgeśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 115. 35
- Mataṅgeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87
- Mātharavana**—(near Payoṃbī) V.88.10, Vā. 77.33, Br. III. 13.33
- Mathurā**—Vide pp. 682-692 above and A. G. pp. 373-375 for Mathurā and Vṛndāvana
- Mātṛ**—Sal. chap. 46 enumerates numerous Mātṛs
- Mātṛgrha**—(where śrāddha yields *śrāntya*) M. 22. 76
- Mārtīrtha**—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 58, P. I. 26. 54; B (under Narmadā) K II. 41. 40; C (under Go.) B 112.1
- Matsyanadi**—(holy r.) M 22. 49
- Matsyaśālā**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 79-83
- Matsyodapāna**—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251
- Matsyodari**—(near Oṅkāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q. by T.K pp. 58-59, SK. IV. 33. 120 and IV. 73. 135. The Tri. S. p. 140 remarks 'matsyākāram Kāsi-kṣetram udare yasyā iti vyutpattya Gaṅgaiva Matsyodari-sānjña'
- Māyāpuri**—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra) M. 13. 34 (Devī is called Kumārī here), 22. 10, Vā. 104. 75, G. I. 81. 7, SK. IV. 7. 114 (kecid-ūcur-Haridvāram mokṣadvāram tataḥ pare : Gaṅgādvāram ca kepyabuh kecin-Māyāpuram punaḥ n.). Māyā occurs in the Nadyādigaga (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 97). It is one of the seven holy cities of India. Vide p. 678 above and p. 762 under Kanakhalā. Hiouen Thsang mentions it as Moyulo (Māyura). Māyāpura is now a ruined site at the head of the Ganges canal. Vide A.G. pp. 351-354
- Māyātīrtha**—(under Kubjāmra and on the Ganges) Var. 125. 101, 126. 33
- Medhātīthi**—(a holy river) V. 222. 23
- Medhāvāna**—P. I. 39. 52 (place for śrāddha)
- Medhāvika**—V. 85. 55
- Meghakara**—M. 22. 40, P. V. 11. 34
- Meghanāda**—(under Narmadā) P. II. 92. 31
- Meghaṅkara**—(a town on r. Prañitā) P. VI. 181. 5
- Megharāva**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 17. 4
- Mehatnu**—(r.) Rg. X. 75.6 (a tributary of the Kṛmu, which see)
- Mekala**—(a range of hills in C. P.). Narmadā is called Mekalakanyakā (daughter of Mekala)
- Mekalā**—P. V. 11. 34 (is it a river?)
- Mekalā**—is a country or people in Rām. IV. 41.9, Br. S. 14. 7 and 16.2
- Mekhalā**—(a tīrtha in Meghaṅkara town) P. VI. 181. 16, M. 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Meghaṅkara)
- Merukūṭa**—Nr. 65 q. by T. K. p. 253
- Meruvara**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 32-35
- Mināksi**—(temple of, is situated in Madurā) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 11
- Mirikāvāna**—(near Mekala regions) Br. III. 70. 32
- Mīśraka**—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 85-86 (Vyāsa mixed all tirthas here), V. 83. 91-92. It is possible that the Mīśrakāvāna occurring in the Koṣarādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. VI. 3. 117) refers to this.
- Mitrāpada** (a tīrtha on the Ganges) M. 22. 11
- Mitravāna** (Konārka or Sāmbapura in Orissa) SK. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa I. 100. 3 (there are three Ādityasthānas, Mitravāna, Muṇḍira and Sāmbāditya)
- Mitrāvaruṇa** (under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 47

- Mitrāvaruṇayor—āśrama (on r. Yamunā near Kārapavana) Śal. 54. 14-15
- Modāgiri (m.) S. 30. 21
- Mokṣakeśvara (under VS.) L. q. by T.K. p. 112.
- Mokṣarāja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 35
- Mokṣatirtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 61 (to the south of Rṣatirtha). T. S. p. 101 quotes three verses from Revākhaṇḍa about it.
- Mokṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48
- Mṛgadhūma—(there is Rudrapada) P. I. 26. 94, V. 83, 101 (it is on the Ganges)
- Mṛgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71
- Mṛgaśṛṅgodaka—(on r. Vāgmatī) Var. 215. 64
- Mṛtyuñjaya—(under Viraja) B 42. 5
- Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 158. 28
- Mucukundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. 114
- Mukti-kṣetra—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 105
- Muktimat—(a m.) Br. III. 70 32. Is it a misreading for Suktimat?
- Muktiśthānas—26 sthānas such as Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Gāṇḍavāra, Kānti, Tryambaka, Sapta-godāvara are named in SK, Kāśi-khaṇḍa 6. 21-25
- Mukujā—(r. from Rṣyavanta) M. 114. 26, M. 13. 50 (Devī is worshipped here as Satyavādinī)
- Mūlasthāna—(modern Multan)—ancient capital of the Mallas. A. G. pp. 220-224 and 230-236. It was known under various names such as Kāśyapapura, Sāmbapura, Prahlādapura, Ādyasthāna (Al. Sachau I. 298)
- Mūlatāpi—(river Tāpi is so called, from its source at Multāi, which is a corruption of Mūlatāpi) M. 22.33 (Mūlatāpi Payoṣṇī ca). Multai is a village in Betul District, C. P. and contains a sacred tank which is popularly deemed to be the source of the Tāpi. In the printed Padma V. 11. 25 the words 'Sūlatāpi Payoṣṇī' are a misreading of 'Mūlatāpi Payoṣṇī'. Vide I. G. I. vol. 18 p. 21 for Multai.
- Mūli—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31
- Muṇḍapṛṣṭha—A (a hill situated on the western bank of the Phalgu river at Gayā) K. II. 37. 39-40, N. II. 45. 96, Ag. 115. 22 and 43-44, Vā 77. 102-103, 108, 12 and 111. 15, Br. III. 13. 110-111 (Mahādeva practised severe tapas here). It is no other than the hill on which there is Viṣṇupada, the very centre of Gayāyātrā. On this hill, according to the legend of Gayāsura, the back of the giant's head rested. Vide pp. 656, 665 above; B (a hill in Kāśmīra) NM 1247-1254
- Muṇḍeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 116
- Mūjavat—A (a m.) In Rg. X. 34. 1 soma plant is called Maujavata and the Nir. IX. 8 explains that Mūjavat is a mountain on which soma grows. In A. V. the form Mūjavat occurs and *takman* (evil spirit of disease) is asked to go to Mūjavat and to Bāhikas beyond it. In A. V. 22. 5 the form is Mūjavantaḥ. It appears to be some m. far to the north-west of India.
- Muñjavat—(m. in Himālayan range) Āśvamedhika-parva 8. 1 (where Siva practises penance), Br. II. 18. 20-21 (where Siva resides and from which rise Sailoda lake and Sailodā river), Var. 213. 13 (to the north of Mandara)
- Muñjajaṭa—(on the Gauges, which is a Sivaśthāna) V. 85. 67, P. I. 39. 63 (same verse in both)

Murmurā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of fires) V. 222 23

N

Nābhi—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 82

Nadantikā—V. Dh. S. 85. 19 (very fit place for śrāddha).

Nādesvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 127; B (probably same as Bindusaras) N I. 16. 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagīratha practised *tapas*)

Nadiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā, 108.28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Sal. 37. 30 (Vāsuki's image is established there)

Nāgakūṣa—(included under Gayāśīras) Vā, 111. 22, N. II. 45. 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183. 36

Nāgasābhaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77.271, M. 50. 78, Nr. 65. 11 q. by T.K p. 252 (Govinda is *guhya* name of Viṣṇu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupt. It should be 'nāgasābhaye.' Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—A (under VS) M. 22. 33, K I. 35. 7, P I. 28.33; B (under Go.) B 111. 1; C (under Tripuṣkara) P V. 26. 51; D (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14; E (location uncertain) V. 84. 33

Nāgesvara—(a *tapovana* on Narmadā) M. 191. 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82. 112, Ag. 109. 13

Nabucsesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 115

Naimiṣa or Naimiśa—(a forest) A country round Nimsār on the Gomati, 43 miles from Lucknow. In Kāṭhaka Samhitā X. 6 we have

'Naimiṣyā vai sattram-ānata'; while in Pāṇcavimśa Br. 25. 6. 4 occurs Naimiṣya and Kauṣītaki Br. 26. 5 has Naimiṣyānam' and 28. 4 also. In the great Epic and Purānas it is mentioned very often; vide V. 84. 59-64 (all tirthas on the earth are centred in Naimiṣa), V 87. 5-7 (on Gomati in east), M. 109.3 (most holy on the earth), K. II. 20. 34, K. II. 43. 1-16 (very dear to Mahādeva), Vā 2.8, Br. I. 2.8 (both derive it as 'bhramato dharmacakraṣya yatra nemir-aśīryata' from 'nemi' rim of a wheel and śr. 'to be shattered'), B 1. 3-10 (fine description); Vāyu (I. 14-15) makes it clear that the great sattra of the sages of Naimiśāranya was in Kurukṣetra on the Drmadvatī But Vā. 2.9 and Br. I. 2.9 say that it was on the Gomati. It is possible that Gomati is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra flourished, Kalmāṣapāda was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. VI. III. 14.18 states that by a bath in Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Naimiśa-gomati and other rivers and by honouring pits one destroys all sins. B—Br. S. XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Naimiṣa,

Naimiṣa—kuṇja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83. 109, P. I. 26. 102

Nairṛteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 117

Nakulagaṇa—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakuliśa (often written as Nakuliśa). Vide E I. vol. XXI. pp. 1 ff (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-samvat 61 i. e. 380 A. D.) which shows that Lakulī founder of Pāśupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A.D.; compare Vāyu 23. 22-25 for Nakulī and Kāyārohaṇa as his siddhikṣetra.

- Nākulesatīrtha—(Lakulīśatīrtha?) M. 22. 77, Vām. 7. 26 (Nākulesvara on Narmadā where Cyavana bathed).
- Nakuli—(r. rising from lake Viṣṇu-pada) Br. II. 18. 68
- Nakulīśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 107
- Nakulīśvara—K II. 44. 12
- Nalakūbaresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
- Nalinī—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām. I. 43. 13; B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101
- Nandā—V 87. 27, Vā. 77. 79, Ādi. 215. 7, V 110. 1 (near Hemakūṭa), Anu. 166. 28, Bh. VII. 14. 32, Var. 214. 47. Even all these passages do not convey the exact position. Bh. IV. 6. 24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kailāsa and Saugandhikavana. Bh. (IV. 6. 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhikavāna
- Nandanā—(r. rising in Rikṣavat m.) M. 144. 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read *candamū*, which seems to be a misreading)
- Nandanavana—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 187
- Nandāsarasvatī—the r. Sarasvatī came to be so called. Vide P, V. 18. 456
- Nandāvari—(r) Devala q. by T.K. p. 249 mentions after Kauṣikī. Prof. Aiyangar (TK p. 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U. P. east of the Kosi river
- Nandigrāma—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V. 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II. 115. 22, VII. 62. 13, Bh. IX. 10. 36. It is Nundgaon in Oudh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.
- Nandigubā—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 193
- Nandiksetra—(in Kāśmīra) R. I. 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandīn being born as son of Sītāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramukha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodaka lake
- Nandikeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6
- Nandīkūṇḍa—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu. 23. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramati rises) P. VI. 132. 1 and 13
- Nandīkūṭa—(v. I. Nandīkūṇḍa) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T.K. p. 248
- Nandīnī—(r.)—V. 84. 155, P I 38. 62
- Nandīnī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 128. 1 and 73-74
- Nandīparvata—(in Kāśmīra) HC. 4. 30 and 32 (near Haramukūṭa-Gaṅgā)
- Nandīśa—(Śiva worshipped in Nundkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Haramukūṭa down to Bhūtesvara) R. I. 124
- Nandīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 57
- Nandītāṭa—(under Go.) B. 152. 1 and 40 (also called Ānanda)
- Nandītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 37, K. II. 41. 90, P I. 18, 37 (same verse in latter two)
- Nāradakūṇḍa—(under Lobhārgala) Var. 151. 37
- Nāradatīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 16-17, P I. 18. 23 (same verse in both)
- Nāradesvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 5; B (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 53
- Nāraka—V. 83. 168 (some mss. read Anaraka and some 'Naraka')
- Nāraka—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 36, 20. 1-2
- Nārasimha—(under Gayā) N II. 46. 46
- Narasimbāwāna—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1520
- Nārasimhatīrtha—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1; B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43

- Nārāyaṇasaras**—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Kori) Bh. VI. 5. 3 and 25, Śivapurāṇa II. 2. 13, 13. It is Sindhu-samudra-saṅgama. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteswar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyaṇa. Vide Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 245-248
- Nārāyaṇāśrama**—(near Badarī) V. 145. 26-34, 156. 14 (Naraṇārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarīyabhivisrutam), Bh. VII. 14, 32, IX. 3. 36 (Badarīyākhyam gato rāja Nara-nārāyaṇāśramam), X. 87. 4-7
- Nārāyaṇasthāna**—V. 84. 122, P. I. 38. 39
- Nārāyaṇatīrtha**—A (under VS) P. I. 37. 5; B—B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Vipratīrtha under Go.)
- Nārīrīrthāni**—(in the Draviḍa country on the sea) V. 118. 4, Ādi. 217. 17 (dakṣiṇe sāgarāṇiṣṭhe pañca tīrthāni santi vai). Vide Pañcāṅgaras
- Narmadā**—Vide pp. 703-707 above
- Narmadā**—Eraṇḍi-saṅgama T.P. p. 383
- Narmadāprabhava**—TP p. 383, P. I. 39. 9; V. 85. 9 reads 'Ṣoṇasya Narmadāyāsca prabhede'
- Narmadeśa**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18. 69
- Narmadesvara**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 2
- Nāsikya**—(modern Nasik) Vide pp. 709-710 above and Vā 46. 130
- Naubandhana**—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62-63
- Naubandhanasaras**—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 64-66, 165-166 (also called Viṣṇupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27
- Nepāla**—(modern Nepal) Var. 215. 38, Vā 104. 79, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 11. (Gubyakālī is a mahāsthāna in). Vide A.G. pp. 450-452; Br. IV. 44. 93 (one of the fifty pīṭhas), Bṛ. S. 4. 22. The country is named in Allahabad Ins. of Samudragupta (C. I. I III. p. 14)
- Nigamodbhodbhaka**—(one *gavyūti* to the west of Prayāga) P. VI. 196. 73-74, 200. 6 (in Indraprastha). Dey p. 140 says that it is Nigambodh Ghat in old Delhi on the Yamunā.
- Nihkīrā**—(a lotus pool on Krauñcāpada in Gayā) Vā 108. 84, N. II. 44. 64, 47. 35, Ag. 116. 8 (reads Nīścīrā)
- Nihkīrā-saṅgama**—N. II. 47. 35.
- Nilācala**—A (a small hill or mound at Purī in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nilaparvata; B (hill near Gauhati on which temple of Sati stands)
- Nilagangā**—(under Go. and rising in Nilaparvata) B 80. 4
- Nilakanṭhaliṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 118
- Nilakanṭhatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 168. 1
- Nilakūṇḍa**—A (a pītṛtīrtha) M. 22. 22; B Nilakūṇḍa, Vitastā and Śūlaghāta are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra. NM 1500, HC 12. 17.
- Nilanāga**—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295-301, R. I. 28, HC. 12. 17, SM p. 182. It is to the south of Bring in Shahabad *paragana*; popularly known as Vērṇāg, the traditional source of Vitastā. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 361 describes Vērṇāg as the source of Bihat (Vitastā) and remarks (p. 363) 'Nilanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas. Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border'
- Nilaparvata**—A (near Haridvāra) Ann. 25. 13 'Gaṅgādvāre Kuśāvarte Bilvake Nilaparvate | tathā Kanakhale snātvā dhūtapāpmā divam vrajet' L. q. by T. K. p. 245, VDH. 85. 13.

- M. 22. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, K. II. 20. 33, Devi-Bh. VII. 38 (Devisthāna Nūlambā); B (mound on which Puruṣottama shrine stands) P. IV. 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q. by T. P. p. 562
- Nīlatīrtha—Vām, q. by T. K. p. 238
- Nūlavana—Rām. II. 55. 8 (one krośa from Citrakūṭa)
- Nūlotpalā—(r. rising from Rkṣa m.) Vā. 45. 100
- Nimbārkatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 151. 1 and 14 (near Pippalāda-tīrtha)
- Nimnabheda—(on north bank of Go.) B 151. 1
- Nirajetvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6
- Nirāñjana—(An Ādityatīrtha on the north bank of Yamunā near Prayāga) M. 108. 29, T.K. p. 149 (reads Nirūjaka)
- Nirāñjana—a river which has Mohanā as tributary and after confluence it flows past Gayā; it is famed in Buddhist works. They are Magon and Errenyals of Arrian (Ptolemy p. 97)
- Niravindaparvata—Ann. 25. 42
- Nirjareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103
- Nirvindhya—(river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, Meghadūta I. 28. Acc. to Bh. IV. 1. 17-19, Vi. II. 3. 11, the river starts from m. Rkṣa and sage Atri had his hermitage on it; Mār. chap. 113 narrates the story of Vidūratha whose capital was near Nirvindhya and Vatsapri, son of Bhalandana
- Nirvirā—(r.) V 84. 138-139 (it had Vasisthāśrama on its bank)
- Nisadha—(m.) V. 188. 112; Al. (vol. II. p. 142) says that near the mountains Nisadha is the lake Viṣṇupada whence comes the river Sarasvatī. Therefore Nisadha seems to be a part of the great Himālayan range. Vide also Vāyu 47. 64
- Niṣadhbā—(r. rising in Vindhya) Br. II. 16. 32. Vā 45. 102
- Nisākaraliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 65
- Nisācīrā—appears to be a variant reading for Nirvirā; M. 114. 22 reads 'nisācā'
- Nisphaleśa—K. II. 41. 8
- Niṣṭhāśaṅgama—(where there was Vasisthāśrama) P. I. 38. 56
- Niṣṭhāvāsa—P. I. 38. 54
- Niṣṭhivī—(r. rising in Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26
- Nivāsaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 89
- Nūpā—(r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) Br. II. 16. 28, Mār. 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpi')
- O
- Oghavati—(r. in Punjab) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (śrāddha and dāna very efficacious here). Vām, 46. 30, 57. 33, 58. 115; Pṛthūdaka (modern Pehoa) was situated on it. From Śal. 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of Sarasvatī. Vide Dey p. 142 for different views about identification
- Ojasa—(under Kurukṣetra, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām. 41. 6, 90. 17
- Omkāra—A (one of five guhya liṅgas in VS) K I. 32. 1-11, L. I. 92. 137, P. I. 34. 1-4; B (Omkāra Māndhātā, one of the twelve jyotirliṅgas on an island in Narmadā about 32 miles north-west of Khandwa) M 22. 27, 186. 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 131. 67, SK. I. 1. 17. 209. In the Halāyudha-stotra engraved in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the Narmadā dated in samvat 1120 (1063 A.D.) in E. I. vol. 23 p. 173 it is said that Omkāra dwells in Māndhātāpura on the confluence of Narmadā and

Kāverī. Vide above under Māhismati

Omkāreśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 118

P

Padmāvati—Sal. 46. 9 (one of the Mātṛs); the city is called Narwar. Vide A. G. p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of *sainvat* 1058 (1001–2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālati-Mādhava* (E.I. vol. I. p. 147 at p. 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, king of Nisadha

Paisācatīrtha—(On the south bank of Go.) B 64. 1–2 and 18 (also called Āñjana). B. 150.1 speaks of a Paisācatīrtha on the north bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tirthas.

Paitāmabatiṛtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4–5, K. II. 42. 18

Pālamajjara—(near Sūrpāraka) Br. III. 13. 37

Pālapañjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrāddha here most efficacious), Br. III. 13. 37 (reads Pālamajjara)

Palāśaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90. 16 (Palāśakesu punyeshu)

Palāśini—(r.) A (near Girnar in Kathiwar). Vide under Raivataka and Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta's Ins. of 457 A.D. (C.I.I. III. at p. 64); B (r. Paddair which falls into the sea near Kaliṅgapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Suktimat), Vā. 45. 107

Pāleśvara—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 134. 2 (where image of Candī is established)

Pampā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadra) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām. 90. 16

Pampā—(v. I. Japā or Jayā) P. I. 26. 20–21 (said to be the door of Kuru-kṣetra)

Pampāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Rśyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III. 72. 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126. 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 12 (saptagodāvarīm Venām Pampām Bhimarathim tatah)

Pampātīrtha—M. 22. 50, Bh. VII. 14. 31

Pañcabrahma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 62

Pañcagaṅgā—The five rivers called Gaṅgā are Bhāgirathī, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Pinākinī (Pennar) and Kāverī. But in Drona 54. 23 (Pañcagaṅgāsu sā punyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant

Pañcakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 63

Pañcalakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 65

Pañcakunda—A (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 226; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 43 (where five dhārās from himakūṭa fall)

Pañcanada—(the five rivers in Punjab) V. 82. 83, Mausala 7. 45, Vā. 77. 56, K II. 44. 1–2, L I. 43. 47–48 (near Japyeśvara), Vām. 34. 26, P. I. 24. 31. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 239 on Pāṇ. IV. 1.88) derives Pañcanadaḥ (Pañcanade bhavaḥ) from Pañcanadam. The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipās, Paruṣṇī, Asikni and Vitastā and in modern times they are called Suttlej, Bias, Rāvē, Chenab and Jhelum. The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot. Br. S. XI. 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhaniṣṭhā kills the king of Pañcanada and Br. S. 14.21 states it is a country in the west. Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Pañcanada separately (Sindhun nadam Pañcanadam Devikātha

- Sarasvatī). For Pañcanada as a country, vide Sabbhāparva 32.11
- Pañcanadatīrtha—(under the Ganges) Br. III. 13. 57, N II. 51. 16-36. Vide p. 636 and note 1458 above.
- Pañcanadi—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣmī near it).
- Pañcanadiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 96.
- Pañcapinda—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 36-40 (where a man of good deeds sees lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer). T.K p. 326 reads Pañcakunḍa.
- Pañcaprayāga—Dey p. 146 mentions (1) Devaprayāga (confluence of Bhāgirathī and Alakanandā), (2) Karnaprayāga (Alakanandā and Pindarā), (3) Rudraprayāga (Alakanandā and Mandākinī) 18 miles from Śrinagar, capital of Tebrī, (4) Nandaprayāga (Alakanandā and Nandā), (5) Viṣṇuprayāga near Joshimaṭha (Alakanandā and Viṣṇugangā).
- Pañcāpsaras-tīrtha—(on the southern sea) Bh. X. 79. 18 (Śrīdhara-svāmī, com. of Bh., says that this tīrtha is in Phālguna which is Anantapura in the Madras State. Adi. (216. 1-4) names them as Agastyatīrtha, Saubhadra, Pauloma, Karandhama and Bhāradvāja. They were shunned by all, but Arjuna plunged into them and relieved the Apsaras who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, Kāumārīkā section, chap. 1 is Pañcāpsarah-samuddharana (by Arjuna).
- Pañcārūnakṣetra—(to north of Śrīdhara-svāmī) Var. 148. 45
- Pañcasaras—A (a pool under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 34; B (a pool under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 23
- Pañcasikha—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 14-16
- Pañcasikhiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 67
- Pañcasīra—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 39-44.
- Pañcāśvamedhika—Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45
- Pañcatapa (a Sivatīrtha where pinda-dāna gives inexhaustible results) K. II. 44. 5-6
- Pañcatīrtha—(in Kañci) Br. IV. 40. 59-61.
- Pañcatīrthakunḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 37.
- Pañcavana—(under Gayā) Vā 77. 99
- Pañcavata—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41. 11, P I. 27. 50 (probably same as Pañcavaṭī in V. 83. 162)
- Pañcavaṭī—A (in the north) V. 83. 162; B (on the Go.) Rām. III. 13. 13 (calls it 'deśa'), III. 13. 19 (two yojanas from Agastya-āśrama), N II. 75. 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp 709-710 above
- Pañcayakṣā—(location uncertain) V 84. 10
- Pañcāyatana—(five tīrthas on the Narmadā) M. 191. 5-6
- Pañdārakavana—(very fit for śrāddha) Vā 77. 37
- Pāṇḍavesvaraka—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 58, M. 191. 61-62
- Pāṇḍokūpa—Br. III. 13. 37 (near the sea) very fit for śrāddha
- Pāṇḍupura—Vide Pāṇḍarikapura
- Pāṇḍura—Vā. 45. 91 (a minor m.)
- Pāṇḍisabha—(one of the guhya-kṣetras of Viṣṇu) Nr. 65. 9 q. by T.K. p. 251
- Pāṇḍuśālātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 77. 99; Vā. 112. 44-48 (read Pāṇḍuśālā); T.K. p. 168 quoting Vā. reads Pāṇḍuśālā
- Pāṇḍuśālā—P. I. 26. 84, V. 83. 89 (-khāta)
- Pāṇḍajavana—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 58, Vā. 112. 43 (Pāṇḍuśālā was in this vana)
- Pāṇḍamokṣa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 8, N. II. 47. 79
- Pāṇḍapramocana—(under Kōṭamukha) Var. 140. 51-54

Pāpaprāṇāśana—A (on Yamunā) P. I. 31. 15; B (under Co.) B 92. 1 and 48-49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')

Pāpasūdanatīrtha—(a spring in Kāśmīra) R. I. 32, H. C. 14. 36. Kapaṭeśvara, Saṅkaraṇa Nāga and Pāpasūdana are the same. Śiva is worshipped as Kapaṭeśvara at the sacred spring

Parā—A (Viśvāmitra gave that name to Kauśiki) Ādi. 71. 30-32; B (r. rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā. 45. 98, M. 13. 44 and 114. 24, Mār. 54. 20. Printed Vāyu reads Parā, though some MSS. read Pārā. In M. 13. 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pārā on the bank of Pārā. Vide Mālatī-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S. 14. 10

Parīhāsapura—(modern Paraspur in Kashmir) built by the great king Lalitāditya. R. IV. 194-195 refer to silver and gold images of Viṣṇu

Parśaryeśvaralīṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarasvatī) V. 53. 12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripatra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śiprā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19. 16, Vā. 45. 88 and 98, B. 27. 29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamīputa Śātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Prākṛit) as *विन्ध्यपर्वतपारिवातसहस्रकण्ठगिरि-मन्सिरिन्दमलय-महेन्द्र-पर्वतपतेः*, Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 550 and as Pāricāta in Nasik Ins. No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569) and in Mahābhāṣya as the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (vol.

I. p. 475 on Pār. II. 4. 10) and also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 27

Parjanyeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 115

Parṇāsā (or Varnāsā)—A (r. Banās in Rajputana which rising in Udaipur State falls into the Chambal) S. 65. 6 (yatkinsid ann Parṇāsām prāk Sindhorapi Saubala l etan mama dhanam &c.). Parṇāsā would mean 'the hope of foliage'. Vā. 45. 97, Var. 214. 48, M. 114. 23, S. 9. 21; B a river of Western India that falls into the Runn of Cutch. The first is mentioned as Bārṇāsā in Usavādāta's Nasik Inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. Vol. 16 p. 569 and p. 633); in Ins. No. 14, at Nasik it is spelt as Banāsā (Bom. G. Vol. 16 p. 577) and also in Karle cave Inscription No. 13 in E. I. vol. VII. at p. 57. Vide for this river Bom. G. vol. V p. 283.

Paruṣṇī—A (modern Rāvi in Punjab) Rg. V. 52. 9, VII. 88. 8-9 (Sudās met his enemies Kutsa and the latter's allies on this river), VIII. 74. 15, X. 75. 5. Nīr. IX. 26 states that Irāvati was called Paruṣṇī; B (a tributary of the Go.) B 144. 1 and 23.

Paruṣṇī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 144. 1.

Parvatākhyā—(under VS) K I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8 (same verse in both)

Parvateśvara—(under VS) M 183. 62

Parvatikā—(śrāddha on this river most efficacious) M 22. 56. It is a river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal

Pārā—(r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) Br. II. 16. 28. Is it a misreading for Pārā?

Pāṣṇatīrthā—(r.) Devala q. by T.K. p. 249

Pāṣiṇī—(r. rising from Suktimanta) M 114. 32

Pāsūpatatīrtha—M. 22. 56 (śrāddha at this very efficacious)

Paśūpateśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 135

- Paśupatiśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 93
- Pāṣālā**—(very sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.33
- Pātandhama**—(m.) Vā. 45. 91
- Patatritīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 166. 1.
- Pathiśvara**—(in Kāśmīra beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM. 1245 (temple of), 1398
- Patreśvara**—(on north bank of Narmadā) P. I. 17. 1
- Paulastya-tīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 97. 1
- Pauloma**—(vide Pañcāsarastīrtha) Ādi. 216. 3
- Paundarika**—(a Viṣṇukṣetra, seems to be Pandharpur from context) P. VI. 280. 18-19 (Kṛtasauce hareṭ pāpam Paundarika ca Dandake : Māthure Venkaṭādrau ca)
- Paundra**—(Devadāruvane Paundram) P. VI. 129. 27
- Paundravardhana**—Vā. 104. 79 (sacred pīṭha), Br. IV. 44. 93
- Paṅska**—(in Kāśmīra-maṇḍala) P. VI. 129. 27
- Pavanasya**—brāda V. 83. 105
- Pāvanī**—(r.) The Ghaggar in Kurukṣetra (Ambala District) Rām. I. 43. 13. Vide Dey p. 155
- Payasvinī**—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18, XI. 5. 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vāsudeva).
- Payodā**—(r.) Br. II. 18. 70, Vā. 47. 67 (rising from lake Payoda).
- Payoṣṇī**—(r. rising from Rkṣa or from Vindhya). Wilson says that it is (vol. II. p. 144 n 37) the Pain-Gangā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces. V. 85. 40, V. 88. 4. 7-9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gangā and is the river of king Nrga), 121. 16, Vi. II. 3. 11. Tāpī and Payoṣṇī are separately mentioned in most Purāṇas e. g. Vi. II. 3. 11, M. 114. 27, B. 27. 33, Vā. 45. 102, Vām. 13. 28, N. II. 60. 29, Bh. X. 79. 20, P. IV. 14. 12 and IV. 16. 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it). Vide under Mūlatāpī. V. 121. 16 shows that after Payoṣṇī the Pāṇḍavas came to Valdūrya-parvata and Narmadā. Hunter in I. G. I. vol. XX. p. 412 holds that Payoṣṇī is the modern Puṇā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadh hills and falling into the Tāpī. The Nalacampū VI. 29 says (Parvatābhedi pavitram... Hari-miva... vahati payah pasyata Payoṣṇī).
- Payoṣṇīsaṅgama**—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 33
- Phalakivana**—(under Kurukṣetra, probably modern Pharal, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V. 83. 86
- Phalgu**—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūṇpū. Vide District Gazetteer of Gayā p. 8. Ag. 115. 27 derives it from *phala* and *go* (yasmīn phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmadhenur-jalanī mahā Drṣṭiram-yādikam yasmāt Phalgutīrtham na phalguvat). Vā. 111. 16 says it is superior to Gangā since the latter is only water from the foot of Viṣṇu while the former is *Adi-Gadādhara* himself. Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661-62, 664 n
- Phālguna**—Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)
- Phalgunnaka**—(to the south of Mathurā) Var. 157. 32
- Phālgunesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 105
- Phenā**—(r. falls into Go.) B. 129. 7
- Phenā-saṅgama**—(with Go.) B. 129. 1. 7-8
- Pinḍāraka**—(in Khambhalia Mahal of Kathiawar) V. 82. 65-67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88. 21, M. 13. 48, 22. 69, Anu. 25. 57, Vi. V. 37. 6, Bh. XI. 1. 11 (Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var. 144. 10 (as Viṣṇuśthāna), P. I. 24. 14-15. Dey

- p. 157 says it is 16 miles to the east of modern Dvārakā. Vide Bom. G. vol. VIII (Kathiawar) p. 613 for legend connected with Pindar
- Piṅgāyāh-sārama—*Anu.* 23. 55
- Piṅgātīrtha—*V.* 82. 57 (Piṅgātīrtha), *F. I.* 24. 6 (same verse in both)
- Piṅgaleśvara—(under Narmadā) *M.* 191. 32, *K. II.* 41. 21, *P. I.* 18. 32 (same verse in last two)
- Pippalā—(r. rising from Rikṣavat) *Br.* II. 16. 30
- Pippalādātīrtha—(on Sābbramatī near Dugdheśvara) *P. VI.* 150. 1
- Pippalātīrtha—(under Go. near Cakra-tīrtha) *B.* 110. 1 and 226 (Pippaleśvara in this verse)
- Pippaleśa—(under Narmadā) *M.* 190. 13, *P. I.* 17. 10
- Pippalī—(r. rising from Rṣyavat) *M.* 114. 25; probably same as Pippalā
- Piśācesvara—(under VS) *L. q.* by T. K. p. 114
- Piśācamocana-kunḍa—(under VS) *K. I.* 33. 2 and 13-14, *P. I.* 35. 2 ff (almost same verses in both)
- Piśācamocana-tīrtha—(in Prayāga) *P. VI.* 250. 62-63
- Piśācīkū—(r. rising in Rikṣavat) *Br.* II. 13. 30
- Pitāmahasaras—same as Puṣkara—*A. V.* 89. 16; *B. Sal.* 42. 30 (the source of Sarasvatī), *V.* 84. 149
- Pitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) *M.* 194. 4, *P. I.* 21. 4
- Pīthas—fifty are enumerated in *Br. IV.* 44. 93-100 such as Nepāla, Ekavīrā, Ekāmra
- Plakṣā—(r.) *Vām. q.* by T. K. p. 239 (from that river pilgrim goes to Kuṇḍīna and then to Śūrparaka)
- Plakṣaprasaravana or prāsra—(the source of Sarasvatī) *Sal.* 54. 11, *K. II.* 37. 29, *Br. III.* 13. 69, *Vā.* 77. 67 (very efficacious for śrāddha)
- Plakṣatīrtha—(sacred tank probably in Kurukṣetra where Purūravas found Urvaśī) *Vā.* 91. 32
- Plakṣāvatarāṇa—*V.* 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); *V.* 129. 13-14 (Yamanātīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhṛtha), *K. II.* 37. 8 (a Viṣṇutīrtha), *Mār.* 21. 29-30 (in Himavat)
- Prabhāsa—*A.* (in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had a famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas, broken by Mahmud of Gaznī) also called Somanāthapattana, *SK.* VII. 1. 2. 44-53 (several origins of the name suggested), *V.* 82. 58, 130. 7, *V.* 88. 20, 118. 15, 119. 3, *Ādi.* 218. 2-8, *Sal.* 35. 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), *K. II.* 35. 15-17, *N.* II. 70. 1-95 (māhātmya), *G. I.* 4. 81, *Vām.* 84. 29 (Sarasvatī falls into the sea near it). It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavādāta's Inscription at Nāsik (*Bom. G. vol.* 16 p. 669 and in Cintra prasasti of Śāraṅgadeva dated *saṃvat* 1343 (1287 A. D.). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea [*E. I. vol. I.* p. 271 at p. 283 and Śrīdbara's prasasti of *saṃvat* 1273 (1216 A. D.)]; *B.* (on the Sarasvatī) *Sal.* 35. 78, *SK.* VII. 1. 11-14; *C.* (a hill near Gayā) *Vā.* 108. 16, 109. 14, *Ag.* 116. 15; *D.* (under VS) *K. I.* 35. 16, *P. I.* 37. 15; *E.* (under Dvārakā) *Mausala* 8. 9, *Var.* 149. 29-33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), *SK.* VII. 1 chap. 35-36 (māhātmya of Sarasvatī and Prabhāsa), *Bh.* XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak-Sarasvatī there i. e. S. flowing westwards, while in Kurukṣetra it is prācī). Usavādāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa (Prabhase Puṇyatīrthe). It was here that Lord Kṛṣṇa left his mortal coil. Vide 'The life and

- times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni' by Dr. M. Nazim pp. 209-214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmud (about 1025 A. D.), pp. 219-224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117-119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the linga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dinārs of those days (i. e. about £10,500,000 in present money); F (in Kāśmīra) HC. 14. 111; G (one of the five *dhārās* near Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58.
- Prāci-Sarasvatī—(same as Sarasvatī) A-Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 42. 20-23; B (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 23
- Pradyumnagiri or—pitha (same as Hariparvata in Srinagara) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vik. 18. 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R. p. 17
- Pradyumnatirtha—N. II. 40. 96. Dey p. 158 says that it is Paṇḍuā in the District of Hughly in Bengal
- Prabhasiteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 89
- Prabhādeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48
- Prajāmukha—(Viṣṇu to be worshipped as Vāmadeva here) Vām. 90. 2b
- Prajāpatikṣetra—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prayāga; vide p. 599 note 1358.
- Prājāpatya—(under VS) K I. 35.4, P I. 37. 4 (same verse in both)
- Praṇītā—(r. falling into Godāvari) B. 161. 1, P VI. 181. 5 (on the bank of Go. there was a town called Meghaṅkara); same as Praṇahita
- Prāntakapāniya—(near Pāñcanada) Var. 215. 100
- Prāpaṇa—(to the north of Mandara) Var. 143. 17
- Pratāvana-giri—A (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49. 31; B (on the Tuṅga-bhadra) Rām IV. 27. 1-4 (in a cave of which Rāma resided for some months)
- Praticī—(a great r.) Bh. XI. 5. 40 (persons dwelling on this are devotees of Vāmadeva)
- Pratiṣṭhāna—A (near Prayāga) V85.76, 114, 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas), 91. 50 (on the north bank of Yamunā), M 12. 18. 106. 30 (on the eastern side of the Ganges), Mār. 108. 18 (given to Aila Purūravas at Vasiṣṭha's request) Vi. IV. 1. 16, B 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42; B (modern Patthan on the left bank of the Go.) B 112. 23, Var. 165. 1, P VI. 172.20, VI. 176. 2 and 6 (refers to sporting Mahārāṣṭra women at). The Pitalkhora Buddhist pillar inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a perfumer Mitadeva of Patithān; A. S. W. I. IV. 83. Vide A.G. pp. 553-554 for Pratiṣṭhāna being the capital of Mahārāṣṭra in Hiouen Tsaang's times. Ptolemy mentions it as Baithana and the Periplus as 'Plithāna.' In the 13th edict of Aśoka at Shahabazgarhi and elsewhere we have 'Bhoja-Pitinikeśu', which last word probably stands for Pratiṣṭhānakas (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 67).
- Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvari) B 106. 46-54 (on which is situated Nivāsapura, modern Nevās or Nevās). It joins Godāvari at Toka in Ahmednagar District, Bom. G. vol. 17 p. 6
- Pravarapura—(see under Srinagara) K. III. 336-349
- Pravarā-saṅgama—(with Go.) B 106. 1. Vide Bom. G. vol. XVII. p. 740 for Toka and Pravarāsaṅgam, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvari, 7 miles north-east of Nevās
- Prayāga—A (modern Allahabad) Vide pp. 596-617 above and A. G. pp. 388-391 quoting Hiouen Tsaang; B (the confluence of the Indus

- and Vitastā i. e. Zhelum } NM
394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gaṅgā
and Vitastā Yamunā)
- Prayāgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.
p. 45
- Pretakūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 68-
69, Ag. 116.15. It is now known as
Brahmayoni at the foot of the
Pretāṇḍ hill
- Pretakūṭa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109.
15
- Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā 83. 20.
- Pretāṇḍā—(under Gayā) Vā 110. 15,
108. 15. It is a peak 580 feet in
height situated 5 miles north-west of
Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer
p. 235.
- Pritikeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.
p. 111
- Priyamelaka—(pre-eminent for brā-
ddha) M. 22. 53
- Priyavateśvara-linga—(in VS) SK, IV.
33. 159
- Prithivītīrtha—P. I. 26. 11 (near Pāri-
plava)
- Prithūdaka—(on south bank of Saras-
vatī, modern Pehoa) Vide p. 685
above. It was called Brahmayoni in
Vām. 39. 16-17 and 23. Vide A. G.
pp. 336-337
- Prithutāga—N. II. 60. 25
- Pulahāśrama—Bh. VII. 14. 30, X. 79.
10 (near Gomati and Gandakī and
same as Śālagrāma)
- Pulastya-pulahāśrama—(near source
of Gandakī river) Var. 144. 113,
Bh. V. 8. 30 (near Śālagrāma)
- Pulastyeśvara—(under VS) L. by T.K.
p. 116
- Punahposā—(r. under Gayā, modern
Pūn-Pūn) Vā. 108. 73, N. II. 47. 75
- Pusarāvartanandā—(r.) Anu. 25. 45
- Pundarika—A (under Kubjāmraka)
Var. 126. 57, P. I. 26. 78; B (near
Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 7-8
- Pundarikā—(r. rising from a lake called
Payoda) Br. II. 18. 69-70
- Pundarikakṣetra—(modern Pandhar-
pur) T. S. pp. 7-21
- Pundarikamahātīrtha—(brāddha most
efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 56,
Vā. 77. 55
- Pundarikapura—M. 22. 77, N. II.
73. 45
- Punyasthala—(under Mathurā, one of
the five sthalas) Var. 160. 21
- Porāṇeśvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 132
- Pūrṇā—A (r. in Berar); it falls into the
Tāpi on its left bank. Vide Ain. A.
vol. II. p. 224; Changdev is a village
near this confluence and a great
tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy);
B Pūrṇā in Surat District falls into
the sea (Bom. G. vol. II. p. 26); C
Pūrṇā which falls into the Godāvari
in Parbhani District. Vide I. G. I.
vol. XII. p. 297. Is it the same as
the Pūrṇātīrtha in B 105. 22?
- Pūrṇamukha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var.
126. 40-41
- Pūrnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.)
B 122. 1
- Poru—(m.) V 90. 22 (where Purūrasa
went)
- Purūrasatīrtha—(under Gid.) B. 101.
1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatī-
saṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)
- Purusoṭtama—(Jagannātha or Puri in
Orissa) B. chapters 42, 48, 68, 177,
178; M. 13. 35, K. II. 35. 27, N. II.
chapters 52-61 (mābātmya). Vide
pp. 692-703 above
- Pūrvāmukha—(a variant reading for
Pūrṇamukha in Var. 126. 40)
- Puškara—(town, lake and place of
pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer).
One of the few temples of god
Brahmā exists here. There are
three kuṇḍas called Jyēṣṭha, Ma-
dhyama and Kanīṣṭha (N. II. 71. 12,
P. V. 28. 53). Usavādāta's Nasik
Ins. No. 10 mentions gifts made by
him at three pools (Puškareṣu).
Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570. Vā.
77. 40, K. II. 20. 34 and VDHS.
85. 1-3 state that brāddha at Puṣ-

kara yields inexhaustible results. This is one (western) of the five Vedis of Brahṃā (P. V. 15. 150), Vām. 22. 19, Br. III. 34. 11 and Vām. 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puṣkara and Br. III. 35. 39 says that Kanīṣṭha Puṣkara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puṣkara, and Jyestha Puṣkara was one krośa to the west of Madhyama Puṣkara. It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V. 19. 37). P. V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puṣkara from the lotus (puṣkara) that Brahṃā cast here. Br. (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Parasurāma practised *tapas* here along with his disciple Akṛtavraṇa for 100 years. The T. K. pp. 182-185 quote verses 20-39 of Vanaparva chap. 82 and twelve verses from P. V. 27 relating to Puṣkara. Al. (vol. II. p. 147) states: 'Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship'. The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb. There are several sub-tīrthas under it (V. 82). Puṣkara is in the Varāṇadigaṇa (Pān. IV. 2. 82); B (Puṣkara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m.) Ādi. 221. 15, Śal. 38. 13-15; C HC. 14. 111 (in Kāśmīra among the group of tīrthas at Kapateśvara); D (one of the five *dhārās* at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58

Puṣkarāraṇya—P. V. 18. 217, S. 32. 8 (Prāci Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br. S. XI. 35

Puṣkarāvātī—a r. probably known to Pān. (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśikā mentions it and also several others)

Puṣkarinī—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 16, K. II. 41. 10-11, P. I. 17. 12; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 13

Puṣpabhadra—(r. on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51. 2, 98. 5, Bh. XII. 8. 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q. by T. K. p. 253

Puṣpabhadra (r.) Bh. XII. 9. 10

Puṣpagiri—(one of the lesser mountains in Bharatavara) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 22. Vide I. C. I. vol. 23 pp. 114-115 for this

Puṣpajā—(r. rising from Malaya) M. 114. 30, Vā. 45. 105 (reads Puṣpajāti, which means the same thing)

Puṣpadanteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117

Puṣpasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 17 (a Śivakṣetra)

Puṣpavahā—(r.) Bh. XII. 9. 30 (near Himālaya)

Puṣpavati—(r.) V. 85. 12, P. I. 39. 12 (same verse in both)

Putratīrtha—(under Co.) B. 124. 1 and 137

R

Rādhākūṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 34

Rāghaveśvara—M. 22. 60 (śrāddha renders inexhaustible results)

Raivataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi. 218. 8 (near Prabhasa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vṛṣṇyandhaka), S. 14. 50, Var. 149. 66 (q. by T. K. p. 227), SK. VII. 2. 1. 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M. 22. 74. Raivataka i. e. present Girnar is very sacred to the Jains (vide Uttarādhyayanasūtra, SBE. vol. 45 p. 115). But the present Dvārakā is about 110 miles from it. The original Dvārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer. Pargiter (p. 289) was not aware of two Dvārakās and hence proposes to identify Raivataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathiawad. In the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta of 136-138 Gupta era

i.e. 455-458 A.D. the river Palāṣinī is said to spring from Ūrjayat which (C.I.I. vol. III. at p. 64) is opposite to vataka

Rājagṛha—A (Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadha) V. 84. 104, Vā. 108. 73 (punyam Rājagṛham vanam), Ag. 109. 20, N. II. 47. 74, P. I. 38. 22; vide A. G. pp. 467-468 and I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 72 for the five hills surrounding it; it was also known as Girivraja and was the capital of Jarāsandha under this name; **B** (in the Punjab) P. I. 28. 13 (it is a Devīsthāna)

Rājakhadga—(on Sābhrāmāṭī) P. VI. 131. 116 and 134

Rājāvāsa—(Viṣṇu shrine established by Parasurāma in Kāśmīra) NM. 1384. 1447

Rajeshvara—(under Sripārvata). L. I. 92. 156

Rāmādhivāsa—(śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here) M. 22. 53

Rāmāgiryasrama—G. I. 81. 8, Meghadūta 1 and 12 (Rāmāgiri is Rāmtek, 28 miles north-east of Nāgpur in C. P. and two miles from Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana)

Rāmāgrha—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 10

Rāmabṛada—(five lakes on the north of Thaneshwar) V. 83. 26-40, Anv. 25. 47, Bh. X. 54. 53, P. I. 26. 23-37 (where Parāsurāma filled five lakes with the blood of kṣatriyas killed by him and his pitṛs transformed them into tirthas at his request), NM. 1387-99 (it is Brahmasaras where Bhārgava Rāma practised *tapas* after washing his bloodstained ghands), Bh. X. 84. 53. Also called Cakra-tirtha (vide p. 742 above)

Rāmājanma—(to the east of Saraka) P. I. 26. 76

Rāmalinga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113

Rāmasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 14-18 (one krośa in extent)

Rāmātirtha—A (under Gayā) Vā. 108. 16-18, M. 22. 70 (anantam śrāddha-dānayoḥ), Ag. 116. 13; **B** (in Śūrpāraka) V. 83. 43, Śal. 49. 7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dakṣiṇā to Kāśyapa in Vājapeya and Atvamedha sacrifices). Vide Usavādāta's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmātirtha in Śūrpāraka in Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570; **C** (under the Ganges) N. II. 40. 85; **D** (on Gomatī) V. 24. 73-74, P. I. 32. 37; **E** (under Go.) B. 123. 1; **F** (under Mahendra) P. I. 39. 14

Rambhālīnga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Rambheshvara-līnga—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 46. 39.

Rāmesvara—A (one of the twelve Jyotir-līngas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K. II. 30. 23 (bath at R. saves from sin of brahmahatyā), G. I. 81. 9. Vide T. Sp. 47 which quotes passages from Vi., K. and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmban. It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXI pp. 173-175 for a brief description of the great temple; **B** (under Sripārvata) L. I. 92. 149 (established by Viṣṇu himself).

Ratnesvara-līnga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 165

Rantuka—(one boundary of Kurukṣetra) Vām. 22. 51 and 33. 2. Vide p. 683 n 1551 above

Rantukāsrama—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 5

Rasā—(a river) Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6. It is difficult to identify it. It appears to have fallen into the Indus. Rut from Rg. X. 108. 1 (katham Rasāya atarah payāmsi) in which the Panis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasā, it

- appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E. Thomas in JRS. vol. 15 p. 361 (n. s.)
- Rathacaitraka—(a tīrtha) P VI. 129. 9
- Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Pāraskarādigaṇa (Pāṇ. VI. I. 157). The Mbh. (vol. III p. 96) mentions 'Rathaspā nadī.' In Mb. (Vanaparva 170. 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomati on the other. Rathākhyā r. is mentioned in Br. S. 16. 15. Vide Ādi 170. 20.
- Rāvaṇeśvaratīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 26; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98.
- Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 19
- Renukāsthāna—(one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII. 38.5 (probably at Parāśurāma, in the Ratnagiri District.)
- Renukāstaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5
- Renukāstīrtha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47. Dey (p. 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab. Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State,
- Retodaka—(under Kedāra) Devipurāṇa q. by T.K. p. 230
- Revā—(Narmadā). Vide pp. 703-707 above
- Revāteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96
- Revatī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 22
- Rikṣa or Rikṣavat—('abounding in bears', one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) Vā 45. 99-101 and 95.31, M. 114.17, B. 27. 32, Var. 85 (prose). Rivers like Śoṇa, Narmadā, Mahānadī are said to rise from it. Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhya from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Śoṇa. Rikṣavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 350 as रिक्खवत् i. e. रिक्ख-वत्सवत्. It is the Oxentation of Ptolemy (p. 76). Wilson (vol. II. p. 128) holds that Rikṣa is the mountain of Gondawana. There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Rikṣa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhya in Mār. 54. 24-25.
- Rnamocana or Rnapramocana—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41.6. Vide A.S.R. of India, vol. XIV p. 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocanastīrtha on the Sarasvatī); B (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (śrāddha gives inexhaustible results), 107. 20; C (under Go.) B 99. 1; D (a sub-tīrtha under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 28 q. by T. K. p. 255; E (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 117
- Rnamokṣa—(under Gaya) N 11. 47. 79, Ag. 116. 8
- Rnāntakūpa P. I. 26. 93
- Rṇatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29.
- Rodhasvatī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 13
- Rohitaka (m.) S. 32. 4
- Rabha—(m. in Pāṇḍya country) V. 85. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p. 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurā
- Rabhā—(r. rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 27
- Rabhadvīpa—V. 84. 160, P. I. 38 67
- Rabhatīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3; B (in Koṇā i. e. Dakṣiṇa-Koṇā); vide the Guṇji Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M. M. Prof. Mirashi in E. I. vol. 27. p. 48 where it is recorded that at Rabhatīrtha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an amātya of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmanas. Prof. Mirashi points out that Guṇji is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Saṅgi

- in the Chhatiaagarh Division of C.P., that at the foot of a hill near that village there is a kunda (pool) called Daman Dahrā, that the record is engraved on a rock on one side on this pool, that not many miles from Guñji inscriptions of centuries before and after the Christian era have been found and that the Guñji inscription is to be assigned to the 1st century A. D. Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the pilgrim who fasts for three days at Rābhatīrtha secures the rewards of Vājapeyayajña. Vide V. 85, 10, P. I. 39. 10
- Rābhañjanakatīrtha or Uśatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191
- Rāikā—(r. from m. Śuktimat) Vā 45. 107.
- Rāikanyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 14
- Rāikulyā—(r.) V 84. 49, P. I. 32. 12, M. 114. 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30 (rising from Mahendra m.). Vā 45. 106 reads 'Ritukulyā. It is the river of Ganjam, acc. to A. G. p. 516. The famous Jaugada fort in the midst of which on a huge granite mass thirteen edicts of Aśoka are inscribed is on this river.
- Rāisañgheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54
- Rāisattra—(under Go.) B. 173. 1
- Rāyamūka or Rāyamūke—(m.) Rām. III. 72. 12, III. 75. 7 and 25 (on the borders of lake Pampā), Bh. V. 19. 16, V. 280. 9, V. 147. 30 (on which Sugriva resided), 279. 44 (near Pampā lake). Vide Pargiter (p. 289 note) for identification which is rather vague.
- Rātīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 22 and 193. 13 (sage Trnabindu became free from curse here), K. II. 41. 15, P. I. 18. 22; B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 60
- Rāyadrūgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Rāyavanta or Rāya—(m.) M. 114. 26, Vā. 45. 101, B. 27. 32
- Rucikeśvaraka—L. I. 92. 167
- Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P. VI. 176. 41
- Rudrakanyā—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 76
- Rudrakara—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 11
- Rudrakarṇa—(under VS) M. 181. 25
- Rudrakarṇahrada—(under VS) P. I. 37. 15
- Rudrakoti—A (under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) V. 82. 111-124, Vām. 46. 51, P. I. 25. 25-30, K. II. 36 1-8 (where Hara assumed a crore of Rudra forms for the competing sages); B (under VS) M. 181. 25; C (under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 12, V. 17. 103, M. 186. 16-17
- Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63, Devaḷa q. by T. K. p. 250
- Rudramahālayatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 139. 1
- Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 64-67, Ag. 115. 48; B (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 94
- Rudraprayāga—on confluence of the Mandākinī and Alakanandā in Garhwal district (I. G. I. vol. XXI p. 338)
- Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V. 84. 37
- Rudravāsa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 62
- Rukminīkūṇḍa or Rukmīkūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 57, Ag. 116. 5
- Rūpadhārā—(Viṣṇu's form on Irāvati) Vām. 90. 5
- Rurukhanda—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 105; chap. 146 explains why it is so called.
- S
- Śabarīrtha—(on Go.) P. VI. 269. 277-78
- Sābhramatī—(modern Sābarmatī river that rises in the Mewar hills and falls into the gulf of Cambay). The original of Sābarmatī is given as Śva-bhravatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 344.

- Vide P. VI. 131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tirthas of the river are described at great length. Verses 2-6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz. Sābhramatī, Setikā (Svetakā), Bakulā, Hiraṇmayī, Hastimatī (modern Hathimati) Vetravatī (modern Vātrak) and Bhadrāmukhī.
- Sābhramatī-sāgara-saṅgama — P. VI. 166. 1
- Sacīśvara-līṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105
- Saḍaṅgula—(*Sthāna* of a *nāga* in Kāśmīra) NM. 1133-1140
- Sadānīrā—(r.) Śat. Br. I. 4.1.17 states 'even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videhas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt'. Sāyana explains Sadānīrā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct. S. 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gaṇḍakī and Sarayū, while B. (27. 28-29) states that it rises from Pāṭiyātra m. Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Kṛśa range. Pargiter (Mār. chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Raptī. The Amarakośa regards Sadānīrā and Karatoyā as synonyms
- Sagareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51
- Sāhasrakatirtha—V. 83, 158, P. I. 27. 46 (same words in both)
- Sahasrākṣa—M. 22. 52 (*dāna* most efficacious here)
- Sahasrakuṇḍa—(under Go.) B. 154. 1, q. by T. S. p. 59
- Sahya or Sahyādri—(one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarṣa) B. 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag. 109. 21
- Sahyāmalaka—Vide Āmalaka
- Sahyāraṇya—Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 244
- Saileśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 86, Var. 216. 23, N. II. 50. 37, Sk. IV. 33. 135
- Saileśvaraśrama—Var. 215. 57 and 83-84
- Sailoda—(lake at the foot of m. Aruṇa) Vā. 47. 20, Br. II. 18. 21-23
- Sailodā—(r. which springs from Sailoda lake) Vā. 47. 21, Br. II. 18. 22. Vide Dey p. 172 for identification
- Saindhavāranya—(where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V. 125. 13, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239. V. 89. 15 speaks of S. as being in the west
- Sākambharī—A (Sāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh. S. 85. 21; in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vīgraharāja dated Vikrama era 1030 (973-74 A. D.) Sākambharī is mentioned (E. I. vol. II. p. 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I. XXII pp. 19-20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rajputs; B (in Kumaon on the road from Haridvāra to Kedāra) V. 84. 13, P. I. 28. 14-16 (a Devisthāna, where Devī subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)
- Sāketa—(same as Ayodhyā). It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy. Vide Br. III. 54. 34. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 281 on Pān. I. 3. 25) has 'this road leads to Sāketa' and vol. II. p. 119 (on Pān. III. 2. 111) 'arunad-Yavanah Saketam' (the Yavana besieged Sāketa). The Yavana referred to is deemed to be Menander. The Suttanipāta (SBE. vol. X part 2 p. 188) mentions it as existing in the time of Buddha. Fa Hien (about 400 A. D.) refers to it as 'Sha-chi' and Hiouen Tsang as Visākha Vide A. G. pp. 401-407. The Raghuvaṃśa (XIII. 79, XIV. 132, XV. 38) treats Sāketa and Ayodhyā

as synonyms). The *Kāṇḍā* on Pāṇ. V. 1. 116 cites 'Pāṇaliputravāt Sāketa parikhā'. This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C. (p. 182) notes that Sāketa, Kośalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)

Śakrarudra—(three *krośas* from Kokā-mukha) Var. 140. 65

Śakrasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 33

Śakratīrtha—A (on the south bank of Narmadā) M. 22. 73, K. II. 41. 11-12, P. I. 24. 29; B (under Kubjā-mraka) Var. 126. 81

Śakrāvarta—V. 84. 29, P. I. 28. 29

Śakreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Śālagrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gaṇḍakī river) V. 84. 123-128, Vi. II. 1. 24, II. 13. 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Umā was called Mahādevī in Śālagrāma), 22. 62, P. I. 38. 41, Var. 144. 3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with *cakra*); verse 29 says 'the Śālagrāma hill is Viṣṇu'; v. 145 says it is also called 'Devatā', that it is twelve *yojanas* in extent (v. 159). The sacred stones called Śālagrāma and worshipped as Viṣṇu are found in the bed of the Gaṇḍakī towards its source. It was also called Pulabāstrama (Vi. II. 1. 29). T. K. (pp. 219-221) quotes verses of Var. and V. 84. 123-128

Śāligrāma—(same as above) K. II. 35. 37, Nr. 64. 22-26 (Vuṅṭarīka came to this Mahāksetra)

Śālagrāmagiri—Var. 144. 13 and 29

Śālakāṇkaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Śālisūrya—V. 83. 107, P. I. 26. 100 (a tirtha probably established by Śālibotra)

Śālūkinī—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 13.

The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pāṇ. II. 4. 7) speaks of Śālūkinī as a village)

Śālvikīnī—(probably the same as above) P. I. 26. 11

Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22. 42, P. V. 11. 35. Dey p. 200 identifies with Sāmālji in Mahī kāṇṭhā Agency.

Samaṅgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39-40, V. 135. 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Samaṅgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be. Aṣṭāvakra's limbs became straight after a bath in it.

Samantapañcaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1-5 (five pools of ksatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Śal. 37. 45, 44. 52, 53. 1-2 (the northern Vēdī of Brahṃā), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III. 47. 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682-83 above. Vām. 22. 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51-55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a *yojana* all round, but Vām. 22. 16 says it is five *yojanas*)

Samasrotah—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 24-26

Sambapura—A (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara); B (on the banks of Candrabhāgā) Bhav., Brahma 140. 3. It is modern Multan

Sambhalagrāma—B. 213. 164 (Kalkia Viṣṇuśaśas will be born here to destroy mlecchas), P. VI. 269. 10-12 (speaks of Sambhalagrāma), G. I. 81. 6, Bh. XII. 2. 18. Vā. 98. 104-109, M. 144. 51, Br. II. 31. 76, Vi. IV. 24. 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalki or Pramati (but all don't mention Sambhalagrāma). The I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U. P.; many

- ancient mounds, temples and sacred spots exist in the neighbourhood.
- Sammūrtika**—(a tīrtha in VS) P. I. 37. 6
- Sampiṭhaka**—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 37
- Samśāramocana**—(śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 67
- Sāmudraka**—(near Brahmāvarta) V. 84. 41
- Sāmudrakūpa**—(under Prayāga) M. 106. 30
- Sāmudratīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 172. 1-20, about ten verses of which are q. by T.S pp. 63-64 (though with variant readings)
- Samudreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 105
- Samvartaka**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 6
- Samvartavāpi**—V. 85. 31, P. I. 39. 29 (same verse in both)
- Samvarteśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 99
- Samvidyatīrtha**—V. 85. 1, P. I. 39. 1
- Samyamana**—(under Mathurā) Var. 133. 3
- Samāścareśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sanaka**—Yama q. by T.K. p. 248
- Sanakeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sanandēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sāṇandūra**—Var. 150. 5 ff. Its exact location cannot be stated. It is between the southern sea and Malaya. An image of Viṣṇu was established there, some saying that it was made of iron, others saying of copper, lead or stone and so on. Dey does not notice it
- Sanātkumāreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sandhyā**—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM. 1471, R. 1. 33 and Stein's note. Vide *Trisandhyā*; B (river Siindh in Malwa, which falls into the Yamunā) S. 9. 23, P. I. 39. 1; C (another r., location uncertain) V. 84. 32, P. I. 32. 16
- Sandhyāraja**—(under Prayāga) M. 106. 43
- Sāṇḍīlī**—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM. 1445
- Sāṇḍīlī**—Madhumatī—saṅgama—NM. 1446
- Sāṇḍīlyeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 68
- Saṅgamana**—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 41
- Saṅgamanagara**—(under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 226
- Saṅgameśvara**—A (under VS) N. II. 50. 63-64; B (at confluence of Sābhramatī and Hastimatī) P. VI. 138. 1; C (on the south bank of Narmadā) M. 191. 74, K. II. 41. 36, P. I. 18. 53; D (at confluence of Gaṅgā and Varuṇā) L. I. 92. 88
- Sāṅkha-hrada**—(under Go.) B. 156. 1
- Sāṅkha-līkhitēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 93
- Sāṅkhaprabha**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 48
- Sāṅkhatīrtha**—A (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 35. 87; B (under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 17 (Sāṅkhi-); C (under Āmalaka-grāma) Nr. 66. 23
- Sāṅkhiṇīrtha**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 51
- Sāṅkhoddhāra**—(an island situated at south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch) Bh. XI. 36. 6 (Kṛṣṇa directed that women, children and old men should go to this, when terrible portents were seen in Dvārakā) M. 13. 48, 22. 69 (śrāddha is *ananta* here). It is a very sacred place, particularly for Vaiṣṇavas. Vide I. G. I. vol. 8. p. 18
- Sāṅkukarna**—(under VS) M. 181. 27, K. I. 31. 48, P. I. 24. 18
- Sāṅkukarneśvara**—(a liṅga on the southern boundary of VS) K. I. 33. 48, L. I. 92. 135, N. II. 48. 19-20
- Sāṅkuṇika**—Vām. q. by T.K. p. 236

Sannibhitā—(a tract more extensive than Kurukṣetra, but including it) Br. III. 13. 68 (punaśam Sannibhitāyām tu Kurukṣetre viśvataṣṭa arcayitvā pīrṇa-tatra sa putrast-vanṛṇo bhavet). TP. p. 466 reads 'Sannibhata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannibhata, Sannibhatya, Sannibhatya and Sannibhitā.

Sannibhati—(another name of Kurukṣetra, according to several works) V. 83. 190-195 (Nīlakaṇṭha explains that Sannibhati is another name of Kurukṣetra). Verse 195 derives as 'tirtha-sannibhata-eva Sannibhatyeti viśrutā' i. e. all tirthas gather together here every month on Amāvāsyā; P. I. 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām. 41. 9 and 45. 29, Ag. 109. 15 (employs the word Sannibiti 'Sarasvatīyām Sannibitīyām snānakṛd-brahmalokabhūk')

Sannibhatya-saras—(in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 47. 56, 48. 23, 49. 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvāitavasa)

Sanniti—(in Kurukṣetra) NM. 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannibhati above)

Sāntaśvara—(under VS) l. q. by T. K. p. 66

Saptacarutirtha—see 'Vadavā'

Saptadhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 136. 16 (same as Saptasārasvala)

Saptagaṅga—V. 84. 29, Anu. 25. 16, P. I. 28-29 (same verse as in V). The seven Gaṅgās are Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparṇī, Sindhu, Sarayū and Narmadā. Acc. to NM, 720 the seven Gaṅgās are Bhāgirathī, Pāvānī, Hṛādīnī, Hṛādīnī, Sītā, Sindhu, Vaṅkū.

Saptagodāvara—V. 85. 44, Vā. 77. 19, M. 22. 78, Bh. X. 79. 12, P. I. 39. 41, IV. 108. 39, Br. III. 13. 19, SK. IV. 6. 23. See Khairha plate of king Yaśahkarna in Kalacuri year 823

(i. e. 1071-2 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205 ff. where in verse 23 the seven streams are named; in the Godāvarī District Gazetteer p. 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvarī are said to be sacred to seven sages viz. Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasīṣṭha. R. VIII. 3449 speaks of Godāvarī as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

Saptanada—Br. III. 13. 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśvataṣṭa).

Saptakoṭiśvara—T. P. p. 557 quoting SK. VII.

Saptapuskariṇī—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmīra) SM. p. 160. It is also called 'Stanakuṇḍa' in HC. IV. 45. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 361) refers to it: 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'.

Saptārṣa—V. Dh. S. 85. 39 (śrāddha very efficacious at it). Dr. Jolly identifies it with Sātārā.

Saptaryikuṇḍa (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

Saptasāgara-līṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

Saptasāmudraka—(under Kubjāmṛaka) Var. 126. 91.

Saptasāmudraka-kūpa (under Mathurā) Var. 157. 12

Saptasārasvata—(in Kurukṣetra) where sage Mañkanaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V. 83. 115, Śal. 38. 4-31 (where seven names, for which p. 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned), K. II. 35. 44-76 (story of Mañkanaka), P. I. 27. 4 ff. (follows V. 83), Vām. 38. 22-23 (story of Mañkanaka), N. II. 65. 101-102 (seven rivers are named).

Saptavati—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Sarabhaṅgakūṇḍa (under Lohārgala)
Var. 151. 49.

Sarabhaṅgāśrama—V 85. 42 and 90.9.
Rām. III. 5.3, P. I. 39. 39, Raghu-
vanśa XIII. 145 (near Sūtikṣnā-
śrama).

Sarabindu—(under Āmalakagrāma)
Nr. 66. 34

Sārādātīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) M. 22. 74.
R. I. 37. Foremost among tīrthas
of Kāśmīra is modern Sardi on the
right bank of river Kisangaṅgā. In
front of the temple sacred Madhu-
mati falls into Kisangaṅgā. Vide
SM. p. 206. Ain. A. (vol. II. pp.
363-66) says that the temple of
Sārādā dedicated to Durgā is on the
bank of the Padmatī river which
comes from Dardū country and that
on every 8th day of the bright half
of a month it begins to shake.

Saraka—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.
75-76, P. I. 26. 76, N. II. 65. 62-63.
Vide p 684 above

Sarastamba—(near Devadārūvana),
Anu. 25. 28

Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious
here) M. 22. 63; B (under VS) K. I.
35. 12, P. I. 37. 15

Sārasvata—līṅga (under VS) SK IV.
33. 134

Sārasvatatīrtha—Sal. 50 (story of
Aṣṭa Devala and Jaigīṣavya), 51
(birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī,
who taught the Vedas to sages in a
drought for twelve years)

Sarasvatī—(modern Saratī). A—The
river starts from Brahmasaras, acc. to
Sāhya 51. 19, from Badarikāśrama
acc. to Vām. 2.42-43 and from Plaksa
tree acc. to Vām. 32. 3-4, P. V. 18.
159-160 (say that Sarasvatī was
asked to cast the Vājra fire into the
sea in the west). This is probably an
allusion to volcanic action whereby
Sarasvatī disappeared. Vām. 3. 8
says that as Śaṅkara guilty of

Brahmabatyā plunged into it, it dis-
appeared, while elsewhere (e.g. in
V. 130. 3-4) it is said that it dis-
appeared through fear of the touch
of Śūdras, Nigūḍas and Ābhīras and
Anu. (155. 25-27) states that Saras-
vatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse
by Utathya and became dry and un-
holy. After disappearing it becomes
visible at Camasodbheda, Sivodbheda
and Nāgodbheda. The Sarasvatī
in Kurukṣetra was called prācī
Sarasvatī (P. V. 18. 181-182).
See Dey pp. 180-181 for several
Sarasvatīs. V 130. 1-2 state that
those who die on the Sarasvatī go
to heaven and this was the blessing
conferred by Dakṣa when he per-
formed a sacrifice there. Vide
Oldham's paper in JRAS for 1893
pp. 49-76; B—There is another holy
river of the same name rising in the
south-west end of Aravali hills and
flowing south-west through the dis-
tricts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and
Baroda and past the ancient cities of
Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling
into the lesser Runn of Cutch; Vide
under Prabhāsa.

Sarasvatī-Arunā-saṅgama—V. 83. 151.
K II. 30. 22, Sal. 43. 31 and chap.
44.

Sarasvatīpatana—(under Mathurā) Var.
134. 20.

Sarasvatī-sāgara-saṅgama—V. 82. 60,
P. I. 24.9, Vām. 81. 29.

Sarāvati—(Probably Rāpti in Oudh)
Bhī. 9.20; Pān. VI.3.120 (Sarādīnam
ca) knew the river Sarāvati; Keira-
svāmīn (in com. on Amara 'Sarāvā-
tyāstu yogvadbel') quotes a verse
'prāgudāscan vibhajate haṁsabhājro-
dake yathā) viduṣāṁ śabdāsiddh-
yartham nā naḥ pātu Sarāvatiḥ'. Dr.
Agrawala in (J.U.P.H.R.S. vol. 16
p. 15 surmises that it is the Ghag-
ghar flowing through Ambala Dis-
trict. I have grave doubts about

this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Sarāvati, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Sarāvati is probably the river Sarāvati which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghuvamśa (XV. 97) Sarāvati is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma.

Sarayū—(r.) Rg. IV. 30. 18, V. 33. 9, X. 64. 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together). In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Sarayū or Sarayū (M. 22. 19, Vā 45. 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghuvamśa 15. 95 and 100). M. 121. 16-17 and Br. II. 19. 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri. Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām. II. 49. 15). Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45. 94, M. 114. 21). According to Pūṇ. VI. 4. 174 (Dāṇḍi-nāyana—) the water of Sarayū was called Sarava (Kāśikā says 'Sarayvīm bhavam saravam udakam'). In the Cullavagga (SBE vol. XX p. 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T. P. pp. 300, 301 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viṣṇu and is joined by Ghārgara. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p. 99). It is also called the Ghogra or Gharghara.

Sārdūla—a Saivakṣetra, according to Bar. S. III. 122.

Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 23.

Sarkarāvartī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Sarvahrada—V 83. 39 (uncertain location)

Sarvatirtha—P. II. 92. 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puṣkara, Sarvatirtha and Vārāṇasī) are the four tirthas that remove all sins including *brahma-hatyā*.

Sarvatirthaivara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 134.

Sarvātmaka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 37.

Sarvayudha—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 56

Sasāṅkeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 97

Saṁyāna—(under Sarasvatī) V. 82. 114-116, P I. 25. 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Sasāpāna',

Sastibhadrā—Anu 25. 36

Satadru—(Sutlej) same as Śutudri which see; Ādi. 177. 8-9 (derivation given), M. 22. 12, Bh. V. 19. 18. The Amarakośa gives Śutudri and Satadru as synonyms.

Satakumbhā—(under Sarasvatī) V. 84. 10, P I. 28. 11 (same verse in both).

Satarudrā—M. 22. 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible).

Satasahasraka—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 27. 45, Vām 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84. 74 (Satasahasraka).

Satasrnga—(m.) Devala q. by T. K p. 250.

Sātātapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 92.

Satikātirtha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 3.

Satyavatī—(became river Kauśiki) Vā 91. 88.

Saubbhadra—Ādi. 216. 3 (one of the five Nāritirthas on the southern sea).

Saukarava—(as printed in Var. 137. 7 of the Venkatesvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under Sūkara-tirtha.

Saurpāraka—Br. III. 13. 37. Vide Sūrpāraka.

- Saugandhikagiri—M. 121. 5 (to north-east of Kailāsa)
- Saugandhikavana—V. 84. 4, P. I. 28. 5-6 (same verse in both)
- Saumitrisaṅgama—(very fit for śrāddha) M. 22. 53
- Saunakeśvara-kunḍa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122
- Sāvarniśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 60
- Sāvitrāpada—(under Gayā) V. 84. 93. Vide p. 649 above
- Sāvitrī—(r. boundary between modern Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts). P. VI. 113. 28
- Sāvitrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
- Sāvitrītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 6, K. II. 42. 19, P. I. 21. 6
- Śaṅgātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 115. 1
- Setu—the supposed bridge (called Adam's Bridge) between Rāmeśvara and Ceylon said to have been built by Rāma with the assistance of Sugriva and his monkey hosts; Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 15 (Sāmudrasetu), G. I. 81. 8, N. II. 76 (contains *setu-māhātmya*). Adam's Peak in Ceylon has a famous foot-print which is venerated by Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Moslems alike. Vide T. P. pp. 557-560 for *māhātmya*
- Setubandha—same as above. Vide T. S. pp. 1-4 and Tīrthaprakāśa pp. 557-560, Rām. VI. 22. 45-53, VI. 126. 15 (etat-tu dr̥syate tīrtham sāgarasya mahātmanah); Setubandha iti khyātam &c). P. V. 35. 62 (says that Setu was built in three days), SK. III Brahmaparvan, chapters 1-52 on Setu-māhātmya, its subsidiary tīrthas and *Setuyātrākrama*. Vide p. 94 above for visit to Setubandha as an expiation.
- Siddhakeśvara—(one of the eight tīrthas under Virajātīrtha) B. 42. 6
- Siddhapada—(a kṣetra on Sarasvatī) Bh. III. 33. 31
- Siddhapura—(54 miles to north of Ahmedabad) M. 13. 46 (Devi is called Mātā here); what Gayā is for Pitṛs, Siddhapura is for the mother. It is on the Sarasvatī river
- Siddhatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 143. 1
- Siddhavana—M. 22. 53 (śrāddha here most efficacious)
- Siddhavaṭa—A (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 7; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 153
- Siddheśvara—(līṅga on south bank of Narmadā) Vām. 46. 34, P. II. 20. 34.
- Siddheśvara—A (under VS.) M. 32. 43 and 181. 25 q. by T. K. pp. 88, 117 and p. 241; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 100; C (on the south bank of Go.) B. 128. 1
- Siddhikūṭa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88
- Sikhitīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 82, P. I. 20. 78
- Silātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 2
- Silakṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 46
- Simha—a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 120. Probably the same as Simhāchalam temple of Nṛsimha-vaṭāra of Viṣṇu about 6 miles north-west of Vizagapatnam. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXII. p. 375
- Sindhu—A (the modern Indus, Greek Sinthos) Rg. II. 15. 6 (he made the Sindhu flow northwards), V. 53. 9, VIII. 20. 25 (the medicine that is in Sindhu, in Asikni and the seas), X. 75. 6. The seven Sindhus (i. e. Indus, five Panjab rivers and Sarasvatī) are mentioned in Rg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, A. V. VI. 3. 1; Drona 101. 28 (Sindhuseṣṭhāḥ samudragāḥ), R. I. 57 (Stein's note), NM. 394 (Sindhu is Gaṅgā and Vitastā is Yamunā). Vide for description I. G. I. vol. I. pp. 29-31. It rises in Tibet north of Kailāsa. Sindhu is also the name of the country through which the river flows;

- vide Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93. On Pāṇ. IV. 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kāśikā gives the example 'Dārādī Sindhuḥ' (the river Sindhu rises in Darat). Some mss. of Kāśikā include 'Darat' in Sindhvādigaṇa. Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh Ins; B (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā. 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27. 28. It is the same as Kālisindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālati-mādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumatī (Act IX prose passage after verse 3). Padmavati, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu.
- Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P. I. 32. 10 (same verse in both)
- Sindhuaṣṭagara—Nr. 65. 13 q. by T. K. p. 252
- Sindhuaṣṭarasāṅgama—V. 82. 68, Vā. 77. 56, P. I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)
- Sindhūtītama—(a lake) V. 82. 79
- Siphā—(r.) Itg. I. 104. 3 (in which the two wives of Kuyava met death)
- Siprā—(r. from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22. 24, 114. 24, Vā. 45. 98. Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of ṛṣis or the scenes of miraculous incidents; the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods. Vide Ain. A. vol II. p. 196 for this.
- Sitā—(a branch of Gaṅgā) Vā. 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5
- Sitatirtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 179. 28
- Sitavana—(under Kurukṣetra?) P. I. 26. 55
- Śivadhāra—M. 22. 49
- Śivahrada—Br. III. 13. 52
- Sivakāncī—(at Conjeevaram in South India) P. VI. 204. 30
- Sivanadī—Nr. 65. 23 q. by T. K. p. 253
- Sivasarasvatī—a Saivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122
- Śivodbheda—(where Sarasvatī reappears after disappearing) V. 82. 112, P. I. 25. 19
- Skandatirtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 49, M. 191. 50
- Skandēśvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 125, L. q. by T. K. p. 68
- Sleymātakavana—(on Himavat) Var. 214. 24-26, 215. 12-13 and 115. Dey. p. 188 says that it is Uttara Gokarna two miles to north-east of Paśupatinātha in Nepāl. For two Gokarnas, north and south, vide p. 754 above.
- Smaśāna—Avimukta, which see; M. 184. 19
- Smaśānastāmbha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54.
- Snānakunḍa—(under Mandārā) Var. 143. 18-20
- Sodaranāga—(in Kāśmīra) NM 13-14. It is modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal lake. Vide R. I. 123-26 and II. 169 and SM p. 164. Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūtesvara. NM mentions it in connection with Bhūtesa and Kanakavāhini and the distance from Bhūtesvara to Śrinagara is about 32 miles.
- Somakunḍa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 4.
- Somanātha—A (in Saurāṣṭra near Verawal) Ag. 109. 10 (Somanātham Prabhāṣakam), P. VI. 176. 37; vide A. G. p. 319 and under Prabhāsa; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 23. A popular verse is 'Sarasvatī samudrasa Somah somagrabaṣa-tathā; darśanam Somanāthasya sakārāḥ pañca durībbhāḥ'.
- Somapada—V 84. 119.

Somapāna—M. 22. 62.

Somāgrāma—V. 84. 157

Somatīrtha—A (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41.4, V. 83. 114, M 109. 2; B (under Narmadā) M. 191. 30, P. I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K. II. 41. 47; C (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7 (same verse in both); D (under Go.) B 103. 1, 119. 1; E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 18; F (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 26-28; G (under Viraja) B. 42. 6; H (under Sūkara) Var. 137. 43 (where Soma secured highest *siddhi*); I (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 154. 1

Somesa—(under VS) K. I. 33. 9

Somesvara—A (removes all diseases) M. 22. 29, K. II. 35. 20; B (under Sālagrāma) Var. 144. 16-19

Soṇa—(a *nada*, also called Hiraṇya-vāha, rising in m. Rāṇa in Gondwana according to the Purāṇas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Bankipore) M. 22. 35 (a *nada*), 114. 25, B 27. 30, Vā. 45. 99, Br. II. 16. 29. It is the Soa of Ptolemy (p. 99) and Sonas of Arrian. It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka bill. Vide AG pp. 453-454 for its confluence with the Ganges.

Soṇa-jyotirāthya-saṅgama—V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8, V. Dh. S. 85. 33 (reads Soṇa-jyotiṣa-saṅgama, while the com. Vaijayantī notes the v. l. Soṇa-jyotirāthā)

Sonaprabhedā—(prabhava?) V 85. 9, P. I. 39. 9

Sonitapura—(capital of Bāṇāsura, where Aniruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Uṃ) B 206. 1; Harivaṃśa, Vṛṇaparva 12b. 92-93. Dey p. 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumaon and that several other places claim to be the Sonitapura of Bāṇāsura. In the Harivaṃśa it is said that Sonitapura was 11000

yojanas from Dvārakā. BV. (Kṛṇa-janmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārḍha, 114. 847) mentions Sonitapura as capital of Bāṇāsura. A. C. (p. 182) states it was also called Koṭivarṇa (v. 977)

Śrāvastī—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāptī in Oudh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttara Kosala. It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā: Rām. VII. 107. 4-7, Vā 88.200 and A. G. p. 409; but some mss. of Raghuvamśa (XV. 97) state that Śrāvastī was the capital of Lava. Vide Marshall's article in JRAS for 1909 pp. 1066-1068 for the reasons for identifying Śrāvastī with Sāhet-Māhet and the Sāhet-Māhet plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI. p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp. 520-531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī and holds that Śrāvastī was near Nepalgaṇj in Nepalese territory. B 7. 53 says that it was called after Śrāvasta of Ikṣvāku race.

Śrīkṣetra—Jagannātha Puri.

Śrīkūṇḍa—V 82. 86 (now called Lakṣmī-kūṇḍa, in VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 62

Śrīkūñja—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 26. 10, V. 83. 108

Śrīmādaka—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117

Śrīmukhi—(guhā) L. q. by T.K. p. 60 (under VS).

Śrinagara—A (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R. I. 104 states that Aśoka built Śrinagari with 96 lakhs of houses. Stein in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G. p. 93) located Śrinagari of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrethan (Kalhana's Purāṇāditya-thāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Śrinagar. Pandrethan is at the foot of the hill Takht-i-Sulaiman. Pravaraśeṣa I erected the shrine of Pravaraśeṣa

and Pravarasena II built the new capital in the beginning of the 6th century. Hsien Tsang speaks of the new city (Pravarapura). Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I. pp. 95, 148 and 158 and A. G. pp. 95-96. Ain. A. (vol. II. p. 355) states that Koh-i-Sulaiman is to the east of Srinagara. Al. (vol. I p. 207) notes that Addinhan (adbiṣṭhāna, the capital of Kāśmīra) is built on both banks of the Zhelum. For the Dal lake close to Srinagara and one of the most beautiful spots in the world, vide, I. G. I. vol. XI. pp. 124-125; B—a town in Garhwal District on the left bank of the Alakanandā (U. P. Gazetteer vol. 36 p. 200).

Srīgātakesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 155.

Srīgātīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 31.

Srīgaverapura—(or Srīgibera) V. 85. 63, P. I. 39. 61 (same verse in V and I), Rām. II. 113. 22, VI. 126. 49, Ag. 109. 23. Here Rāma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyā into exile. It is modern Srīngaur or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayāga.

Srīgā—(r. rising from Viṇḍhya) Br. II. 16. 32.

Srīparṇi—(duna most efficacious here) M. 22. 49

Srīparvata or Srīśālla—A (hill situated in Karsal District on the south side of the Kṛṣṇā river 50 miles from Kṛṣṇā station). There are numerous līngas here including the famous Mallikārjuna (in L. I. 92. 155), one of the twelve Jyotiṣlīngas; many are named in L. I. 92. 147-166. Vide V. 85. 18-20 (Mahādeva with Umā is there), Vā 77. 28, M. 13. 31 (Devī is called Mādhavī here), 181. 28 (one of the eight main Śivasthānas), 188.

79 (one tripura of Bāṇāsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P. I. 15. 68-69 (same story as in M. 188), Agni 113. 4 (Gauri, assuming the form of Lakṣmī practised penance here). Pargiter (p. 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag.; K. II. 20. 35 (Śrāddha most efficacious here), II. 37. 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I. 39. 17, VI. 20. 15 (a great place for yogins and those practising penance). It is a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124. The Mātī-mādhava mentions it several times. Vide E. I. XX. p. 9, E. I. IV. p. 193 (Chikkulla plate of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarmā). In the Nagārjunikoṇḍa Inscription F of about 3rd century A. D. edited by Dr. Vogel, Śrīparvata is mentioned (E. I. vol. XX p. 1 at p. 23); B (a līga in VS) Ag. 112. 4; C (under Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3.

Srīpatitīrtha—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22. 74.

Srīraṅga—(modern Srīraṅgam, an island between Kāveri about 2 miles north of Trichinopoly and Coleroon) M. 22. 44 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results), Bh. X. 79. 14, P. VI. 280. 19, Bār. S. III. 120 (a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra). It is mentioned in the Śilappadikāram chap. X. (tr. by Prof. Dikshitar p. 163). Rāmanuja, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy died here. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXIII. pp. 107-108 for a brief description of the temple of Viṣṇu (called Rāṅganāthasvāmī here).

Srītīrtha—(under VS) V. 83. 46, K. I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.

Stambhatīrtha—(modern Khambayat situated on the gulf of Cambay) K. II. 41. 51, P. I. 18. 93 (both speak of it under Narmadā). A Stambhatīrtha is mentioned in T. S. p. 101. Vide I. A. vol. 54. p. 47

- Stambhākhya-tīrtha**—(near Mahisā-gara-saṅgama) SK. I. 2. 3. 17. Probably same as above.
- Stambheśvara**—SK. I. 2. 3. 40
- Stanakūṇḍa**—V. 84. 152, Var. 215. 97 (Stanakūṇḍe Umāyās-tu)
- Sthalesvara**—(a Śivatīrtha) M. 181. 27
- Sthāneśvara**—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Sthāneśvara**—(modern Thanoswar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devi is called Bhavāni here). Vide A. G. pp. 329-332. It was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1014 A. D. In Harṣacarita Bāṇa mentions Sthānēśvara country.
- Sthānūtīrtha**—(under Sarasvatī where Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama) Śal. 42. 4 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Viśvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand liṅgas), 49. 6-7 (it is on the lake called Sānūhatya). Vām. chapters 47-49 deal with the mātṛtmya of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthāneśvara.
- Strītīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 31.
- Stutasvāmin**—(a Viṣṇukṣetra on Mani-pūragiri) Var. 148. 8-81. T K pp 222-224 quote about twenty verses from Var. 148 without a word of comment. Verses 75-76 explain the name (as the god was *stuta* by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asita and Devaḥ). Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.
- Subhadrā-sindhu-saṅgama** P. VI. 129. 25.
- Subhūmika**—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Śal. 37. 23 (visited by Balarāma)
- Sucakra**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 37. 89.
- Suddheśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122
- Sudina**—V. 83. 100.
- Sugandha**—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 32. 1.
- Sugandhā**—V. 84. 10, V. Dh. S. 20. 10 (according to com. it is a river near Saugandhika m.), P. I. 28. 1 (under Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse.
- Sugrivesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51.
- Sūkaratīrtha**—(Soron on the west bank of the Ganges between Bareilly and Mathurā (according to A. G. pp. 364-365). Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 pp. 88-89. Var. chapters 137-139; TK pp. 209-212 quote 37 verses from Var. 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II. 40. 31. and 60. 22 (Acyuta in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI. 121. 6-7 (the extent is four *yojanas*). Some texts read Sūkaratīrtha.
- Suktasya-āśrama** V. 85. 42, P. I. 39. 39 (same verse in both)
- Sukēśvara**—(on north Gokarna) Var. 173. 9
- Suklatīrtha**—(on the north bank of Narmadā about ten miles north-east of Broach) K. II. 41. 67-82, M. 192. 14, SK. I. 2. 3. 5. Vide p. 706 above for Cāṇakya's association with it, also I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 128 and Bom. G. vol. XI. pp. 568-569 for legend of Cāṇakya's connection; P. I. 19. 2-35 (about Cāṇakya rājarsi having obtained *siddhi* here)
- Sukratīrtha**—(on north bank of Co.) B. 95. 1, M. 22. 29
- Sukreśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, L. I. 92. 93, N. II. 50. 65
- Suktimat**—(one of the seven great mountains of India, being a portion of the Vindhya) K. I. 47. 39, Vā. 45. 88 and 107, N. II. 60. 27, Bh. V. 19. 16. Vide Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and rivers of India' in Department of Letters, Cal. University, vol. 28 pp. 20-21 for different identifications. It is the least

- known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts. Vide Dr. Ray Chaudhari's 'Studies' etc. pp. 113-120 for discussion and Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp 20-21 for different identifications.
- Suktimatī**—(r. obstructed by m. Kolāhala in Cedi) Bhi. 9. 35. Vide Dey p. 196 for different identifications, B. 27.32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Rkṣa mountain, while Mār. 57. 23 says it flows from Vindhya
- Sukumāri**—(r. rising from Suktimat m.) Vā. 45. 107
- Śulabheda**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 3, K. II. 41. 12-14, P. I. 18. 3
- Śulaghāta**—(in Kāśmīra) Vide under Nīlakuṇḍa
- Śūleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52
- Samantu-linga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97
- Sunandā**—(r.) Bh. VIII. I. 8
- Sundarikā**—(r.) P. I. 32. 21. It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a Pāli couplet (SHE, vol. X, part 2, p. 74)
- Sundarikābrada**—Anu. 25. 21
- Sundarikātirtha**—V. 84. 57, Anu. 25. 21 (after Devikā), Var. 215. 104
- Śundika**—(tirtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1439
- Sunila**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 3
- Suparnā**—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100.1
- Supārāva**—P. VI. 129. 16
- Suprayogā**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mār. 54. 26, Vā. 45. 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sabya (Br. II. 16. 35). Some identify it with the Pennar. Vide E. I. vol. 27 p. 273
- Surabhivāna**—(in the Himālaya on river Śilodā) Br. II. 18. 23
- Surabhikeśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 36
- Sorasā**—(r.) Vi. II. 3. 11 (rises from Vindhya), Br. II. 16. 29 (rising from Rkṣavat), Bh. V. 19. 18
- Suresāvari-kṣetra**—(present village of Isābar in Kāśmīra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V. 37. NM. 1532, S. M. p. 161. The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gaṅgā
- Sūrpārakatirtha**—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V. 85. 43 (resorted to by Parāsurāma), 88. 12 (in it was the Vēdi of Jamadagni), 118. 8-10, Śānti 49. 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni's son Parāsurāma), Anu. 25. 50, Harivamśa, Viṣṇuparva 39. 29-31 (in Aparānta Sūrpāraka city was five hundred *dhanus* long and 500 *īṣus* broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Parāsurāma), Br. III. 58. 17-18 and 32-33 (the strip taken by Parāsurāma from the sea is 400 yojanas from north to south), 15th. X. 79. 20, B. 27. 58 (Sūrpāraka is mentioned as the first of the Aparānta countries). It is mentioned as 'Sōrpāraka' in Nasik Inscription No. 10 q. in Bom. G. vol. 16 on p. 569. The Nāpāghāt Ins. No. 9 (A. S. W. I. vol. V. p. 64) mentions a Govindadāsa Sōpārāyaka. There is a Sūpārakajātaka (No. 463, vol. IV p. 86 ed. by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu. It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Sūrpāraka, though some scholars dispute this. A. G. (pp. 497-499 and 561-562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvira and not Sūrpāraka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as

- Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Abiria (i. e. Ābbiras) of Ptolemy (p. 140). Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff. for discussion and JBBRAS vol. 15 p. 273 for a long note on Śūrpāraka.
- Sūryatirtha—A (under VS) V. 83. 48, K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7; B (under Mathurā) Var. 152.50, 156. 12 (where Bali, son of Virocana, propitiated the Sun)
- Susartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Rg. X. 75. 6. Keith does not know which tributary of of the Indus it was.
- Suskanadi—(under VS)—same as Asi, M. 183. 62, L. q. by T. K. p. 118.
- Suskesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 118.
- Susomā—(r) Rg. VIII. 64. 11. In Rg. X. 75. 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX. 26 takes it to be Sindhu; Bh. V. 19. 18; Stein in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 21-28 ('River names in Rgveda') says (on p. 26) that Susomā is Sohan (Suwan) flowing through the Rawalpindi District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range.
- Susomnā—A (r, under Gayā) N II. 47. 36; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 35 (same as Matsyodari)
- Sutiknāśrama—Rām. III. 7, Raghuvarṇa XIII. 41 (at some distance from Agastyāśrama)
- Sutirthaka—V. 83. 56
- Sūtudri—(same as Sutlej in the Punjab, the Satadru of classical Sanskrit works) Rg. III. 33. 1, X. 75. 5. It is the Greek Hupanis or Huphasis (A. I. p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander's march in India. It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake. Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course.
- Suvarṇa—V 84. 18, Ag. 109. 16, P. I. 28. 19 (where Viṣṇu sought for the favour of Rudra)
- Suvarṇākṣa—(under VS) M. 181. 25, K. II. 35. 19.
- Suvarṇarekṣā (holy river near Raivataka) SK VII. 2. 1. 1-3 (probably same as the next). There is a river of same name in Bengal. Vide I G. I. vol. XXIII. p. 114.
- Suvarṇasikātā—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāman to be assigned to 150 A.D., E. I. VIII. p. 36 at p. 42) now called Sonrekṣā in Kathiawad
- Suvarṇatilaka—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 46.
- Suvāstu—(r., modern Swāt that falls into Kabul river) Rg. VIII. 19. 37 (Suvāstus adhi tugvāni). The Nir. IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and 'tugvān' means 'tirtha'. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I. p. 191). Pān. IV. 2. 77 (Suvāstivādibhyosin) knew Suvāstu and makes it the first word of 'Suvāstivādi-gaṇa'. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Swāt. Vide E. I. vol. II. p. 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Swāt.
- Suvratasya—āśrama (on Dṛadvalī) V. 90. 12-13
- Svacchoda—(lake) Vide Acchoda
- Svacchodā—(r) Br. II. 18. 6 (rising from lake Svacchoda on m. Candraprabha)
- Śvāmītirtha—M. 22. 63, K II. 37. 19-21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Tiruttani on the M. and S. M. Railway on a hill called Krauñca-parvata

Svargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 15

Svargadvāra—A (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27. 55; B (under VS) K. I. 35. 4, P. I. 37. 4; C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 4 (the word here is 'Svargadvāri'); D (under Puruṣottama) N II. 56. 31

Svargamārgabrada—Anu. q. by T. K. p. 248

Svarga-mārga-pada—V. DH. S 83. 41
Svargatīrtha—Anu. 25. 33

Svargēvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Svarlineśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 78, SK. IV. 33. 123 (explains why it is so called)

Svarnabindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25. 9, M. 194. 15

Svarnalomāpanayana—P. I. 26. 38

Svarnarekhā—(r. in Vastrāpathakṣetra i. e. modern Girnar and surrounding territory) SK. VII. 2. 3. 2 and VII. 2. 10. 209

Svarṇavedi (r.)—Vā. 77. 95, K. II. 37. 37

Svastīpura—(near Gaṅgābrada and Gaṅgākūpa) V. 83. 174

Svatantreśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6

Svayambhūrtīrtha—(modern Suyam in Kāśmīra in the Machipur *parvana*) R. I. 34, HC. 14. 80. Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil brāddha offerings placed by pilgrims.

Svāvilomāpaha—V. 83. 61

Svetā—(r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 19-20

Svetādri—(m.) P. VI. 280. 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called).

Svetadvīpa—G. I. 81. 7, K. I. 1. 49, I. 49. 40-47, Vām. 25. 16 and 60. 56, Śānti 336. 8 ff. 337. 27 ff. In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Kṣīrodadhī

Svetamādhava—N. II. 55. 3

Svetatīrtha—(under Go.) B 94. 1

Svetayāvarī—(r.) Rg. VIII. 26. 18

Sveteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99

Sveti—(r., tributary of Indus on the west) Rg. X. 75. 6. Lit. it would mean the white one. It is difficult to identify it with Svāstu

Svetodbhava—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 15

Syaundika—(r. Sāi, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomati) Rām. II. 49. 12

Syāmāyāh-śrāma—Anu. 25. 30

Syenī—(r. rising in Rāksapर्वता) M. 114. 25. Dey p. 200 identifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

T

Taijasa—(to the west of Kurukṣetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P. I. 27. 52-53.

Takṣaśilā—(modern Taxilā) Svargā-rohana-parva 5. 34. Vā. 88. 189-90, Br. III. 63. 190-91 (established by Takṣa son of Dāśarathī Bharata as his capital in Gandhāra); in the Jātakas Takṣaśilā is mentioned as a seat of learning (as in Bhīmasena-Jātaka, Fausböll's ed. vol. I. p. 356). Vide Ptolemy p. 118-121 for its history from Alexander's time onwards. Ptolemy calls it Taxila. It is mentioned in the Dhauli first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 93) and the word occurs in Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93. Vide for description of its ruins A. G. pp. 104-113, Marshall's 'Guide to Taxilā' and other works.

Takṣaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavana, modern Zevan). V. 32. 90. R. I. 220, P. I. 25. 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Takṣaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p. 166, K. R. p. 5

Tālakaṇṇēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72.

Tālatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 2

Tālavana—(to the west of Mathurā) Var. 157. 35

Tamasā—A (r., modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayū and falling into the Ganges) Rām. I. 2. 3, II. 45. 32, Raghuvamśa IX. 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmiki's āśrama). Vide C.I.I. vol. III. p. 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D. 512-13; B (r. rising from Rkṣa), M. 114. 25, Vā. 45. 100; C (r. falling into Yamunā) Devī Bh. VI. 18. 12

Tāmrapaṇi—(r. in Pāṇḍya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27. 36, M 114. 30, Vā 45. 105 and 77. 24-27, V. 88. 14, Rām. IV. 41. 17-18, K. II. 37. 21-22, Br III. 13. 24, Bh. X. 79. 16 and XI 5. 39. The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I. p. 62) and Tāmrapaṇi of Aśoka's Girnar Inscription II; it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well; E. I. XX at p. 23 (Nāgarjunikonda Ins.); Br III. 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvamśa IV. 49-50 show that pearls were found there

Tāmrabha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

Tāmraruṇa—V. 85. 154

Tāmravati—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23

Tanulikāśrama—(near Puskara and Jambūmārga) V 82. 43, Ag. 109. 9, P. I. 12. 3

Tāpaseśvara—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 66, P. I. 18. 96

Tapastīrtha—(under Go.) B 126. 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattatīrtha)

Tapati—(r.) M. 22. 32-33 (Tapati seems to be Tāpi here as distinguished from Mūlatāpi). In Ādiparva chapters 171-173 Tapati is a daughter of the Sun whom king Saṁvarana married and had a son Kuru from her; Mār. 105. 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river).

Tāpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 104

Tāpi—(r. rising from Vindhya and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapati) M 114. 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45. 102, Ag. 109. 22. Tāpi is mentioned in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569). Vide under Payoṣṇi above and TP pp. 544-547 (for mahātmya and sub-tīrthas)

Tāpikā—same as Tāpi. Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 242

Tāpi-samudra—saṅgama—T. P. p. 547

Tapovana—A (on south bank of Go.) B 128. 1; B (in Vāṅga country) V. 84. 115, P. I. 38. 31. 'Tato vanam' is a misreading in Vanaparva

Tārakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104. Tārakeśvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva, Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 249

Taraṇḍa or **Taranika**—(a dvārapāla of Kuruksetra) V. 83. 15, P. I. 27. 92 (reads 'Tarapḍa'), Vām. 22. 60. Vide p. 683 note 1551 above.

Timi—(to the right of Saṅkukarṇeśvara) P. I. 24. 20-23

Tīrtbakoṣi—V 84. 121, P. I. 38. 38 (same verse in both)

Tosālaka—(the *guhya* name of Visnu is Garudadhvaja here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p. 230) and the Tosali in Aśoka's Dhauli Inscriptions (C. I. I. pp. 92 and 97) and the Nāgarjunikonda Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 23)? Tosali (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the chief city of northern Kāliṅga in the days of the Mauryas.

Toyā—(r. rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 28, Vā 45. 103

Traiyaṁbaka-tīrtha—A (under Go. and sacred to Piṭṛa) M. 22. 47, K. II. 35. 18; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 112

Trastāvātara—(an *āyatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

- Tribhāgā**—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā 45. 104
- Tridāśajyoti**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 11
- Tridivā**—A (r. rising from Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26; B (r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā 45. 106, B 27. 37; C (r. rising from Rkṣavat) Br. II. 16. 31.
- Tridivābalā**—(r. from Mahendra m.) Br. II. 16. 37. Probably Tridivā and Balā.
- Trigaṅga**—V 84. 29, Anu 25. 16, P. I. 28. 29
- Trigartaeśvara**—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.
- Tribhālikāgrāma**—(where śrāddha is very efficacious) V. Dh. S. 85. 24 (con. Vajrayanti says it is Śālagrāma).
- Trigajaeśvara-līga**—(where Gaṇḍaki and Devitā join) Var. 144. 83
- Trikakud**—(m. part of Himavat) A.V. IV. 9. 8 and 9 (for a salve therefrom), Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā III. 6. 3, Sat. Br. III. 1. 3. 12 (all these mention Traikakudā or Traikakubha añjana), Pān. V. 4. 147 (trikakut-parvate) teaches that Trikakud is the name of a mountain and the name is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trini kakudāni kakudākārāni śrīgāni asya) Vide Br. III. 1. 3. 58 where it is Trikakudagiri (very eminent place for śrāddha), Vā. 77. 57-63.
- Trikoti**—(a r. in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87. At Kaśyapa's request Aditi became Trikoṭi. It joins Vitastā.
- Trikūṭa**—(m.) Vām. 85. 4. (son of Sumera), Nr. 65. 21, P VI. 129. 16. In Bh. VIII. 2. 1 Trikuṭa m. appears to be mythical. From Raghuvamśa IV. 58-59 it follows that Trikuṭa was in Aparānta. Dey p. 205 specifies three hills as Trikuṭa. Kālidāsa's Trikuṭa appears to be the Tirahnu or Trirāśmi hill at Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 633 and E. I. vol. 25 p. 225 at p. 232 (copper-plate Ins. discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik of about 709 A. D. mentions 'Pūrva-Trikūṭaviṣaya'). The Khana-pur plates of Mādhavarman (about 510-560 A. D.) speak of him as the 'lord of Trikuṭa and Malaya' (E. I. vol. 27 p. 312 at p. 315)
- Trilinga**—country which has three famous lingas viz. Kālabastin, Śrī-śaila, Drākṣarāma.
- Trilocana-līga**—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 120, K. I. 35. 14-15, P. I. 37. 17.
- Tripadī (Tirupati)**—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station. It is the same as Veṅkaṭagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Veṅkaṭeśvara or Balāji.
- Triplakṣa**—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 69
- Tripura**—A (a very fit place for śrāddha) M. 22. 43; B (capital of Bāṇāsura) P. I. chapters 14-15, Kānaparva 33.17 ff and 34. 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāha at great length). Vide also Anu. 160. 25-31 and an interesting paper on 'The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature' in Journal. Ganganath Jha R. I. vol. VIII. pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopādhyaya.
- Tripurāntaka**—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 150.
- Tripureśvara** (modern village Triphar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R. V. 46, HC. 13. 200. Some identify it with Jyēṣṭheśvara.
- Tripuri**—(on the Narmadā) T. S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it. It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabalpur. It was the capital of the Kalacuris or Cedis. Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarnadeva in 1122 A.D., E. I. vol. II. p. 1 at p. 3 and E. I. XIX p. 75 (for extent of Mahākosala). M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21. 60 and Br. S. 14. 9 mention Traipura country as situated

- on the back of Vindhya. Tripurī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B. C. Tripurī-viśaya occurs in Betul plates of Saṅkṣobha as situated in Dabhālā country. Vide R. D. Banerji's 'Haihaya of Tripurī' p. 137.
- Tripuṣkara**—Vide Puṣkara.
- Trisāmā**—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā 45. 106, Vi. II. 3. 13, Bh. V. 19. 18 (does not mention source).
- Trisandhyā** or **Trisandhyam** A-M. 22. 46 (sacred to pitṛs); B (spring of goddess Sandhyā) one of the holiest Kāśmīra tīrthas. It is modern Sundabār in Brīngpārgana; NM 1471, R. I. 33. SM. p. 181.
- Tristhāna**—(probably same as Vārānasi) Anu. 25. 16
- Trisūkhara**—(m.) Vā. 42. 28, M. 183. 2.
- Trisūlagangā**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 84 (confluence of Gandakī and Kṛṣṇā)
- Trisūlakhātā**—V. 84. 11. It is probably the same as the Kāśmīra tīrtha Sūlaghātā
- Trisūlapāta**—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 28. 12. Probably the same as above
- Tritakūpa**—a tīrtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X. 78. 19 (after Pṛthūdaka and Bindusaras). Rg. I. 105. 17 speaks of Trita who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Brhaspati. Vide Nir. IV. 6
- Trivenī**—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144. 86-87; vide p. 602 above; B (confluence of three rivers, viz. Gandakī, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputrā) Var. 144. 83 and 112-115. It was here that Gajendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile). Var. 144. 116-134.
- Trivṛtāpa**—P. I. 26. 79 (where there is Vaitaraṇī river)
- Trṇabindusaras**—(in Kāmyakavana) V. 258. 13.
- Trṇabinduvana**—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252.
- Tryambakesvara**—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvari) N. II. 73. 1-132 (is the mātṛmya), SK. IV. 6. 23, P. VI. 176. 58-59, B. 79. 6.
- Tulajāpura**—(a Devisthāna) Devi-Bh. VII. 38. 6
- Tuṅgā**—(r. that falls into the Kṛṣṇā) Nr. 66. 7 (reading differs) q. by T. K. p. 254 (Tuṅgā ca dakṣiṇe Gaṅgā Kāveri ca vīśvataḥ.).
- Tuṅgabhadra**—(The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tuṅgabhadra near Kudli in Mysore State. The river falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Alampur in the Raichūr District) M. 22. 45, Nr. 66. 6 q. by T. K. p. 254, Bh. V. 19. 18, M. 114. 29, B. 27. 35, Vā 45. 104 (last three say that it rises in Sabya). From E.I. vol. XII at p. 294 and Vik. IV. 44-68 it is clear that Cālukya king Someśvara I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tuṅgabhadra in 1065 A.D.
- Tuṅgakūṭa**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 29-30.
- Tuṅgaranya**—V. 85. 46-54, P. I. 39. 43 (where Sarasvatī instructed sages).
- Tuṅgaveṇa**—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V. 222. 25
- Tuṅgesvara**—(in VS) L. I. 92. 7
- Torāmaṅga**—(a tīrtha under Narmadā) M. 191. 29.
- Tvāgṛeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96

U

- Udabhāṇḍa**—was the residence of Śāhī kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra; vide R.V. 152-155, VI. 175. It is the Wayband of Alberuni and Obind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock).
- Udāpāna**—V. 84. 110, P. I. 38. 27.
- Udayanta**—(m. near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK VI. 2. 11. 11

- Uddālakesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 59
- Uddiyāna**—Kāl. 18. 42 (where the two thighs of Sati's corpse fell).
- Udicitīrtha**—(under Gayā) Vā 111. 6. Vide p. 663 above
- Udyantaparvata**—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Sīlā) V. 84. 93, Vā 106 43-44, N. II. 47. 51, P. I. 38.13. Vide p. 647 note 1472 above
- Ugra**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 15; also called Kedāra
- Ugresvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
- Ujjānaka**—(where Skanda and Vasiṣṭha secured peace of mind) V. 130. 17, Anu. 25. 55. It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantaka or Udyānaka.
- Ujjayanta** (Girnar in Saurāstra and near Dvārakā) V. 88. 21-24, Vā. 45. 92 and 77. 52, Vām. 13. 18, SK. VII. 2. 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vāstrāpāthakṣetra). Vide A. G. p. 325.
- Ujjayinī**—(modern Ujjain in Central India) B. 43. 24 (called Avantī), 44. 16 (capital of Mālava) Vide under Avantī and Māhismatī above. Ujēni is mentioned in the Dhāuli first separate Rock edict (C. I. I. vol. 1. p. 93) of Aśoka. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 35 on Vartika 10 on Pān. III. 1. 26 mentions it. It is famous for the shrine of Mahākālā, one of the twelve Jyotiṛ-līngas and is situated on the Sīprā river. Kālidāsa immortalizes it in the Meghadūta and Raghuvamśa VI 32-35. A. G. (pp. 489-90) gives the boundaries of the kingdom of Ujjayinī in the 7th century. A. C. (p. 182) gives Viśālā, Avantī and Puṣpakaraṇḍinī as synonyms of Ujjayinī 'Puṣpakaraṇḍakajirnodayāna' is mentioned in the Mṛcchakatika. The Periplus and Ptolemy speak of it as Ozene. Vide Ptolemy pp. 154-155. Vide J. A. O. S. vol. 66 for 1946 p. 295 for Jaina sources on Udayana and Vāsavadattā and I. A. vol. III. p. 153 for inscription of Śrāvana Belgola about migration of Jainas under Bhadrabāhu from Ujjayinī and S. B. E. vol. X part 2 p. 188 (Suttanipāta)
- Umābaka**—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 57
- Umākūṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 64
- Umātūṅga**—K. II. 37. 32-33, Vā. 77. 81-82 (best place for śrāddha, jāpa, homa)
- Umāvana**—(where Śaṅkara assumed the Ardhanārīśvara form) Vā. 41. 36. Dey p. 211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon. A. C. p. 182 says it is also called Devikōta
- Upajālā**—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130. 21
- Upamanyuliṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 97
- Upasāntaśiva**—(under VS.) P. I. 37. 17, L. I. 92 107
- Upavēṇā**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 24
- Urjanta**—(in Aparānta) Br. III. 13. 53 (here are Yogesvarālaya and Vasiṣṭhāsrama)
- Uṛjayat**—m. in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Inscription (in E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45
- Urvaśikūṇḍa**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51-64, N. II. 67. 65
- Urvaśilīṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- Urvaśipulīna**—(under Prayāga) M. 22. 66 and 106. 34-35, Anu. 25. 46. Vide p. 615 note 1399 above
- Urvaśīśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72
- Urvaśītīrtha**—A (under Prayāga) V. 84, 157, M. 106. 34, P. I. 38. 64; B (under Go.) B. 171. 1
- Uṣṇatīrtha**—M. 13. 42 (Devī is called Abhayā in tīrthas of hot water)

- Usnigāṅga (a tirtha for bathing) V. 135. 7
- Utkocaka-tirtha—V. 183. 2
- Utpalāvana—V. 87. 15 (in Pāñcāla country), Anu. 25. 34. Dey p. 213 says that it is Biṭhur, 14 miles from Kānpur in U. P.
- Utpalāvartaka—(a forest) N. II. 60. 35, Vanaparva q. by T. K. p. 244
- Utpalāvati—(r. rising from m. Malaya) Vā. 45. 105, M. 114. 30
- Utpaliṇī—(r. in Naimiṣa forest) Ādi. 215. 6
- Utpātaka—Anu. 25. 41
- Uttameśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
- Uttara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 14, P. I. 37. 17
- Uttara-Gaṅga—(Gangabal in Lar *ḥargana* of Kāśmīra) HC. IV. 54. It is also called Haramukūṭa-gaṅgā and Mānasottaragaṅgā
- Uttaragokarṇa—Var. 216. 22, K. II. 35. 31
- Uttarajāhnavī—H. C. XII. 49. When the Vitastā takes a turn towards the north it is so called.
- Uttaramānasa—Ā (in Kāśmīra) Anu. 25. 60, NM. 1118 (the guardian *naga* of the north of Kāśmīra). The Gangabal lake is popularly so called. See Stein's note on R. III. 448 and H. C. IV. 87; B (near Gayā) Vā. 77. 108, 111. 2, V. Dh. S. 85. 36, Śānti 152. 13, M. 121. 69, K. II. 37. 44, R. 115. 10. Vide pp. 650-651 above
- V
- Vajlavā—(also called Saptacaru) V. 82. 92-99, 222. 24, V. Dh. S. 85. 37. The com. Vaijyanti says that it is some tirtha in the southern part of India, but Vanaparva points to north-west. Dey p. 220 identifies with Bāku on the west coast of the Caspian sea.
- Vadbūsarā—(r. on bathing in which Paraśurāma recovered his *tejas* taken away by Rāma) V. 99. 68
- Vāgīśvari—(under Go.) B 135. 25
- Vāgmātī—(r. Bāgmātī of Nepal which rises in Himālaya) Var. 215. 49 (says that it is 100 times holier than Bhāgīrathī)
- Vāgmātī—Manivati-saṅgama—Var. 215. 106 and 110
- Vāhā—Vām. 57. 78
- Vāhinī—Bhī. 9. 34
- Vaidarbhā—M. 22. 64, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Dakṣiṇasaravati sā vabati Vidarbhā nadi yatra). Probably the same as Varadā
- Vaidūrya—(a hill in Ānarta) V. 89. 6, 121. 16 and 19 (to which Pāṇḍavas came after crossing Payoṣṇī). Pān. IV. 3. 84 teaches the derivation of Vaidūrya precious stone (Beryl) from Vidūra in the sense 'tasmāt prabhavati'. Mbh. (vol. II. p. 313) quotes a verse on this which says that grammarians denominate the mountain Vālavāya as Vidūra. Probably it is the Sātpuḍā range which has Beryl mines. Vide Pargiter pp. 287 (n), 363 (n). It may be the Oroudia mountain of Ptolemy (pp. 80-81)
- Vaidyanātha—A-M. 13. 41, 22. 24, P. V. 17. 205 (same words as in M 13. 41); B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 84, 114; C (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 160. 1; D (Devī is called Bagalā here) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 14; E—temple of Vaidyanātha, probably one of the 12 Jyotirliṅgas, at Deoghar in Santal Pargana. Vide I. G. I. vol. XI p. 244 for the great temple of Vaidyanātha, which is the oldest of the 22 Śiva temples at Deoghar
- Vaiḥāra—(one of the five hills that surrounded and guarded Citivraja) S. 21. 2
- Vaiḥāyasi—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18
- Vaijayanta—(a Sārasvata-tirtha) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Vaikunṭha-kāraṇa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 21-23

- Vaikuṇṭhatīrtha**—**A** (under Gayā) M. 22. 75, N II. 47. 75; **B** (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 1-4 and 10-12
- Vaimānika**—**Anu.** 25. 23.
- Vaināyakatīrtha**—**M.** 22. 32, G. I. 81.8.
- Vairā**—(**r.**) M. 22. 64
- Vairocanaśvara**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 140.
- Vaiśakha**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 156 (established by Viśakha i. e. Skanda).
- Vaiśravaṇeśvara**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Vaiśvānara-kuṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 58
- Vaitaraṇī**—**A** (**r.** in Orissa rising in Vindhya) V. 83.6, 114. 4, Vā. 77. 95, K II. 37. 37, P. I. 39. 6, Ag. 116. 7, M. 114. 27, B 27. 33; Jaipur (i. e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I. G. I. vol. VI. p. 223). Sometimes Utkala and Kalinga are held to be separate as in B 47. 7 and Raghuvaṃśa IV. 38. Utkala is said to be derived from Utkaliṅga (what is outside Kālūga); **B** (in Gayā) Vā. 105. 45, 109, 17, Ag. 116. 7; **C** (in Phalākivana) Vām. 36. 43-44, P. I. 26. 79; **D** (a well in VS) L q by T. K. p. 63.
- Vaivasvatatīrtha**—(under Sūkara) Var. 137. 240 (where the sun practised *tapas* for a son), **Anu.** 25. 39
- Vaivasvateśvara**—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 104.
- Vajrabhava**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī).
- Vajreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
- Vālakṣiyeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66.
- Vāliśvara**—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 51.
- Vālmikeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- Vālmiki**—**āśrama** (on the Ganges) Rām. VII. 47. 15-77. Vide under Sthāṇutīrtha and Tamaśā.
- Vāmana** or **Vāmanaka**—(under Kuru-kṣetra) V. 84. 130, V. 83. 103, Ag. 109. 20, P. I. 26. 96 (Vāmanaka), I. 38. 47; **B** (under Gayā) N. II, 46. 46; **C** (under Sābhramatī) P, VI. 153.2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A. vol. 54 (at end) p. 41 where it is said that Vanthali about 8 miles south-west of Junāgad is the Vāmana-tīrtha of the Mahābhārata.
- Vāmaṇeśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 26
- Vaṃśadharā**—(**r.** rising from Mahendra) Vā. 45. 106, Mār. 54. 29 (reads *Vaṃśakarā*) and Var. 85 (profe) reads *Vaṃśavarā*. Pargiter (p. 305n) says that it is the modern Bāṃs-dharā on which Kāliṅgapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacole. Vide Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarma (E. I. vol. XXV p 194) issued from Kāliṅganagara
- Vaṃśagulma**—(on confluence of Narmadā and Soṇa) V. 85. 9
- Vaṃśamūlaka**—P. I. 26. 38
- Vaṃśodbheda**—**M.** 24. 25
- Vānaraka**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6. It may be a misreading of 'cānarake'.
- Vandanā**—(**r.**) Bhī. 9. 18
- Vāṇī-saṅgama**—(under Go.) B. 135. 1 and 23
- Vāñjarā**—(**r.** on south bank of Go.) B. 159.45. It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvari in Nander District
- Vāñjarāsaṅgama**—(under Go) B. 159. 1
- Vāñjulā**—**A** (**r.** rising from Sahya and falling into Go.) M. 114. 29, Vā. 45. 103, Vām. 57. 76; **B** (**r.** rising in Mahendra) B. 27. 37
- Vaṅkṣu**—(modern Oxus) Sabhā 51, 20 (*rāsabhas* were brought as presents)
- Varadā**—(the Vardhā river in C. P) Rām. IV. 41. 9, Ag. 109. 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Virapurusaṃ tad-

- etad Varadātatanāmakam Mahārāṣṭram) See under Varadāsāngama.
- Varadāna—V. 82. 63-64, P. I. 24. 12 (both contain story about Durvasas conferring a boon on Viṣṇu)
- Varadā-sāngama—V. 85. 35, P. I. 39. 32
- Varāhamūlaksetra or Varāhaḥsetra—(modern Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra). It is on the right bank of the Vitastā at the head of the western entrance to the Kashmir valley and is sacred to Ādivarāha: R. VI. 186, H.C. XII. 43, K. R. pp. 11-12 and SM. pp. 201-202
- Varāha-parvata—(probably Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra) V. Dh S. 85. 7
- Varāha-sthānas—(places sacred to the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu are Kokāmukha, Badarī and Lohargala) Var. 140. 4-5
- Varāhatīrtha—A (under Kuroksetra) Vām. 34.32, P. I. 26. 15; B (under VS) P. I. 37. 6, K. I. 35.5; C (under Mathurā) Var. 166 23 (there were four golden images of Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, Rāghava); D (on Vitastā in Kāśmīra) NM 1359; E (a sub-tīrtha of Sahyāmalaka) Nr. 66 34; F (under Sābhramalī); P. VI. 165. 10; G (on Narmadā) M. 193. 74, K. II. 42. 14, P. I. 20. 71; H (on Payoṣṇī) V. 88. 7 and 9 (king Nrga performed yajña here and the tīrtha is holiest of all rivers), K. II. 20 32, Vām. 90. 4; I (under Go.) B 79. 6.
- Varāheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98.
- Varaṇā—(r. northern boundary of Banaras) M. 22. 31, 183. 62. Vide pp. 625-626 above; L. I. 92 87 calls it Varuṇā.
- Varāṇasī—Vide pp. 618-642. Though Kāśī and Varāṇasī are treated as synonyms almost everywhere (pp. 624-626) still it seems to me that Kāśī was on the eastern side of the Ganges and Varāṇasī on the western.
- Varaṇavati—(r.) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1.
- Vāraneśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 29.
- Vardhanadruma—(in Kāśmīra, an āyatana of Vināyaka Gāṇḍeya) NM 1161
- Vāridhāra—(m.) Bh. V. 19. 16
- Varnāśā—(r. Banas in Rajputana rising from Pariyātra and falling into Chambal) Br. II. 16. 28; see under Parṇāśā.
- Varnu—(r.) Pāṇ. IV. 2 103 (varṇau vuk). Kāśikā explains that the country on Varnu was also called Varnu. This appears to be modern Bannu. Varnu occurs in Suvāstravādi-gaṇa. (IV. 2. 77).
- Vārttaghñī—(r. rising in Pāriyatra and falling into the sea) P. VI. 131. 56, 68, VI. 164. 1 and 71, Mār. 57. 19; Vā. 45. 97 reads Vrttaghñī and B. 37. 28 Vārttaghñī.
- Varuṇasrotasā—(m.) V. 88. 10
- Varuṇā—(r. tributary of the Go.) P. VI. 176. 59
- Vārūnatīrtha—V. 83. 164, 88. 13 (in Pāṇḍya country), Bār. Sūtra III. 88 (on the shores of the eastern sea).
- Varuṇeśa—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 6.
- Varuṇeśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103; B (under Narmada) P. I. 18. 6
- Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa—(under Lobargala) Var. 151. 40. There is a Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa on the Alakaśāṇḍā at Deva-prayāga. Vide I.G.I. vol. XI. p. 274.
- Vasiṣṭhāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Śal. 42. 41.
- Vasiṣṭhāśrama—A (near Jyestheśvara in Kāśmīra) R. I. 107 (and Stein's note thereon in vol. I, pp. 23-21), NM 1323; B (on mount Arbuda (which see) V. 102. 3; C (on Badarīpācāna, which see) V. 102.3 (narrates that in Vasiṣṭhāśrama Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmanas

- and 9 *tāpasas*. The location is uncertain.
- Vasiṣṭhatīrtha—M. 22. 68 (śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).
- Vasiṣṭheśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47.
- Vasiṣṭhī—V. 84. 48, P. I. 32. 12 (same verse in both, but P. reads Vasiṣṭham).
- Vasordhārā—V. 82. 76, P. I. 24. 24 (same verse in both, P reading Vasudhārā).
- Vastrāpathakṣetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) SK. VII. 2. 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Raivata-kṣetra is so called), VII. 2. 11. 16 (it is four yojanas in extent). The holy river therein is Suvarṇarekhā (which see)
- Vāsuka—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42. 6
- Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48.
- Vāṣṇkīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 39. 79, L. q. by T. K. p. 48; B (under Prayāga) V. 85. 86 (also called Bhogavatī)
- Vāsupradā—M. 22. 72 (śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal).
- Vasutuṅga—(Jagatpati is the *guhya* appellation of Viṣṇu here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251
- Vaṇa—A (in Prayāga) M. 104. 10, 111. 10; B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S. 85.5.
- Vāṇanadī—M. 22. 37 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).
- Vāṇeśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K. II. 41. 19, P. I. 18. 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag. 109.20; B (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 73, P. I. 38. 46, N. II. 47. 59; C (under Prayāga) M. 22. 9; D (under Puruṣottama) N II. 56. 28
- Vāṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66
- Vāṇeśvarapura P. I. 38.46
- Vātika—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1459.
- Vāṭodakā (r. in Pāṇḍya country) Bh. IV. 28. 35
- Vatsakrīḍanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 156. 1
- Vāyavyatīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 75
- Vāyutīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 33. 5; P. I. 37. 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 5.
- Vedadhārā—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 20.
- Vedagiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a sub-tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-Venyā) TS. p. 78
- Vedaśīras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M. 22. 71.
- Vedasmṛti—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu. 165. 25, M. 114. 23, Vā. 45.97, Br. II. 16.27. Dey p. 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Siadh; Br. S. 16.32 mentions it.
- Vedaśrutī—(r. after Kosala towards the south) Rām. II. 49. 10
- Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Br II. 16. 27, B. 27. 29, Anu 165. 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified. There is a river called Vedāvatī or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tuṅga-bhadra. Vide I. G. I. vol. XIII p. 5.
- Vedeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 44.
- Veditīrtha—(v. l. Devitīrtha) P I. 26. 92.
- Vegavatī—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var. 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P VI. 237. 9. Vide E. I. vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vegavatī to the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakoṭī piṭha. The form Vaigai appears in the Silappadikāram (Prof. Dikshitar's tr. p. 270).
- Venā—A (r. rising from Vindhya) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27. This is the Wain-Gangā in C. P. and falls into Godāvarī; B-r, rising from Sahya m.

near Mahabaleshwar. The Pengangā falls into Wardha, acc. to I. G. I. vol. V p. 22, vol. XIII. p. 229, vol. XX. p. 102 and the united stream of the Waingangā and Wardhā is known as Prānabitā which ultimately falls into the Godāvarī. Vide I. G. I. vol. 24 p. 349, Bhī. 9. 20, 28, V. 85. 32, 88. 3, 222. 24, Anu. 165. 20, Bh. X. 79. 12, Venā is often mentioned as Kṛṣṇavenā or—Venā or—Venī as in M. 114. 29. Rājasekhara in Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 94 mentions 'Venā' and 'Kṛṣṇavenā' separately in the first quarter of the 10th century. Vide Pargiter p. 303n for the various forms of this name.

Venāsāṅgama—V 85. 34, P. I. 39. 32

Venī—A (confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā) Vide above p. 603 n 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Karmadeva in Kalacuri year 793 (i.e. 1042 A.D.) in E. I. vol. II. p. 297 at p. 310 (Venyām snātva...Trilocanam...sambharyaya), Kamauli plate of Jayacandra in E. I. IV. at p. 123 (dated samvat 1230 i. e. 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sahya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛnā) TS. p. 79

Veṅkaṭa—(m. in Dravida country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa, chap. 26 deals with Veṅkaṭagiri-mābātmya, Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 13 (in Dravida), R. VI. 280. 19, SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52. 102; SK. I. Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa is Veṅkaṭācalamābātmya. The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala.

Venumatī—(śraddha thereon most efficacious) M. 22. 20

Venyā—(r. rising from m. Sahya and falling into the Kṛnā) Vām. 13. 30, Anu. 165. 22 (Godāvarī ca Venyā ca

Kṛṣṇavenā tathāpi ca), Bh. V. 19. 18, P. VI. 113. 25 (Mahādeva became Venyā)

Vetasikā—(r.) V. 84. 56, P. I. 32. 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasī-Vetravati-sāṅgama)

Vetravati—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 22. 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from Rksavati), K. II. 20. 35; Meghadūta (l. 24) says that Vidiśā (modern Bhisā), the capital of Daśarṇa, was situated on Vetravati; B (a tributary of the Sābbramatī) P. VI. 130 and 133. 4-5. In 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B. E. vol. 35 p. 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravati is one. This must be different from the above two

Vibhāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Vidarbhā-sāṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 23; acc. to AC p. 182 Vidarbhā is the name of Kuṇḍīnapura (v. 979)

Vidhiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116

Vidiśā—A (r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) B 27. 29, Br. II. 16. 28, Mār. 54. 20. Vide Vetravati above; B—A city mentioned in Raghubarāṇḍa 15. 36 (Rāma gave to the two sons of Satrughaṇa, Satrughaṇin and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidiśā); Meghadūta l. 24 states that Vidiśā was the capital of the Daśarṇa country. In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V. 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidiśā river and later on Fuṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidiśastha (i. e. Vaidiśā would mean a city on the Vidiśā). Vide Vāḍnera plates of Kaṭacchuri Buddharāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i. e. about 609 A. D.) issued from 'Vaidiśa-vāsakāt vijaya

- skandhāvāt'** (E. I. vol. XII. at p. 30)
- Vidyādhara**—(under Gaṇḍakī and Sāla-grāma) Var. 145. 62
- Vidyādhareśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11, P. I. 37. 14
- Vidvara**—(m.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250. Is it Vidūra?
- Vidyātīrtha**—(same as Sandhyā) V. 84. 52, P. I. 32. 16
- Vidyēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49
- Vihagēśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 1
- Vihāratīrtha**—(of Madana, under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 10
- Vijayēśvara**—(modern Vijabror in pargana Vular in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 191-195 (HC calls it mahākṣetra). Ain. A. vol. II. p. 356 refers to this. Vitastā is to its east and north, Gambhīrā to the west and Viśvavati to the south
- Vijaya**—(a lūga) M. 22. 73, K. II. 35. 21
- Vijaya-lūga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112
- Vijayēśa**—(in Kāśmīra) NM. 1240. R. 1. 38, SM. p. 173; one of the most famous tīrthas in Kāśmīra. It is less than two miles above Cakradhara
- Vijayēśvara**—A (in Kāśmīra) R. I. 105 and 113; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
- Vijvareśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Vikīrṇatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 7
- Vimala**—V. 82. 87 (where silver and golden-coloured fish were found). P. I. 24. 35 (same verse in both)
- Vimalā**—(a city) P. IV. 17. 67 (destroys sins of numerous murders, just as Avanti and Kāñci do)
- Vimala**—(a famous spring near Mārtāṇḍa temple in Kāśmīra). Vide Mārtāṇḍa p. 780 above
- Vimalāśoka**—V. 84. 69-70, P. I. 32. 33 (almost same verse in both)
- Vimaleśa**—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Vimaleśvara**—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 14, 194 38-39, 22. 8, K. II. 41. 5 and II. 42. 36, P. I. 17. 11; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 15, P. VI. 131. 50
- Vimocana**—V. 83. 161, P. I. 27. 49
- Vinaśana**—(where Sarasvatī disappears in the great desert in Ambala and Sirhind in Punjab). It was known from Brāhmana period; vide pp. 682 and 684 above and V. 82. 111, 130. 34-4. Śal. 37. 1 (śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣāt yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī), K. II. 37. 29, Br. III. 13. 69. Manu II. 21 mentions it as the eastern boundry of Madhyadeśa. Devala q. by T. K. p. 250 speaks of it as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas. Mbh. (vol. I. p. 475 on Pān. II. 4. 10 and vol. III. p. 174 on Pān. VI. 3. 109) speaks of it as 'ādarśa' and as eastern boundary of Āryāvarta. The Kāṇkā on Pān. IV. 2. 124 speaks of Ādarśa as a Janapada (country). As Oldham says (in JRAS for 1893 at p. 52) the exact position of Vinaśana is unknown, but Oldham surmises that it was not far from Sirsa.
- Vināyakakuṇḍa**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53
- Vināyakeśvara**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 126
- Vindhya**—one of the seven great mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) V. 313. 2, Bhī. 9. 11, Vā. 77. 34, M. 13. 39, Bh. V. 19. 16. It is the Oindion of Ptolemy (p. 77)
- Vindhyavāsinī**—(a Devsthāna) M. 13. 39, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 8.
- Vipās**—(modern Beas river in Punjab and Hyphasis or Hypasis of Greek writers) Rg. III. 33. 113, IV. 30. 11. The Nir. IX. 26 explaining Rg. X. 75. 5 states that Vipās was originally called Uruñjitrā, and then Ārjikiyā and that when Vasiṣṭha threw him-

- self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder. Pāṇ. (IV. 2. 74 'udak ca Vipāśah') mentions Vipāś in connection with hills to the north of it; Ādi. 177. 1-5 refer to Vasiṣṭha's attempt to commit suicide, V. 130. 8-9 (Vipāś here), Anu. 3. 12-13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68. 19, Vām. 79. 6, N II 60. 30
- Vipratīrtha—(under Go.) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyaṇa)
- Virabhadreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.
- Viraja—A (country round Jāipur in Orissa) V 85. 6; B (acc. to Tīrthendusekhara p. 6) it is Lonāradeśa and lake i. e. in Baldana District in Berar; C (on Sabya m. near Godāvari and Bhīmā) B 161. 3.
- Virajā—(r. in Orissa) K II. 35. 25-26, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 235
- Virajamaṇḍala—(northern boundary of Oṅradeśa) B. 28. 1-2
- Virajatīrtha—(on Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45. 28-29, (it is an Ādityatīrtha), B. 42. 1 (Viraje Virajā mātā brahmāni sampratigṛhitā), Vām. 22. 19 (the southern vedī of Brahṁā), Br III. 13. 57. Vide T. P. pp. 598-599 for Viraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jāipur in Orissa
- Virajādri—(under Gayā) Nā. 106. 85 (Gayāsura's navel rested on it)
- Virapatañi—(r.) Eg. I. 104. 4
- Virapramokṣa—V. 84. 51, P. I. 32. 14 (same verse in both); probably near Bhṛguliṅga
- Virāśrama—V. 84. 145 (where Kārtikeya resides)
- Virasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 14, 160. 20
- Virūpākṣa—A (Hampi) P V. 17. 103, SK., Brahṁakhaṇḍa 52. 102; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
- Viśakhayūpa—(near Kurukṣetra) V 90. 15, 177. 16, Vām. 81. 9, Nr. 63. 14 (Viṣṇu's guhya name is Viśveṣa here)
- Viśālā—A—same as Ujjayinī; Meghadūta I. 30; vide under Avantī and Ujjayinī. A. C. says 'Ujjayinī syād—Viśālāvantī Ruspakaraṇḍinī'; B (asrama near Badarī) V 90. 25, 139. 11, Anu. 25. 44, Bh. V. 4. 5, XI. 29. 47; C (under Gayā) Vām. 81. 26-32 (a river), Ag. 115. 54, P. I. 38. 33
- Viśālākhyavana—Mār. 106. 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)
- Viśālākṣi—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Viśālyā—A (r.) V. 84. 14; B (under Narmadā) M. 186. 43 and 46-48 (also called Viśālyakaraṇī), K. II. 40. 27. P. I. 13. 39, Br. III 13. 12
- Viśaprastha—(hill) V 95. 3 (near Gomatī probably)
- Viṣṇucaṅkramaṇa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 80 q. by T. K. p. 127
- Viṣṇudhārā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 17
- Viṣṇu-Gayā—P. VI. 176. 41 (where there is Lonārakuṇḍa)
- Viṣṇukāñci—P. VI. 204. 30
- Viṣṇupada—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 103, 130. 3, NM 1238; B (lake on Niśadha mountain) Br. II. 18. 67, Vā 47. 64; C (under Gayā) vide pp. 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 above and R. D. Banerji's 'Pālas of Bengal' (Memoirs of A. S. B. vol. V pp. 60-61 for Viṣṇupāda temple inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign; D (under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 42
- Viṣṇupadī—(name of Gaṅgā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Viṣṇu) Bh. V. 17. 1. Amarakośa mentions it as a synonym of Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā Viṣṇupadī Jabnu-tanayā)
- Viṣṇusaras—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 24; B (under Goniskramaṇa) Var. 147. 43
- Viṣṇutīrtha—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 71-74; B (under Narmadā)

- M 191. 99, K. II. 41.52 (it is Yodhīpuram Viṣṇusthānam); P I. 18. 94 (known as Yodhanīpurā); C (under Go) B. 136. 1 and 41 (also called Maudgalya)
- Viṣṇutīrthas—(108 enumerated) P. VI. 129. 5-16.
- Viśokā—(r. in Kāśmīra) modern Vesā NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC. XII. 35. NM. 307 says that Lakṣmī at the request of sage Kāśyapa became Viśokā; NM. 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror; NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kaundīnī rising from lake Kramasāra with Viśokā.
- Viśrāntī-tīrthā—A (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167.1 6, P. VI. 209.5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kāṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa); B (a different kṣetra' from the above in Madhuvana, where Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha) P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5
- Viśvā—(r.) Bh V. 19. 18
- Viśvakarmesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 55
- Viśvakāya—P. VI. 129. 8
- Viśvāmītranadi—V. 89. 9, Bh. 9. 26 (has Viśvāmītrā as a river)
- Viśvāmītrā—mahānada (in Punjab) NM. 151
- Viśvāmītrākrama—Kām. I. 26. 34
- Viśvāmītratīrthā—A V. 83. 139; B (under Go) B 93. 4 and 27 (where Rama honoured Viśvāmītrā), P. I. 27. 28
- Viśvamukha—(tīrthā on jālandhara) Vide under jālandhara p. 758 and P. VI. 129. 26
- Viśvapada—(a pītṛtīrthā) M. 22. 35
- Viśvarūpa—(under VS) P. I. 37. 2
- Viśvarūpaka—P. VI. 129. 14 (in Māyāpurī, it appears)
- Viśvavati—same as Viśokā IIC. X. 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayesvara)
- Viśvedeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.
- Viśveśvara—(one of five līngas in VS) K. I. 32. 12 and II. 41.59, P. I. 34. 10, N II. 51. 4; vide pp 632-33 above; B (in Girikarṇa) P. VI. 129.10.
- Viśvāvasveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.
- Vitamsā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B. E. vol. 35 p. 171). Dey p. 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason.
- Vitāntā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P. II. 92.33.
- Vitastā—(r. in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhelum) Ig. X. 75. 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Takṣakanāga; V. 82. 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Takṣakanāga), 130, 20, K. II. 44. 4, Vām. 90. 7, NM 45, 305-06 (Umā became Vitastā), 336-341 (Śaṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as *vitasti* i. e. 12 aṅgulas and Sati came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). K. V. 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suyya in the days of king Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (7th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu. Vide Stein's note I in translation of R. vol. 11 pp. 329-336 and the note of Mr. J. C. Chatterji challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein's remarks (in 'confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu', 1906)
- Vitastā-Gambhīrā-saṅgama—SM. pp. 101, 110
- Vitastā-madhumatī-saṅgama—NM 1442
- Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama—(exceptional sanctity) K. IV. 391, V. 82. 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga.

Vitastātra—(spring of Vithavutur, one mile to the north-west of Vernag spring in Kāśmīra) R. I. 102-103. Aśoka is said to have built many stūpas here. This spring is traditionally considered to be the main source of the Vitastā, Vide SM p.182
Vraja—(village of Nand-Gopa) Bh. X. 1. 10. Vide Gokula above.

Vṛddhakanyātīrtha—(sage Gālava's son married an old spinster who had practised *tapas* for a husband worthy of her) Śal. 52.1-25, Devala q. by T.K. p. 250 (as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas)

Vṛddhapura—(where there is a lake of Sanaścara i. e. Saturn) P VI. 34. 33-35

Vṛddhāsāṅgama—(under Go.) B 107.1.

Vṛddhi-Vināyaka—(under Gayā) Ag 116. 31

Vṛndavana—(last of the twelve vanas of Mathurā) M 13. 38 (Devī is Rādhā here), Var. 153, 45, 156.6 (the demon Ketū was destroyed here), Bh. X. 11.28 and 36, X. 20, X. 21. 5 and 10, P. IV. 69. 9, IV 75. 8-14 (esoteric interpretation), IV. 81. 60 (is the best place in Mathurā), VI. 16. 72 (where Vṛndā gave up her mortal body), BV (Kṛṣṇajānamakhaṇḍa) chap. 17. 204-222 (explain how Vṛndā performed *tapas* and how Vṛndā is one of the 16 names of Rādhā. A G. identifies Klisoboras of Arrian with this

Vṛṣabhājaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 33

Vṛṣabheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 43.

Vṛṣadhvaja—(under VS) K. I. 35, 13, L. I. 92, 106, N II. 50. 48

Vṛṣākapa—(under Go.) B. 129. 1.

Vṛṣotsarga—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 8

Vṛtraghoi—(r. that springs from Pāri-yātra) Br. II. 16. 27, Mār. 54. 19. Dey p. 42 says that it is a tributary of the Sābhramatī

Vṛtreshvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96

Vyāghresvara—(under VS) K. I. 35.14, P. I. 37. 17, L. I. 92. 109, N. II. 50. 56

Vyāsakuṇḍa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 86

Vyāsasaras—Vā. 77. 51, Br. III. 13.52

Vyāsasthali—(where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son), N II. 65. 83-84, P. I. 26. 90-91

Vyāsātīrtha—A (in Kurukṣetra) K. II. 37.29, Br. III. 13. 69; B (under Narmada) Vā 77. 67, P. I. 18. 38; C (under Go.) B 158. 1

Vyāsavana—(near Mīśraka) P. I. 26. 87
Vyoma-Gaṅgā—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 57

Vyoma-līṅga—(under Śrīparvata) I. I. 92, 161

Vyoma-tīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37.14

Y

Yajana—V. 82. 106

Yājñavalkya-līṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 47, 88

Yājñavarāha—celebrated temple of Varāhadeva at Yājñapura or Jājpur on Vaitarani in Orissa

Yakṣatīrtha—(later called Hamsatīrtha) Var. 144. 155-156

Yakṣiṇī-saṅgama (under Go.) B. 132. 1.

Yamalārjunakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 188.

Yamatīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 6, II. 41. 83; B (under Go.) B 125. 1 and 131. 1; C (under Narmadā) P I. 37. 6.

Yamavyasanaka—(under Kokāmukha) Var 140. 55.

Yamunā—(r.) Kg. V. 52. 17, VII. 18. 19, X. 75. 5. For Yamunā-māhātmya, vide P. VI. chapters 195-197. It is the jomanes of Pīṇy

Yamunāprabhava—(Yamnouri) K. II. 37.30, Br. III. 13. 71 (where there are hot springs and very cold water)

- Yamunāsāṅgama**—Var. 174 deals with its power.
- Yamunātīrtha**—Śal. 49. 11-16 (where Varuṇa performed Rājasūya). M. 108. 23-24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 6.
- Yamuneśvara**—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66; B (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 12
- Yantresvara**—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 1.
- Yasṭi**—(under Gayā) N. II. 47.82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jetbian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā
- Yavatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88.
- Yayāti-tīrtha**—A (under Sarasvatī). Vām. 39. 36; B (under VS) Śal. 41. 32, P. I. 37.9
- Yayāti-patana**—V 82. 48, P. I. 12. 8 (same words in both)
- Yayāti-pura**—(modern Jāipur) on the Vaitarani river in Orissa; A.G. p. 512.
- In E. I. vol. XI. p. 189 there is a Yayātinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jāipur.
- Yayātiśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115.
- Yogitīrtha**—(under Sūkara) Var. q. by T. K. p. 210
- Yonidvāra**—(on the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā) V. 84. 94-95, P. I. 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44. 76-77
- Yugandhara**—A—a country or people acc. to Pāṇ. IV. 2. 130 and the Kāśikā mentions it as one of Sālvā-vayavas; B (a m.) acc. to Kāśikā on Pāṇ. III. 2. 46. Vām. 34. 47 'Yugandhara dadhi prāṣya uṣitvā cācyuta-sthale tadvad-Bhūtālaye snātvā saputrā vastum-icchasi'. Br. S. 32. 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TIRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tirthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from saṃsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or 'Travelers' Guides. The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians

of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himālaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himālaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinchinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature's beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulge jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest § But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please.

§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr. Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt's British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.

APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

Page 118 Note 267. On pp. 117-118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Śakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmanas). Vide Śāntiparva chap. 65. 13-21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antialkida (Antialkidas) named Heliodora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vāsudeva in the 2nd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBBRAS vol. 23 p. 104). Uśavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I. vol. VIII at p. 85) as a *śakva*, but made very extensive donations to brāhmanas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Uśavadāta (Rśabha-datta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Kśaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Abhiras, Hūpas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India' vol. I. p. 126 ('the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa') and Alberuni's India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II. pp. 162-163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' (1940) pp. 59-65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परावर्तिष्ठुः (एकः अनेके वा पुरुषाः स्त्रियो वा) स्नात्वा धीतं कुञ्चं वासः परिधाय
(स्त्रियस्तु यथायोग्यं यथाचारं वा परिधाय) चन्दनादिभिस्तिलकं कुत्वा (स्त्रियस्तु कुङ्कुमादि-
द्रव्येण तिलकं कुत्वा) सिद्धसभां प्रार्थयेत् । सर्वं धर्मविवेकारो ज्ञानशीलसमन्विताः । विधिनाहं
परावर्त्य संग्राह्यः रणो मनीषिभिः । इति । अथ सिद्धाः परावर्तिष्ठोः (परावर्तिष्ठन्तु वा)

देशकाल-कामाकामशक्त्यादि विचार्य अथर्व-अल्प-गुह्यजामन्यतेन प्रायश्चित्तं निश्चयेत् 'ओं तथा । असुकप्रायश्चित्तं कृत्वा परावर्तनविधिना भवान संगृहीतो भविष्यति' इति ब्रूयुः । परावर्तिष्णवे नूतनं वासश्च ब्रूयुः । स च तत्परिदध्यात् । ततः परावर्तिष्णुरासने पुनर्भिमुख उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानामभ्य 'इह पृथिव्यां जन्मद्वये भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे ('आर्यावर्ते' इति नमोवाया उत्तरतः) असुकग्रामे अथ असुकनामसंवत्सरे असुकमासे अहकपक्षे अहकतिथौ असुकवासरे अहकनक्षत्रे हिन्दुधर्मे परावर्तिष्णुरहं शिष्टैरुपदिष्टं प्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् । सङ्कल्पोत्तरमाचार्य आसने प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणतः परा-

वर्तिष्णुमुपवेद्य आचमनं कारयित्वा स्वयं द्विराचम्य पवित्रपाणिः प्राणानामभ्य गणपतिं ध्यायेत् । 'ओं गणानां स्वा गणपति हवामहे कथि कवीनामुपमश्वस्तमम् । ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणं ब्रह्मणस्पत आ नः शृण्वन्तिभिः सीद सादनम् ॥' इति प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं महागणपतये नमो नमः । निर्विघ्नं कुरु' इति नमेत् । ततो देशकालौ संकीर्त्य 'इह पृथिव्यां... नक्षत्रं अथ परावर्तनेच्छाः परावर्तनविधिं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य पुण्याहवाचनं कुर्यात् । 'अथ परावर्तनेच्छाः परावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति प्रार्थयेत् । शिष्टाः 'ओं पुण्याहम्' इति ब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अथ परावर्तिष्णोः करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्याय कर्मणं स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टास्तु 'ओं स्वस्ति' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अथ परावर्तिष्णोः करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणं ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टाः 'ओं कर्म ऋपतत्' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । ततः शिष्टास्तत्कृत्य प्रणम्य च विस्मर्न्वत् । तत आचार्यो गोमयाग्नौ छन्दे स्थले छन्दसुदा चतुर्विंशत्पङ्क्त्याच समचतुरस्रं चतुरङ्गलोलम् स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा अभ्युदय तत्र, ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः प्रवेशकनामानमग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वाग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् । प्रोक्षितेन्धनानि निक्षिप्य धमन्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य 'अग्रे वैश्वानरं शाण्डिल्यगोत्रं मेघध्वजं मम संमुखो ब्रह्मो भव' इति प्रार्थयेत् । अग्निं परिससृष्ट परिसीर्य पर्युष्य प्रादेशमात्रं पञ्च-दशभिर्मम प्रादेशमात्रं बहिश्च संनद्याग्रेरुत्तरतो निदध्यात् । तत आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमौ प्रोक्ष्य तत्र बहिरास्तीर्य तत्राज्यरथालीमाज्यस्य पूर्णां निदधाति । दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दक्षीमग्निं निष्ट्य वामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्भाद्यैर्दर्भाजिलं संमार्ष्टि दर्भमूलैश्च दर्भमूलम् । पुनर्निष्ट्य प्रोक्ष्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो बहिषि निदधाति । संमार्गद्वर्भानग्रीं प्रहरेत् । इधमग्न्यनरञ्जं भूमौ निधाय तत्रेधमं संस्थाप्य दर्भाज्येन मूलमध्याग्रेष्वभिधाय दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा 'ओं, अयं न इधम आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनध्वसव वर्षस्व चेन्धि वर्षय चारामाग्रजया पशुभिर्ब्रह्मवर्च-सेनाकाद्येन समेधय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेणान्नापभ्याधाय 'जातवेदेऽग्नय इदं न मम' इति त्यजेत् । दर्भाज्यमादाय स्थण्डिलस्य वायव्यकोणमारभ्यअग्निकोणपर्यन्तमस्वपुण्ड्राधरायाऽग्रीं जुहोति । पुनर्दर्भाज्यमादाय नैऋतकोणमारभ्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं तथैव जुहोति । तृष्णीमेतावाचारहोमौ । पुनर्दर्भाज्येन 'ओं अग्नये स्वाहा' इत्यग्नानुत्तरभागे जुहोति । अग्नय इदं न ममेति त्यामः । पुनर्दर्भाज्येन 'ओं सोमाय स्वाहा' इत्यग्रीं दक्षिणभागे जुहोति । 'सोमायेदं न मम' इति त्यागः । अस्मिन्काले परावर्तिष्णुराचार्यस्य दक्षिणतः प्रहः कृताञ्जलि-स्तिष्ठन् आचार्यं प्रार्थयते । 'हिन्दुत्वमागाम्य' हिन्दुरासनि' इति । आचार्यः 'ओं तथास्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । तत आचार्यः अग्नौ कृताञ्जलीं तिष्ठति प्रविशति (अथवा कृताञ्जलिपु प्रविशिष्यु) दर्भाज्येन चतुर्भिर्नैऋतक्षतः प्रधानाहुतीजुहोति । 'ओं सुः स्वाहा । अग्नय इदं न मम । ओं सुवः स्वाहा । वायव इदं न मम । ओं स्वः स्वाहा । सूर्यायेदं न मम । ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा । प्रजापतय इदं न मम ।' अथासीनः प्रविशिष्युः अग्रीं समिधमाधाय प्रदीतायां तस्यां दर्भाज्येन पञ्च प्रधानाहुतीजुहोति । ओं उद्धवं तमसस्परी पश्यन्तो ज्योतिरुत्तरम् । द्रवं वेपथ्रा सूर्यमग्नम ज्योतिरुत्तरम् स्वाहा । सूर्याय ज्योतिष इदं न मम ॥ ओं उद्यजद्य मित्रमह आपोहन्तुत्तरं विषयम् । हवीर्गं मम सूर्य हरिमाणं च नाशय स्वाहा । सूर्यायेदं न मम । ओं असतो मा सद्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं सूर्योर्माऽसुतं गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम इति ।

अथाचार्यः प्रविशिष्युः स्वदक्षिणत उपवेद्य होमशेषं समापयेत् । ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा भूनामेशाकम् । अग्निष्टु स्विष्टकृद्विद्वान् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहृदं करातु मे ॥ अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहृदं हृते सर्वद्वान् आहुतीनां कामानां समर्पयित्रे स्वाहा इति स्विष्टकृतं जुहोति । 'अग्नये

स्विदकृत इदं न मम' इति स्थायः । इह्यमवधनरज्जुमग्नान्वाधाय सत्तावं जुहोति । 'ओं तिस्रेणो द्वेरेणः स्वाहा' इति । 'तिस्रेणो द्वेरेण इदं न मम' इति स्थायः ।

तत आचार्यः प्रविबुध्या (अथवा प्रविबुधभिः) सह कृताञ्जलिस्तित्थयति । 'ओं च मे स्वरञ्च मे वज्रोप च ते नमश्च । यत्ते स्मृतं तस्मै त उपयत्तेऽतिरिक्तं तस्मै ते नमः । अङ्गा मेघा पद्मः मङ्गा विद्या बुद्धिं त्रिवं बलम् । आशुषं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे हृन्वाहन ।' इति ।

ततो होमावशिष्टं योषृतं पात्रान्तरेण प्रविबुधये (अथवा प्रविबुधभ्यः प्रत्येकं) दद्यात् । प्रविबुधश्च 'ओं मित्राय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेण प्राश्नीयात् । ततः स्थण्डिलस्थां विभूतिमाध्यापः प्रविबुधश्च हलाले धारयेताम् ।

तत आचार्यस्तित्थन् इषां तीर्थोद्भवं पृथीत्वा 'ओम् । इत्यभिमन्त्र्य तेन आसीनप्रविबुधिरिति 'ओं आप उन्मृणु जीवसे वीर्यायुत्थाय वचसे' । 'ओं' इति मन्त्रायां सकृत् प्रोक्षेत् ।

ततः शिष्टैः प्रविबुधोन्मृण्वहारिकं किञ्चिच्चाम कार्यम् । ततः प्रविबुधस्तैः भयवद्विज्ञा-पुस्तकं इष्या साधारणधर्मः, वैशाखरसम्पत्तिः, अश्वत्थम् चोपदेष्टव्यम् । ततः प्रविबुधः कृताञ्जलिस्तित्थन् बवेत् । 'भवाद्भिरष्टपृथीतोऽहं धर्मे ममो निधाय प्रवर्तित्वे । 'ओं ओं ओं ।' ततो भयवन्तं सूर्यं इष्ट्वा नमस्कृत्य प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं सा मा सःपोक्तिः परिपाठु विभक्ता यावा च यत्र तत्तन्वाहनि च । विभक्त्यपि विभक्ते पक्षेजति विभवाहापो विभवाहोदेति सूर्यः ॥' इति ।

तत आचार्योऽग्रेः पश्चात् प्रविबुध्या (प्रविबुधभिः वा) सङ्कोपविद्य 'अनेन विधिना सर्वोद्धारकः श्रीहर्षनारायणः प्रीयताम्' इति कर्मसमाप्तिं मोक्षकं कृष्यात् । 'ओं तत्सत्' इत्युक्त्वा द्विराचामेत् । ततः सर्वेभ्यः प्रसादं दद्यात् तेषां विसर्जयेत् ।

This procedure is based on the हिन्दूकरणविधि prepared by the Dharmamirayamandala, Lonavia. The late Lala Lajpat Rai in his work on the Aryasamaj gives (on pp. 221-222) a much briefer rite adopted by that body,

N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above at pp 191-201.

Note 441. क. १०. १४. परेषिषांसं प्रवतो महीरतु बह्वयः पन्थामनुपस्पृशानम् । वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा हवस्य ॥ १ यमो नो वातुं प्रथमो त्रिवेदं नवा गन्धुनिरप-भवेत्ता उ । यथा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेपुरेना जज्ञानाः पदया ॥ अनु स्वाः ॥ २ मातली कार्येयमो अङ्गिरोभिर्हृत्स्पतिं क्रकभिर्वाह्वानः । यांश्च देवा वाह्वयं च देवास्त्वाहाभ्ये रवधवाग्ये मदन्ति ॥ ३ इमं यम प्रवतमा हि सीदाङ्गिरोभिः पितृभिः संपिदानः । आ स्वा मन्त्राः कविज्ञास्ता बहम्बेना राजन् हविषा माहवस्य ॥ ४ अङ्गिरोभिरा गहि यज्ञियेभियमं ईक्षीरिह माहवस्य । विवस्वन्तं हवे यः पिता तस्मिन् यज्ञे बहिषया निषद्य ॥ ५ अङ्गिरसां नः पितरो नवम्ना अघर्षाणो भुवः सांस्पासः । तेषां वयं ह्यमती यज्ञिषानामपि यज्ञे सोममसे रयाम ॥ ६ मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्वैर्भियञ्चा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुः । उभा राजाना स्वधवा मदन्ता यमं पदयासि वदन् च देवम् ॥ ७ सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेतहापूतेन परमे रयोमन् । हिन्वावाघर्ष पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः ॥ ८ अपेत वीत हि सं सर्पतातोऽस्मा एतं पितरौ लोकमक्रन् । अहंभिरद्विरकभिर्पक्तं यमो ब्रह्मायवसानमरमं ॥ ९ अति ब्रुव सारमेयो श्वानी चतुरक्षी श्वली साधुना पया । अथा पिपृच्छविद्वज्रां उपेहि यमेन ये सधमाहं मदन्ति ॥ १० यं ते श्वानी यम रक्षितारो चतुरक्षी पथिरक्षी सुबह्वली । ताग्यामेनं परि देहि राजस्त्वस्ति कारमा अनमीवं च धेहि ॥ ११ उरुणसापहृत्पुता उरुम्बली यमस्य इतो वरतो जगो भद्र । तावस्मभ्यं दशये ह्यर्पाय पुनर्वातामहममेह भद्रम् ॥ १२ यमाय सोमं ह्यनु यमाय उरुता हविः यमं ह यज्ञो नच्छर्याग्निवृत्तो अरंकृतः ॥ १३ यमाय धृतवज्रविजुहोत म च तिष्ठत । स नो द्वेरेवा यमवदीर्यमायुः प्रजीवसे ॥ १४ यमाय मधुमक्षमं राज्ञं हव्यं जुहोतन । इदं नम कविभ्यः पूर्वैरेण्यः पूर्वैरेण्यः पथिक्कमचः ॥ १५ त्रिककुकेभिः पतति वदुर्वीरकमिदृहत् । त्रिपुष्पायत्री छदांसि सर्वा ता यम आहिता ॥ १६

अथैव १०. १५. उदीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मथ्यमाः पितरः सोम्यासः । अहं य ईपुरवृका
 शतज्ञासो मोऽवन्तु पितरो हवेयु ॥ १ इहं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्वद्य ये पूर्वासो य उपरास ईडुः ।
 ये पाथिवे रजस्या निष्पासो ये वा नूनं सुवृजनास्तु विष्टु ॥ २ आहं पितृभ्योऽभिज्ञौ अभित्सि नपातं
 च विष्कर्मणं च विष्मोः । बहिर्वदो ये स्वधया सुतरस भजन्त पितस्त इहावमिष्टाः ॥ ३ बहिर्वदः
 पितर ऊत्थ पूर्वाविमा यो हव्या चकुमा जुषस्वम् । त आ गतावसा संतमेनाथा नः शं योररपो
 दधात ॥ ४ उपहृताः पितरः सोम्यासो बहिर्वेयु निधिषु मियेषु । त आ गमन्तु त इह खवन्वाधि
 भुवन्तु तेऽवस्वस्मान् ॥ ५ अस्या जालु दक्षिणतो निषद्येयं यज्ञमभियुगीत विश्वे । मा हिंसिह
 पितरः केनचित्को यद्वा आगः पुरुषता कराम ॥ ६ आसीनासो अरुणीनामुपस्थे रथि घत दाक्षुषे
 मर्याय । पुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्य वरवः य यच्छत त इहोर्जं दधात ॥ ७ ये नः पूर्वं पितरः सोम्यासोऽ-
 नृहिरे सोमपीथं वसिष्ठाः । तेभिर्धमः संराणो हवींश्पुशङ्गशद्भिः शतिकांममन्त ॥ ८ ये तातुषुर्ब-
 वत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविदुः स्तोमताडसो अर्कः । आग्ने याहि सुविद्वदेभिरवोक् सार्यैः कथ्यैः
 पितृभिर्धर्मसद्भिः ॥ ९ ये सत्पासो हविरदो हविषा इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं दधानाः । आग्ने याहि
 सहस्रं देववन्दैः परैः पूर्वीः पितृभिर्धर्मसद्भिः ॥ १० अग्निश्वात्ताः पितर एह गच्छत सदःसदः सदत
 सुयणीतयः । अथा हवींषि प्रयतानि बहिर्वयथा रथि सर्व वीरं दधातन ॥ ११ त्वमग्ने ईदितो
 जातवेदोऽनाह्वयानि सुरभीणि कृत्वा । प्राद्याः पितृभ्यः स्वधया तेऽनाह्वद्वि त्वं देव प्रयता
 हवींषि ॥ १२ ये चेह पितरो ये च नेह योश्च विश यौ उ च न प्रविश । त्वं वेद्य यति ते
 जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्यज्ञं सुकृतं जुषस्व ॥ १३ ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये दिवः स्वधया
 मादयन्ते । तेभिः स्वराजसुमीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्मं कल्पयस्व ॥ १४

अ. १०. १५. मैनमग्ने नि दहो मामि शोचो मारय त्वच्चं चिक्षिपो मा शरीरम् । यदा जूतं
 कृष्णो जातवेदोऽधेमेनं प्रहिणुनात्पितृभ्यः ॥ १ जूतं यदा करासि जातवेदोऽधेमेनं परि दत्तात्पितृभ्यः ।
 यदा गच्छात्पुसुनीतिमेतामथा देवानां वज्ञानोर्भवाति ॥ २ स्यं चक्षुर्मच्छतु वातमात्मा घां च गच्छ
 पृथिनीं च धर्मणा । अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥ ३ अजो भामस्त-
 पसा तं तपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपतु तं ते आर्चिः । यास्ते शिवास्तम्यो जातवेदस्ताभिर्हेनं सुकृतास्तु
 लोकम् ॥ ४ अव सृज पुनरग्ने पितृभ्यो यस्त आहुतश्चरति स्वधाभिः । आयुर्वसान उप वेतु शेषः
 सं गच्छतां तस्या जातवेदः ॥ ५ यस्ते कृष्णः झकुन आतुतोद पिपीलः सर्प उत वा स्वापदः ।
 अग्निष्टाहिश्वादगं कृणोत सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणौ आविवेश ॥ ६ अग्नेर्वमं परि गोभिर्धर्मयस्व सं मोर्युष्य
 पीपसा मेदसा च । नेत्सा धृष्णुर्हरसा जह्वानो तृधृग्विधस्वन् पर्यङ्कयाते ॥ ७ इममग्ने चमसं मा
 वि जिह्वरः पिपो देवानामुत सोम्यानाम् । एष यश्चमसो देवपानस्तस्मिन् देवा अमृता मादयन्ते ॥ ८
 कथावमग्निं प्र हिणोमि दूरं यमराज्ञो गच्छतु रिमवाहः । इहैवायमितरो जातवेदा वेधेभ्यो हर्यं
 बहतु प्रजानन् ॥ ९ यो अग्निः कथात्यविवेश यो गृहनिमं पश्यन्तिरं जातवेदसम् । तं हरामि
 पितृयज्ञाय देवं स धर्ममिन्तारारमे सधस्थे ॥ १० यो अग्निः कथ्यवाहनः पितृभ्यः सद्दत्तादुधः ।
 प्रेक्षु हस्यानि वोचति देवेभ्यश्च पितृभ्य आ ॥ ११ उशन्तस्त्वा नि धीमह्युजान्तः समिधीमहि ।
 उशङ्कता आ वह पितृहविषे अस्तरे ॥ १२ यं त्वमग्ने समदहस्तसु निर्वापया पुनः । कियाम्बवत्र
 रोहतु पाकहृवां ध्यत्कज्ञा ॥ १३ शीतिके शीतिकावति ह्लाविके ह्लादिकावति । मण्डूकया ॥
 सु सं गम इमं स्वर्गं हि हर्यय ॥ १४

अ. १०. १७. त्वष्टा दुहित्रे बहदु कुणोतीतीर्षं विश्वं भुवनं समेति । यमस्य माता पर्युषा-
 माना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥ १ अपायुह्वसुतां मर्येभ्यः कृत्वी सवर्णामवपुर्विषस्वते ।
 उताश्विनावभरथतदासीद्वज्राहु इमिथुना सरण्युः ॥ २ पूषा त्वेत्प्रथायवतु य विद्वाननह-
 पक्षुर्भुवनस्य गोपाः । स त्वेतेभ्यः परि दत्तात्पितृभ्योऽग्निर्वेधेभ्यः सुविद्वन्निरेभ्यः ॥ ३ आयुर्विश्वायुः
 परि पासति त्वा पूषा त्वा पातु प्रपथे पुरस्तात् । यत्रासते सुकृतो यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता
 दधातु ॥ ४ पूषेमा आशा अन्य वेद सर्वाः सो अस्मौ अभयतमेन नेषत् । स्वस्तिदा आपृणिः सर्व-
 वीरोऽप्रयुच्छन्पुष्ट पतु प्रजानन् ॥ ५ प्रपथे यधामजानिह पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः । उमे अभि
 म्रियतमे सधस्थे आ च परा च चरति यजानन् ॥ ६ सरस्वतीं देवयन्तो हवन्ते सरस्वतीमभ्यरे
 तायमाने । सरस्वतीं सुकृतो अद्वयन्त सरस्वतीं दाक्षुषे वार्यं वात् ॥ ७ सरस्वति या सरथं यथाथ
 स्वधाभिर्देवि पितृभिर्धमन्ती । आसथास्मिन् बहिर्वि मादयस्वानमीषा इष आ धेह्यस्मे ॥ ८
 सरस्वती या पितरो हवन्ते दक्षिणा यज्ञसभिनसामाणाः । सहस्रापमिष्टो अत्र भागं रायस्पोषं

यजमानेषु धृतिः ॥ ५ ॥ अपां अस्मान्मातरः शुन्ध्यन्तु घृतेन नो घृतपवः पुनन्तु । विश्वं हि रिपं प्रवहन्ति देवीरुद्विदाम्यः शुचिरा घृतं एमि ॥ १० ॥ द्रष्टव्यश्चरकन्दः प्रथमोऽनु छनिमं च योनिमनु यश्च पुनः । समानं योनिमनु संचरन्तं द्रष्टं जुहोम्यनु सप्त होत्राः ॥ ११ ॥ यस्ते द्रष्टः स्कन्धति यस्तं अक्षुबाहुस्थितो पिषगाया उपस्थान् । अध्वर्यावां परि वा यः पवित्रासं ते जुहोमि मनसा वषट्कृतम् ॥ १२ ॥ यस्ते द्रष्टः स्कन्धो यस्ते अंशुरवश्यं यः परः शुचा । अयं देवो बृहस्पतिः मं तं सिं धतुं राधते ॥ १३ ॥ पयस्तीरोषधयः पयस्स्वामामकं वचः । अपां पयस्वदितपयस्तेन मा सह शुन्ध्यत ॥ १४ ॥

रु. १. १. १० परं भूयोऽनु परेति एण्यां घृतेन स इतरो देवयानात् । चक्षुषमते शृण्वते ते अग्निमि ना नः प्रजां रीरिषां मोनं वरिण ॥ १ ॥ सुन्ध्योः पदं योपयन्तो यद्वैत द्वायीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः । आप्यायमानाः प्रजया धनेन शुद्धाः पूता भवत यज्ञियासः ॥ २ ॥ इमे जीवा वि भूतैरा- ननु वक्ष्यन्तु द्वा देवहृतिर्नो अयं । मा ध्या अगाम द्युतये हसाय द्वायीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः ॥ ३ ॥ इतं जीवेभ्यः पारिधि दधानि मेधां नु गादपरो अर्धमेतम् । इतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरुक्षीरन्तर्मुं दधानां परंतेन ॥ ४ ॥ एषाहास्तिपुं भगवन्ति यद्य कृतवः कर्तुमिच्छन्ति साधु । यथा न पूर्वमपरा जहायेवा धातराद्युचि कृतपरिदाम् ॥ ५ ॥ आ रोहतायुजैरसं वृणाना अनुपूर्वं यतमाना यति उ । इह गृहा सुजनिमा सजोया दीर्घमायुः करानि जीवसे वः ॥ ६ ॥ दृमा नारीरामेधवाः सुपत्नीराश्रनेन मणिषा मं विशन्तु । अनश्वराजमीयाः सुरन्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमये ॥ ७ ॥ उर्दीर्घं नायमि जीवलोके गतासुमेतमुप ज्ञेय एहि । हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषास्तवेदं एष्वर्जनिश्वममि मं प्रमुष्य ॥ ८ ॥ धनुर्मेनादादधानां मृतस्याग्ने अश्वाय वचसं बलाय । अश्वेव त्वमिह यथा सुशिरा विभ्राः शूषोऽभिमानाजयेम ॥ ९ ॥ उप सर्प मातरं भूमिमेनामुकपचमं पृथिवीं सुशोभाम् । ऊर्ण- भदा पुनर्निर्दक्षिणायन एषा त्वा पातु निरुत्तरवस्थान् ॥ १० ॥ उरुश्वस्य पृथिवि मा नि बाधधाः सुपायनास्मि भव सुप्रवक्षन् । माता पुत्रं यथा मिच्छाभ्येतं भूम उर्णहि ॥ ११ ॥ उरुश्वमाना पृथिवीं सु निउतु मरुतं मित्र उष मि अयस्ताम । ते गृहामो वृत्तश्चान् भवन्तु विश्वाहारमं शरणाः मनवश्च ॥ १२ ॥ उते इतन्नामि पृथिवीं स्वर्गमीमं लोकं निदधन्मो अहं रिषम् । एतां शूषणा पितरो धारयन्तु तेष्वा यमः मादना न निनेतु ॥ १३ ॥ प्रतीचीनं मामहनीशः पर्याभिरा इधुः । प्रतीचीं जग्रथा वाचमश्वे रजानया यथा ॥ १४ ॥

Note 693a नास्तीचदशकाः न विज्ञानाश्च

नामार्गमिदमवय विद्विष्ये मासत्रयेदना यथा
नामार्गं विष्य मयि कथाधिधरतः स्थानं पितां सर्वदा ।
जातीनां पतनादि ज्ञानमरणं मित्रिदशानं मदा
गामनं भाक्क नदुपति मृतकृत्यादं नास्तीदशानं परम ॥ १ ॥

जातीनां दशनां पुराणं जनविधे मासात्रयेदशकात्
चोत्तानां दशदशानां पुराणं जनविधे मासात्रयेदशकात्
प्राग्मे चेतनं वनादशदिनं जन्मन्यपिधं मदा
नामं पुराणं तु मातुपरवतदशकात्पिधम ॥ २ ॥

अथवाप्राग्मेपुत्रादश दिनं दाने इतं चोभायो-
जांयकमुत्सम्भने पितृकुलदशकात् मनुमेव ।
वतस्त्राय मृतासु वा पितृकुलं मरणं विनात्रे दिने
नपदस्य पराश्रयास्त्रयि तथा भवोश्च तत्पक्षपाः ॥ ३ ॥

दानाद्याहितवद्विकेषु मरणाग्र्येषु तेषां पुनः—
मंस्कारं द्यतमाहितान्निविषये तस्मिन्दशानं चयम् ।
प्रियादं विदिनेनरा दशदिनेतानि द्यतं व्याप्रयोऽ-
न्यदं द्याद्विदिकालेन न जनने नैवानुपनायये ॥ ४ ॥

छात्रिः पूर्वसमातिः सहस्रयोर्योगेतिर्द्व्युतिकां
 द्विविधं सुतज्जन्मनोर्हृतवशाद्वर्षरूपयोर्दीर्घतः ।
 अल्पाव्ययद्विधाधिकाव्ययद्विधा गच्छेद्वशाद्वागमः
 पूर्वस्याल्पयदिने यदि द्विविधस्याव्ययद्वयेत्यभाते इयहात् ॥ ५

उत्पत्ते त्रिविधं सुतेऽनुपमयादूर्ध्वं समानोदके
 पुत्रे चैवमनोरसेऽप्यपिपुत्रे ग्रेते तथा सोदरे ।
 मातृभ्रातृपितृस्वसृश्चक्षुरतत्पत्न्यभिगाचार्यतद—
 भार्यातत्सुतयाज्यशिश्वपृथुहसंभातेषु वा ज्ञातेषु ॥ ६

पित्रोस्तासहजेषु तत्सुतपतिष्वभ्योग्यतः पक्षिणी
 स्यादेकाध्ययनेपि सा शुद्धसुहृजपस्वसुर्यस्वहः ।
 स्पृष्ट्वारिष्टं त्रिविधं दिनं तु विरसेऽनुध्या प्रवाचामकी
 शिष्ट भोक्तुरपेक्षशुद्धयधिकं मोहाद्विनं चापदि ॥ ७

संयः स्यात्कृपावदासभिषर्जा कृतेष्वमारयस्य वा
 कष्टापत्सु च पूर्वमभ्युतमखोद्वाहोत्सवादिष्वपि ।
 कुच्छादिष्वपृथक्कामेषु वसतां येते यतो निन्दिते
 गोमायादिभिरिच्छतां च मरणे तत्रापि बंध इयहम् ॥ ८

निर्हारे सुतवन्मुताकरहिते श्रीण्यप्यवाने दिनं
 सत्योतिस्तु बहिर्भूतो द्विगुणितं धर्मं सचैलाङ्गः ।
 रादे स्नानमनरिथ वाचमनकं हीनेषु रात्र्याङ्गौ
 शूत्रे तु त्रिविधं निशाप्यनुयतो बहुभ्यादियुक्तं च तत् ॥ ९

क्षत्रे द्वादश विंशतिविंशि निशाः त्रिंशच्च शूत्रे क्रमाद्—
 विंशद्द्विंशच्चतुर्गुणा ययसि सन्दृष्टे तु पञ्चाक्षरे ।
 प्रसास्त्रीसुलाशिव्यदासभृतका भवदिवह बान्धवे
 हीने स्वं लघु वा तदीयमधिकं शूत्रेः समाः सङ्कराः ॥ १०

The text of the आशीचदशक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879-80 copied in *samvat* 1539 (1482 A. D.), No. 196 of 1884-1887 copied in *samvat* 1578 (1521 A. D.) and No. 85 of 1895-1902 copied in *samvat* 1780. All these mss. contain the *bhāṣya* of Haribara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर. In the first ms. the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p. 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.

GENERAL INDEX

OF

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- Food**, cooked in marriages, festivals in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice may be served through others, if an āśauca on birth or death intervenes 291; exceptions to prohibition about food 100; gift of cooked f. highly eulogised 534n; offered as sacrifice to gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmaṇa who has studied the veda and what is presented to most worthy brāhmaṇas brings greatest reward 386; one requiring inner purity should avoid forbidden f. or vomit it if he takes it through ignorance and take same prāyaścitta 100; purification of polluted cooked f. 328-329; rules about f. in expiations 124; rules about, for relatives after the performance of funeral rites for three days and twelve days 238-239; seen by dogs, cāṇḍālas, those guilty of mahāpātakas and a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy becomes unclean 379-380; unclean food even may be taken in case of distress or danger to life 100; wealthy men should not throw away polluted f. if it is more than a

- drogs in quantity and poor men should not throw away more than an *āḍhaka* 330
- Force, enjoyment or gift of property or a transaction brought about by, is void 118
- Forest, a large f. is invoked as a deity in *Rgveda* 561; seven holy forests of *Kurukṣetra* 561
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- Fraud, consequences of, are the same as those of force in cases of gifts and other transactions 118
- Fravashis of Parsi scriptures, see under *pitrs* 341n
- Funeral monuments; erection of a *laṣṭi* (a staff) in the *Andhau Inscription* of the time of *Rudradāman* (2nd century A. D.) 255; planting of a *puṣkaraka* tree on the site of cremation or building of an *adūka* 255
- Funeral rites, see under 'Agnihotrin', 'cremation', 'child', 'deceased', 'mantras', 'sati', 'water'; animal in, may be killed or donated or let off acc. to *Āśvalāyana-grhya* 209n; are same for all whose *upanayana* has been performed except that *ābitāgni* is cremated with the three Vedic fires, except that one who has *smārta* fire only is cremated with that fire and one who has neither of these with ordinary fire 210; couch on which corpse was carried was to be of *udumbara* wood 204, 206n; description of death and funeral rites of *Gautama Buddha* 234-235; differ in each Vedic *Śākhā*, though certain matters are common to all 190; earthenware vessel filled with water continuously and cooked rice at mid-day to be offered for the deceased's benefit 219; ethereal body was supposed to be built up by the *piṇḍas* offered to the deceased for ten days after death 221; for an *ābitāgni* in general 204-208; for one who had undergone consecration for a *soma* sacrifice or *satiṣa*, acc. to *śrauta sūtras* 202-204; for ten days after death, a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to deceased on the stone called *asmā* placed on *kūṣas* and one large *piṇḍa* also on *kūṣas* every day 262; for *Yati* 229-231; funeral pyre is to be made of the wood of sacrificial trees 211; great importance attached to the incident of a crow seizing or eating the *piṇḍa* offered on the 10th day after death 264; king to arrange for funeral rites of the deceased in the absence of all relatives 256-257; lamp fed with sesame oil to be kept burning for ten days after death 219; milk and water to be placed in space for ten nights after death for reducing torments of thirst to the spirit of the deceased 340; no funeral rites for those who start in anger on the Great Journey (to the *Himālayas*) or who commit suicide in one of various ways 222-223; order of persons who are *adhikārin* for performing f. r. is generally the same as the *adhikārin*s for *śrāddha*, but varies in different works 256-260; person who begins the funeral rites on the first day has to carry them on till the 10th day even if a nearer relative becomes available after the former has begun 221; *piṇḍas* to be offered to deceased on day of cremation and for ten days more in addition by the son or nearest *sapiṇḍa* 219-221; procedure of, according to *Āśv. gr.* 208-210; procedure of, became more elaborate in medieval and later times 190; procedure of offering water to deceased after cremation 218-219; procedure of what to do after returning to the house on cremation 237; procedure for ten days after death 262; procedure on 10th day after death 263-264; procession of relatives returning after

cremation arranged according to age, the elder coming first 199n; relatives after performing f. r. should touch *dūrvā* tendrils, fire and bull and should offer a *piṇḍa* to the departed 237; relatives should, for one day after rites on death, purchase or obtain food from another (house) of one kind only and without salt 238; rules of conduct to be observed by relatives (male and female) after they return from cremation and for three days after 238-239; slaves and attendants were buried with the corpses of the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain but no such practice mentioned even in early Vedic literature 256; some persons, such as the impotent, thieves of gold, women that kill their foetus or husbands, or drink *surā* were forbidden to offer water to deceased relations 222; some works allow a man to perform his own *antyeṣṭi*, while living 261; the mantra '*asmā-tvam*' is not to be repeated in f. r. when deceased had not kept *śrauta* fires 210-211; toes and thumbs of the corpse were tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment in, 204; throwing of *asmā* into water after anointing it with oil 264; urn containing bones was supported by wooden post 201n; varied acc. to the *śrauta* or *gṛhya* sūtra, or acc. as the deceased was an *āhitāgni* or not, or acc. as the deceased was a woman or child or an ascetic or died in a distant land or by accident or committed suicide 190; verses of Rgveda X. 14-18 were employed by most of the sūtras, are used even now in cremation rites and occur in other Vedic *sambhitās* 191; views differ as to the stoppage of certain actions for ten or twelve days after death by relatives 239-240; what fire cannot be used in f. r. 210; what the relatives and those who carried

the corpse though no relatives were to do on day of cremation and one day thereafter 238; what is stopped for ten days after death is performance of *kāmya* rites, giving and accepting gifts, *homa* and vedic study, but *nitya* and *naimittika* acts to be performed in vedic and *smārta* fires are to be performed through another 239; women could, in default of son or male *sapīṇḍas* of the deceased, perform f. r. of their husbands or father, father-in-law, brother but without vedic mantras, acc. to some 256-257, 259; words of condolence and comfort were to be addressed to the relatives of the deceased according to several works, after they have offered water, expatiating on the grip of *Kāla* on everything, on the certainty of death for every one born, on *dharma* alone following the soul in its wanderings and on the futility of mere lamentations 236-37

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waned, all the tract from Pretaśīlā to Mahābodhi tree 650; conduct of modern Gayā brāhmaṇas 405; description of rites performed for seven days after entering Gayā 662-668; Dhāmins are a special but lower class of priests at 668; Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarayas, says Rāmāyaṇa 653n; enumeration of the principal holy rivers, peaks and hills, bathing places, sacred sites and trees in G. 660-664; expenses on Gayāśrāddha to be on a profuse scale 404-405; full pilgrimage at Gayā lasts for seven days 662; Gadāloḥa, why so called, 665n; Gadāloḥa, śrāddha at 676; Gaya is not a demon in R̥gveda 59n; G. named after king Gaya who is mentioned in even Buddhist and Jaina works 646; Gayā-kṣetra has an extent of five krośas and Gayāśīras of one krośa 655, 677; Gayāśīras is the centre of Gayā, the most holy spot and smaller than Gayā 665n, 677; Gayāśīras and Gayā were well-known places in Buddha's days 668, 677; Gayāyātrā described in Vāyu 110, 661-662; Gayāls or Gayāwals are priests who make profit from Gayā pilgrimage their business 580; great divergence of views as to the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā 668-669; if one out of many sons goes to G. and performs śrāddha, the pitṛs secure *muktī* 539; great divergence of views among modern scholars about the antiquity of the Gayāmāhātmya 644; hill called Mūṇḍapṛṣṭha 658; if pilgrim unable to perform all details of Gayāśrāddha at Phalgu, Pretaśīlā and other spots he may offer only piṇḍas 671, 673; in whose soever name a piṇḍa is offered at Gayā that person if in hell goes to heaven and if in heaven secures release from *samsāra* 665, 670; is spoken of as

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a piṇḍa to oneself while living 670; procedure of śrāddha, acc. to Vāyupurāṇa 653-656; procedure of Gayā śrāddha acc. to Raghunandana 671-677; Rāmātīrtha (i. e. Prabhāsabrada), bath, śrāddha and piṇḍas at, free pitṛs of pilgrim from condition of being *preta* 674; references to Gayā from Rgveda downwards 645-647; rites from the first to the seventh day of entering Gayā described 672-676; river Vaitaraṇi in G. 656; rules of conduct to be observed while one is in Gayā 655-656; Samārohana, meaning of, in Aurnavābha's explanation of the three padas of Viṣṇu 647; saṅkalpa acc. to Raghunandana, before a bath in Phalgu 671n; seven gotras to whom śrāddha may be offered at G. 662; six Gayās that confer *mukṭi* by worship and piṇḍadāna at them, enumerated 667; size of piṇḍas to be offered at Gayā-śrāddha 662; Śoḍaśīkarma at G. described 672-673; special characteristics of śrāddhas at G. 669-670; śrāddha may be performed at G. at all times, even in an intercalary month, even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible 370, 655; śrāddha at G. is made without arghya and āvāhana 661; śrāddha at Pretaśilā is the first and that at Akṣayaṇa is the last and the rest of the śrāddhas should be performed in the order set out in Vāyupurāṇa or, if one does not know it, in any order 666; story of Gayāsura 656-657; story of the mace manufactured from the bones of an asura called Gada 660; story of Śilā, that was placed on the head of Gayāsura 657-658; story of Viśālā, a sonless king and of a person who offered one-sixth of his property to a trader and who was saved from remaining *preta* 666; *tarpaṇa* of ancestors at G. 671n; tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddha at Gayā 571; the

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Gayāls or Gayāwals are notorious for their indolence, ignorance and are a dying race 644; function of, at Akṣaya-vaṭa in Gayā 580, 668; have become a guild or close corporation and resent the intrusion of a stranger 580; have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of pilgrims who are asked to sign themselves and recommend to their descendants to honour them when the descendants might come to Gayā 581; Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa limited the injunction about honouring Gayāwals alone to śrāddha at Akṣaya-vaṭa 670; pilgrims to Gayā must honour Gayāls alone and not other brāhmaṇas however learned they may be 670; profess the Vaiṣṇava faith established by Madhva 644; referred to in a copperplate grant of

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Dhūtāpā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet there 636; Pañcakrośī pilgrimage by road is held the most meritorious of all and is described in detail 637; Pañcatīrthī (five essential tīrthas) named and described 633-634; present temple of Viśvanātha was built by Abalyabai Holkar 633; questions about Banaras asked in the Skandapurāṇa 624; residents of K. must repair to the river every day, take a bath in Mañikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara 640; rules of conduct (particularly moral) for those who dwell in K. 638-639; results of sins committed outside K. but sinner dying in K. and of sins committed in K. by one who dies outside K. 640-41; several images of Keśava existed at K. 636n; śrāddha should be performed at K. 639; stotra of Durgā called Vajrapañjara 638; sub-tīrthas at K. are numerous 638; temple of Bhairavanātha, supposed to be *koṭwal* of K., who wields a thick stone cudgel 638; temple of Durgā at K. very popular and much frequented 638; temple of Śākya-Vināyaka 637; temple of Tārakeśvara near Mañikarnikā 635; temple of Viśvanātha re-established by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa about 1585 A. D. was desecrated by Aurangzeb 631-32; there are about 1500 temples in K. built during the last 225 years, 632; there is in Kāśī a holy place at every step and there is not even as much space as a sesame grain which has not a *linga* 631; there were one hundred temples in K. in Hiouen Tshang's time and in one of them there was a copper image of Mahādeva about 100 feet high 631; though cremation of corpses is continually going on, yet Banaras, owing to the Ganges, is held purest 626; though Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta are generally

used as synonyms, sometimes a distinction is made in their extent 627-629; traditions of great learning associated with K. as vouched for by Kāśikhāṇḍa, Alberuni and Ain-i-Akbari 641-642; Vācaspaṭi held that Avimukteśvara-linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but the Skandapurāṇa treats them as distinct 633; Vana-parva states that by visiting Avimukta and by a bath there pilgrim becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder and by dying there secures mokṣa 629; Vārāṇasī was burnt by Nikumbha, a gaṇa of Śiva and was re-established by Divodāsa 620; Viṣṇu is said by Kāśikhāṇḍa to have assigned a place called Dharmakṣetra to the north of Kāśī and stayed there in the form of Buddha 641; Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal temple in it and every resident is required every day to take a bath in the Gaṅgā and visit Viśveśvara 602; was burnt by Kṛṣṇa with his *cakra* in pursuit of a *kṛtyā* 622; was the capital of Brahmadatta kings according to the Jātakas and Purāṇas 621; was the capital of the Kāśīs 619; was the name of a country long before the Śat. Br. was composed 619; yātras of great lingas should be celebrated every month from the first *tīthi* onwards 640

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year after Sapiṇḍana 548; enumeration of 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year 382-383; even in modern times learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to dine at a ś., particularly within a few years of death 387, 548; examination of the explanation of the doctrine of ś. offered by Purāṇas and medieval digests 338-339; exclusiveness and pride of sub-castes even among brāhmaṇas go so far that Bālabhaṭṭi recommends that Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas should not invite for ś. brāhmaṇas of other castes even if very learned and particularly Kōṅkanas and that men of one's own sub-caste should be preferred even if they are of blemished character 398; explanation how *masīśrāddha* came to be called the *prakṛti* (the norm) of all śrāddhas 258; explanation given by Purāṇas and digests how food offered into fire or eaten by brāhmaṇa invitees at ś. is enjoyed by the departed whatever form they might have attained after death (such as a god or *daitya*, beast, or snake or grass) 335-337; five classes of, acc. to Bṛhaspati and others 381; flowers allowed and condemned for employment in ś. 416; food offered in ś. is believed to be enjoyed by departed spirits in the world of *pitṛa* 340; frugal or poor dinner not to be offered in certain śrāddhas and on certain occasions 406; gift of bedstead used by the deceased to a brāhmaṇa and his wife with appropriate mantra and other details recommended by some purāṇas but severely condemned by the Padmapurāṇa 535-536; gifts of wealth, lands and houses on death of kings and great warriors and eulogies of such gifts and particularly of cooked food 534; guests coming by chance, while ś. rites are in progress, should be honoured, since *yogins* wander over

the earth for the good of people in various forms 396; if a brāhmaṇa, who is *pañktipāvana* and fulfills the conditions laid down in Manu III. 132-146 be not available, one may invite as the next best course even a bandhu, father-in-law, son-in-law, one's teacher of the Veda or pupil, daughter's son, wife's brother, a *sagotra* or even a brother 387; if a performer can afford to invite at ś. only one brāhmaṇa, then he should prefer a chanter of the whole of Sāmaveda 399; if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except Sapiṇḍikarāṇa) according to detailed procedure, they may be performed by the procedure called 'sāṅkalpavidhi' 532; if no brāhmaṇa be available on śrāddha day, effigies with *darbhās* should be made, śrāddha offered and fees and materials may be given later to other brāhmaṇas 406, 514; if primary procedure for a rite as laid down in śruti or smṛti cannot be carried out, then one may resort to some substituted procedure 513-514; in eclipses the appropriate time for ś. is *sparsakāla* 372; inquiry into the learning and qualities of brāhmaṇas to be invited at ś. was allowed but not as to those who came by chance uninvited 391; in ś. on the birth of a son or in ś. offered by even a good śūdra there is no feeding of brāhmaṇas 482; institution of, had a hoary antiquity even at the time of the Āp. Dharmasūtra 349; inviting Bauddhas, Nirgranthas or those who espouse the Pāncarātra or Pāsupata or Kāpālika doctrines forbidden 395; *kāmya* ś., examples of, 373; kuśas to be used in ś., rules about 417-418; leavings of food in the plates of the invited brāhmaṇas and the *vikīra* on darbhās were the share or lot of persons of the family dying young and the leavings fallen on the ground were the lot of deces-

ed slaves of the family 470n, 500; leavings of food in the plates of brāhmanas should not be removed or swept away till sunset, as the spirits of those that were offered no water regale themselves with them 468; leavings of food cooked for śrāddha dinner should not be given to a person inferior in qualities or to a śūdra 468; literature on ś, is enormous in extent 362-363; long lists of persons not to be allowed near a ś. 380; Mahālayaśrāddha 530-533; main underlying conception of śrāddha viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's relatives, is admirable 550; *mantra* to be repeated at the beginning and end of all śrāddhas 458; *mantras* at āvāhana in ś. 460; *mantras* repeated in ś, are deemed to carry food to the pīṭṛs that are invoked by their names and *gotras* and as accompanied by Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 338; many works disapprove of extravagance in inviting a large number of brāhmanas at ś, since a large company affects five *desiderata*, viz. respectful treatment of brāhmanas, securing a proper place, proper time, purity and meritorious brāhmanas 403-404, 550; *māsa* preparations highly recommended in ś. 421-422; may be performed on any day, if particularly appropriate materials or holy brāhmanas are available or the performer is near a sacred place 370; meant originally a sacrifice for the pīṭṛs on *amāvāsyā* 369; method of giving invitations to brāhmanas for a ś. 406-409; milk, which was allowed and which was condemned for use in ś. 315; mokṣa results from performance of ś. 350; monthly ś, on *amāvāsyā* was the *prakṛti* (norm or model) of which Aṣṭakā and other śrāddhas were modifications 361-362; *natimittika* ś. 373, 381; non-Aryans (called *dasyus* in the Mahābhārata)

like Yavanas, Mlecchas, Kīrātās, Śakas, Cīnas may perform śrāddhas 364; no legal machinery exists to enforce the liability to perform śrāddha of the deceased whose wealth was inherited by an heir 510; no pīṇadāna on certain śrāddhas, such as āmaśrāddha and on *yugādi* days 481; no scrutiny should be made about a brāhmana of whom nothing is known, since *siddhas* roam on the earth as brāhmanas 389; no ś, to be offered to father or mother if he or she became a mleccha (by forcible or voluntary conversion) and the pīṇa to be offered to him or her should be offered to Viṣṇu 483; no ś, for deceased ascetics except pārvana on the 11th day after death and every year afterwards 519; not to be performed on 14th of the dark half of a month for anyone except for those killed by poison or snakes or beasts or in battle or by brāhmana's wrath 370n; number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend on the means of the inviter, but on whether he could honour them all well 403; number of brāhmanas to be invited differed acc. to the views of different authors and works 402-404; observances for inviter and invitee 410-412; offerings at ś, acc. to some Purāṇas, become transformed into that kind of food that the pīṭṛs require in the new bodies they might have assumed acc. to doctrine of *karma* and offerings due to wealth acquired by unjust means gratify pīṭṛs that are born as cāṇḍālas 352; on *amāvāsyā* is *nitya* (obligatory) 426n; on 11th day after death, two views about 519; on thirteenth day of dark half of Bhādrapada highly eulogised 360; one can offer pīṇas only to three ancestors beginning with one's father and not to 4th, 5th or 6th ancestor even if one or more of the first three ancestors

be alive, 365, 511; one knowing only the Gāyatri verse but leading a well-regulated life was to be preferred at ś, to one who knows the three Vedas but whose conduct is not well-regulated 389; order of preference among invitees at ś, viz. first ascetics, then a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas and *śiṣhāśā* and so on 389; origin of the institution of ś, from Manu or from the Boar incarnation 349; pārvaṇa ś, 431-514; performance of ś, at night or twilight or when the sun has just risen is forbidden (except in eclipses) 375; performed at a holy place and on *yugādi* or *manvādi tithis* yields inexhaustible gratification to the pitṛs 374; performer of ś, calls the pitṛs to be present at the rite after taking permission of the invited brāhmaṇas for the invocation 348; performer of, should as a rule invite a brāhmaṇa who has studied some recession of the Veda and who is not of same gotra as the performer, who is not connected by marriage or who is not a teacher or a pupil or a friend, though some exceptions were recognized 385; performer of, should not observe a fast on śrāddha day, but should partake of the food left after being served to the invited brāhmaṇas or should at least smell it 469-470; performer of, should wash house floor, should cowdung it, should wash the clothes and cleanse vessels the previous day 409; persons (of over 50 kinds) to be shunned at a ś, according to Gautama, some of whom could be invited at a rite for gods according to others 400-401; persons and animals that should be ejected from the place of ś, or should not be allowed to look at it or disturb it 379-380; piṇḍas are made by the performer or by his wife with the food that remains after *agnaukarana* and mixed with

sesame, honey and ghee and are offered by the *pitṛ-sirṭha* 498n; piṇḍas offered to the great-grandfather, the grand-father and father are declared to be identical respectively with Vāsudeva, Saṅkaraṇa and Pradyumna and the offerer of piṇḍas with Aniruddha 350-351; piṇḍas of cooked rice or flour were not to be offered in śrāddha performed on equinoctial days, on saṅkrānti, on solstitial days, on ekādaśī or trayodaśī or on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras 481; pitṛs assuming aerial forms were supposed to hover round and enter the brāhmaṇas invited at ś, 390, 401, 407; pitṛyā verses are each repeated loudly with āhāva at the end of ś, rite 502; place that is full of insects or is arid or burnt by fire or terrific in aspect or gives out painful sounds or fetid smell is unfit for ś, 379; points in which modern Madras manuals differ from those used in Western India 504; polluted by *asuras* is purified by sesame and by tying a goat near the place 419; poor man may offer, instead of sumptuous food, uncooked corn, or some vegetables or some slight fee or a few grains of sesame to a brāhmaṇa with water or may offer grass to a cow or raise his arms and repeat loudly that he has nothing 425-426; practice of presenting the clothes, ornaments, bedstead, the horse and the like used by the deceased to the brāhmaṇa invited for śrāddha and also of donating an umbrella and sandals on the completion of śrāddha 535; praise of the importance and benefits of, 349-351; *pratisānvatsarika* or *pratyābdika* ś, 529-530; *prāyascittas* prescribed by *smṛtis* for dining at a pārvaṇaśrāddha, or *vṛddhiśrāddha*, *sapīḍana* and other śrāddhas 387-388, 548; *prāyascittas* prescribed for partaking of food at *Navāśrāddhas*, monthly śrāddhas

and yearly ones 548; principal act in ś. rites is the feeding of brāhmaṇas 349; procedure if only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available 403, 513; procedure applicable to śrāddha by one whose father was alive was extended by Viṣṇu to one's mother's paternal ancestors 513; procedure if the performance of a śrāddha on a particular day is rendered impossible by an obstacle such as āśauca 547-548; proper places for the performance of 377-379; qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited were few in the gṛhyasūtras, but smṛtis and purāṇas add many more and enlarge the lists of those that should not be invited 384-390; question how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive was discussed from ancient times and opinions varied 511-513; rewards for performance of śrāddha in an eclipse 375; rewards for performing ś. on 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (including Abhijit) 374; rewards for performing ś. on the several week-days 373-374; rewards for performing ś. from the first to the 15th tithi of the dark half 372; rewards for performing ś. on even tithis and even nakṣatras and uneven tithis and nakṣatras 370; rewards of pinḍa-dāna 503; right to inherit is based under the Dāyabhāga on the capacity to offer pinḍas to the deceased owner and not on actually offering them 510; rules as to the day (tithi) on which sāmvaśarika śrāddha is to be performed if the day or month of death or both are not known 530; rules for testing the brāhmaṇas to be invited at a ś. 390-391; rules of conduct for the performer of ś. 401-402; rules on removal of particles of food left in plates from which brāhmaṇas dined 468-469; sapinḍī-karaṇa, 520-525; several

views about the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of pinḍas 480-481; should be begun on *Kutaṣa* (8th out of 15 *muhūrtas* of the day) and should not extend beyond *Raubhīṇa* (12th *muhūrta* of the day) 376; should be performed when one dreams an evil dream or when evil planets affect the nakṣatra on which a man was born 372; should not be performed in *mleccha* localities 378; should not be performed in the *Triśaṅku* country and in the countries of *Kāṇaskara*, *Kallāga* and others and in countries to the north of the *Sindhu* river 378-379; should not be performed on *Nandā* tithis, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half, on the nakṣatra of one's birth 373; sixteen śrāddhas are laid down by numerous works as necessary to free the spirit of a deceased person from the condition of being a *preta* and *piśāca* 518; sixteen śrāddhas, divergence of views about what they are and particularly whether *sapinḍī-karaṇa* is included therein or not 518-519; sixteen śrāddhas were and are now performed on the 11th day after death 520; some authorities allow anyone to perform śrāddhas (except *sapinḍī-karaṇa*) for any relative, particularly at *Gayā* 364-365; some *Purāṇas* condemn scrutiny into the character and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited but digestis explain away such passages as referring to śrāddhas at *Uṛthas* 391; some *purāṇas* inculcate the performance of śrāddha on a profuse scale, particularly at *Gayā* 404-405; some *smṛtis* laid down very strict rules about the qualifications of brāhmaṇas for a ś. 399-400; some *smṛtis* recommend lavish expenditure on ś., *Bṛhaspati* requiring an heir to spend on ś. half the property inherited by him 404; some writers hold that in ś.

agnaukarana, piṇḍadāna and feeding of brāhmaṇas are all principal 482; some works lay great emphasis on inviting ascetics or yogins at ś. and say that a yogin is superior to a hundred brāhmaṇas 388; some works state that rites for pitṛs deserve pre-eminence over those for the gods 483-484; specific times most proper for performing ś. 371; spot chosen for ś. should be clean, should slope towards the south, should be cowdunged, covered on all sides and should be unfrequented and not owned by another person 377; śrāddhā is the mainspring or root of, 351; ś. may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of death, but in other cases it is performed along with her husband 475, 662; śrāddhādhikārin, general rule about, was that husband should not offer piṇḍa to his wife, nor father to his son, nor elder brother to younger one, but exceptions to this were recognized 364-365; substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and those not proper 412-413; śuddhi (purity) should be specially secured in seven matters in ś. viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (of performance), the mind, the mantras and the brāhmaṇas 413; sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes 414; texts support both views, viz. that food is offered direct to the deceased ancestors in ś. and also that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitṛs and devatās of ś. 339; three classes of, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* 369-370; three sanctifying things in ś. are *dauhitra*, a Nepal blanket and sesame 413; three views as to what is the principal item in ś., whether feeding of brāhmaṇas, or offering of

piṇḍas or both 481-482; tilas (sesame), great importance of, in ś. 418-419; times for performing ś. 360, 369-377; times on which ś. was obligatory (*nitya*) according to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 372; times proper for *kāmya* ś. are eclipses, days of solstice, equinoctial days, Vyatipāta, *saṅkrānti* and *śrāddhas* performed on them give infinite pleasure to pitṛs 372; times for which pitṛs are gratified by the offering of the flesh of several animals 422-424; tirtha-śrāddha, see under Tirtha; treated under five heads viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials 340; to whom should the sons of two fathers, such as kṣetrajā, putrikāputra and dattaka offer piṇḍas 536-538; twelve kinds of, according to Viśvāmitra 381-382; two classes of, viz. *ekoddiṣṭa* and *pārvaṇa* 380; use of flesh in ś., great divergence of views on 422-425; use of plantain leaves as plates was allowed by some and forbidden by others 421; use of wealth obtained by bribery or from *patita* persons, or arising from bride-price or declared unlawful is condemned 412; Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before piṇḍadāna in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddha and after piṇḍadāna in yearly śrāddha, in mahālaya acc to some, while Hemādri gives more elaborate rules depending upon whether the performer was an *āhitiāgni* or one who had no śrauta fires 471-72, 484; variation in the names of Viśve devas 457n; vedic benediction finely worded and comprehensive to be uttered by brāhmaṇas on accepting an invitation for ś. 409; vegetables, fruits and roots recommended and condemned for use in ś. 415-416; vessels of iron condemned for use in ś. 421; vessels of metals, particularly of silver, should be used in śrāddha, 420; vessels to be used in offering

arghya water, for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving 419-421; vessels to be used in ś. may be made from sacrificial wood or from palāśa or from a sea product (conch-shell) 420; views differed as to whether mother included step-mother in Pārvaṇa 475; Viṣṇu is to be regarded as dwelling in the three piṇḍas for the father, grand-father and the great-grand-father 349, 351; Viśve-devas are generally mentioned in Manu and Yāj., but later smṛtis enumerated ten of them, two of them being assigned to each of five classes of śrāddhas 457; Vṛddhiśrāddha, meaning of, 359n, and it is same as Nāndiśrāddha 527; was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grandfather, great-grandfather 365; water, quality of, to be employed in ś. 415; what food is of the nature of *havis* and fit for ś. 412; what men and women should engage in cooking ś food 462-466; when ś. is performed at a tīrtha the piṇḍas should be cast into the sacred water, otherwise they may be cast into fire or water or handed over to a brāhmaṇa or may be allowed to be eaten by a cow or goat 480-481; who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādhikārin*) 364-365; who are *lepabhūjah* or *lepabhūginah* 483; who are the deities of ś., the three male ancestors or Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 348; whoever took the wealth of the deceased had to offer śrāddha and piṇḍas to the deceased even under the Mitākṣarā system 364, 510; who should be invited for śrāddha dinner according to the gṛhya and dharmasūtras 384-385; who was the real recipient of the offerings made in śrāddha viz. the brāhmaṇas or pitṛs 460; women and śūdras should get ś. performed through a priest or they may them-

selves perform ś. without mantras but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased 365; word śrāddha does not occur in any authentic and ancient vedic work, but only in the Kathopanishad 349-50; worship of ṛtus (seasons) in ś. provided for in some digesta 433n.

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Steya (theft), becomes *mahāpātaka* only when *brāhmaṇa*'s gold of a certain quantity is stolen 22-23, 101; meaning of, acc. to *Āp.* 22; none in certain cases, even if one appropriates without owner's consent 23; of two kinds, viz. accompanied with force (such as robbery or dacoity) and effected clandestinely 101; *prāyaścitta* for theft of *brāhmaṇa*'s gold weighing 80 *raktikā*s or more was death for all offenders except *brāhmaṇa*s 101; *prāyaścitta* for 'rāhmaṇa guilty of the *mahāpātaka* *steya* same as for *surā* of flour 101; *prāyaścitta* for, depended on various circumstances 101

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- Tīrtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa, probably the largest work on tīrthas, is yet in Ms. at Bikaner, 582
- Tīrthas, forests, mountains, holy rivers and t. have no owner and cannot be possessed by a person as owner 590; do not occupy a prominent place in the sūtras, in *Maṇu* and *Yāj.*, but are highly lauded in *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* and declared superior to sacrifices in several respects 561-562; Literature on t., is far more extensive than on any other topic of *Dharmasāstra* 581-582
- Tīrthasāra (part of *Nṛsīṃhaprasāda*) deals mostly with tīrthas in the Deccan and Southern India, 565, 582, 707, 717n, 718
- Tīrthasaukhyā, part of *Toḍarānanda*, 582
- Tīrthatattva of Raghunandana 582
- Tīrthendusekhara of Nāgeśa, 575, 582
- Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage to holy places) 552-722; see 'Gayā', 'tīrtha', 'woman', 'tonsure'; advantages of t. to the community and to the individual pilgrim 553; all religions lay great emphasis on the sanctity of certain places and enjoin pilgrimages to them 552; ancient *Dharmasāstra* works lay emphasis on visits to tīrtha because of the benefits derived therefrom 553; as a means of removing the consequences of sins, 55-56; brāhmaṇa born and bred at a tīrtha like Mathurā or Gayā should be preferred to a stranger, though the latter may have mastered all the Vedas 579; brāhmaṇa should wander about tīrthas acc. to *Brahmapurāṇa* after his capacity to perform *yajñas* has come to an end 570; classification of tīrthas into four, viz. *daiva*, (established by gods), *āśura* (associated with *asuras* like *Gayā*), *ārṣa* (established by sages such as *Prabhāsa*) and *Mānuṣa* (established by kings like *Manu*, *Kuru*) 567;

dharmas common to all men include truthfulness, restraint of mind, charity, *ahiṃsā* and t. 553-554; digests on tirthas follow a process of selection, i. e. each describes only a few tirthas known to it 563; digests have a tendency to make every religious act more elaborate and harder 573; fast at a tirtha is optional according to Kalpataru but if observed it confers special rewards 473, 584; five classes of people do not reap the rewards of pilgrimage 563; four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists 552; fourteen acts which a pilgrim had to give up after reaching the Ganges or other tirtha 578; held superior to Vedic sacrifices in several respects by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 561-562; honouring the pitṛs at the time of starting on t. is specially obligatory on rich men 574; house-holder whose wife is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her, otherwise he would not reap the fruit of t. 568; idea in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas was that t. may help those who have no high moral qualities in removing their sins while those that possess moral qualities gain a great store of merit by t. 562-563; *kārpāt-veśa* on t. 573; large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated in India as sacred and as the abodes of gods 552; literature on, is more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmasāstra 580-582; Mahābhārata lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of t. is to be reaped 562; Mahābhārata and some purāṇas emphasize that a pure mind is the real tirtha and that it is better to stay at home and perform one's duties including performance of vedic sacrifices than undertaking t.

570; Mahābhārata and Purāṇas contain at least 40000 verses on t. 582; meaning of *tirtha* in the Rgveda and other vedas is either 'road' or 'ford' and rarely a holy place 554; meaning of tirtha in this section 555; meaning of tirtha is sometimes extended to places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, to temples, to house where Veda is being studied, to cowpens, parks, where an *āśvattha* tree exists, where a teacher stands or a chaste woman dwells 564; mode of travel, use of conveyances, horses, bullock carts, wearing of shoes, rules about these in Purāṇas and digests 576-577; *mundana* and *kṣaura* distinguished 575; not only men of all varṇas but also women and even cāṇḍālas have *adbhikāra* for t. 567-568; number of tirthas declared by Vāyu, according to Matsya, Padma, Nāradiya and other Purāṇas, is 35 millions in the sky, the aerial regions and the earth 564; number of tirthas, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, is 60 thousand crores 564n; one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmanas at a tirtha 578-579; one who wants to undertake t. should pay off his three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and consign his wife to their care 571; rewards promised for baths at tirthas 727; rites to be performed when a person undertakes t. 572-73, 583; rivers in general, certain named rivers and waters are referred to with great veneration as early as Rgveda 555; sacred places for Muslims 552; *sankalpa* to be made at starting on t. 577; Shah Jehan, emperor, remitted the tax levied on pilgrims at Prayāga and Kāśī owing to eloquent pleading of Kavindrācārya 571; six rivers having their sources in the Himālaya and six to the south of Vindhya are declared

to be most holy devatīrthas by *Brahmapurāṇa* 567; some digestists state that a pilgrim has to wear the *kārpāṣī* dress at all tīrthas when he is actually travelling, while others say that he has to do so only at Gayā 573; some purāṇas say that some virtues may be called mental tīrthas and purity of mind is the highest tīrtha 563; some say that tonsure and fast are necessary at all tīrthas except at Kuruksetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā 574; śrāddha has to be performed at most famous tīrthas, but from the procedure of śrāddha are omitted arghya, āvāhana, entering the thumb of the invited brāhmana in the food served, the question about being satiated and vikīra 616; śrāddha may be performed at any time after a pilgrim reaches the tīrtha 616; śrāddha at tīrthas consists, if the whole procedure cannot be followed, in offering pinḍas of barley meal or rice cooked in milk, cake of sesame or jaggery and one should offer a single pinḍa to all relatives after parvaṇaśrāddha and another pinḍa for servants, slaves, cattle, trees etc. 616-617; tended to foster the idea of the fundamental unity of India and Indian culture 553; tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers and shrines 553; three grounds on which tīrthas are said to be holy 554-555; tonsure and fast are not obligatory but only kāmya according to Kalpataru but otherwise according to others 573-575; t, sacrifices and various gifts are the means of cleansing the mind 563; t. yields full fruit only if performed bare-footed 576; t. yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas 563; use of bullock-cart condemned in Matsya-purāṇa as leading to hell and of other conveyances (not drawn by

bulls) as fruitless, but Kūrma recommends to those who are unable to walk conveyances drawn by mules, horses or men 576; use of a conveyance is according to Kalpataru condemned only in pilgrimage to Prayāga 576; use of a vessel allowed 577; view that the institution of t. was first started by Buddhists and Jains is wrong 558; was deemed very early to be a way of redemption of sins for men and women 569; was favoured by writers on Dharmasāstra by prescribing that no money was to be demanded by a ferryman or a toll officer from a pilgrim, from a pregnant woman, from a vedic student, forest hermit or ascetic, but this was not followed even by Hindu kings 571; whether tonsure at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is obligatory 573; who are eligible for or have adhikāra for t. 567-571; widows, ascetics and śūdras have to cut all hair on pilgrimage 575; women could not undertake t. without husband's permission 569; works on, repel by their over-statements and exaggerations, when they state that pilgrimage to a particular tīrtha will yield all one's desires in this world and the next, that even gods secured perfection at Puskara, that Pṛthūdaka is the holiest of tīrthas etc. 565-566

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